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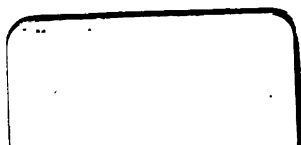
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THE
AMERICAN CHURCH
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REV. EDWARD B. BOGGS, D.D.,

Editor and Proprietor.

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AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW.

VOL. XXVIII.—JANUARY, 1876.

PERSONAL HOLINESS AND MINISTERIAL EFFICIENCY.

The fifty-first Psalm has always been held in special esteem by the children and the Church of God. It is a full and accurate exhibition of the penitential exercises of a devout spirit, authenticated to us by God Himself as a true pattern to be followed by all who have sinned grievously and wept bitterly.

Beside the sense of wrong done to God and of injury inflicted on himself, there was another thought which bowed the soul of David into the very dust. By this sin of his, he had made the enemies of God to blaspheme. He had inflicted a serious wound upon the cause and Church of God. It grieved him to reflect how he had incapacitated himself for usefulness and lost the right to reprove the scorner or to encourage the upright. How should he, with the burden of unforgiven sin upon his back, reach out to lift a brother from the dust? No longer an innocent shepherd boy, whose music could soothe the vexed spirit, no more a righteous monarch, ruling his people prudently with all his power, but his

hands impure, his spirit troubled, his harp tuneless and discordant, he prays "make me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me. Cast me not away from Thy presence and take not Thy Holy Spirit from me. O give me the comfort of Thy help again and stablish me with Thy free spirit." And the argument which he used to support these petitions is "*Then* shall I teach Thy ways unto the wicked and sinners shall be converted unto Thee."

Alas! how often have self-indulgence and presumptuous sin disabled the Christian from effecting the good he might have done! Often has the good word died unspoken on the lips, because conscience told him his own practice agreed not with it. Who can say that he is pure from the blood of others? Who is there but has occasion to cry for mercy, lest perchance any are already in the world of woe, through his neglect or evil influence?

These thoughts press with special force upon such as are deputed to bear the embassy of Christ. There are diversities of gifts of the one and self-same spirit; there are gifts ecclesiastical and gifts personal. But woe is unto those who, accepting the one, do not sedulously seek the other. The gift ecclesiastical makes men forever and indelibly ambassadors of God. Balaam was as much a prophet as Elijah. Judas was no less an apostle than John. When once men have been rightly and lawfully ordained, there is no retreat. They are henceforward officers in Christ's kingdom, and no defects in character can invalidate the lawfulness of their ministerial acts. Were it not so, if the unworthiness of ministers hindered the effect of sacraments, then none could be sure that he had been lawfully baptized; for none can discern the spirit of his brother man.

But the example of Balaam and of Judas shows that, unless together with the official gift of the Spirit they have also His personal unction, the prophet teaches his people the way to hell, and the apostle of Christ performs the secret service of Satan. The Church speaks on this point with singular distinctness. Before she bestows the outward commission, she demands of the candidate whether he has the inward motion that comes from God. And in the ordering of Priests, after a space spent in silent prayer, and before the awful investiture is made, the clergy gathered

around the kneeling candidate solemnly invoke the Holy Spirit to come and to lighten the soul with His eternal fire.

With these general remarks I pass to the subject of this article, which is to set forth the intimate connection which must always exist between personal holiness and ministerial efficiency. I desire to enforce the truth that if God makes clean the heart, comforts with his help, and establishes with his free spirit, *then*, and then only can the minister successfully teach His ways unto the wicked, and then shall sinners be converted unto Him. For alas! people and clergy alike undervalue the importance of goodness. The people expect success from pulpit ability, from financial skill and popular manners. They prefer them to unaffected piety and unobtrusive earnestness. And as for us of the clergy, alas! how we close our eyes to this truth and will not see it. We complain that God has withheld from us talent and skill; we murmur at our providential hindrances; we lay grievous things to the charge of God's people; any and every excuse is admitted for our ill success, rather than confess the deficiency in religious affection, which in truth and fact disables our ministry. We blame the machinery and the material and the underworkmen; we mend and patch and alter; we murmur and reproach and change the scene of operation; whereas there is only one thing that can do any good, namely, to mend ourselves, to change our own ways, to cease all efforts to drive the flock, and running a long way before them, to call them after us up the hill difficulty and along the rough paths of self-denial.

Oh, it humbles us much to remember how many precious hours we have wasted in useless application of remedies, studiously forbearing to touch the spot whence came the pain; and how at last, when self-accusation has taken the place of complaint, and we have accepted the bitter remedy for our folly, then as we went forth again, humbled, stammering and confused, persuasion came back to our lips, and we conquered because we yielded.

I propose to show the connection between the spirituality of the man and the effectiveness of the priest. To do this more methodically, I will consider the clergyman in his three leading characters, as a Preacher, as a Pastor, and as an Exemplar.

I. The clergyman as a PREACHER.—A little reflection will assure

us of the influence of the preacher's own spiritual condition, upon all his public teachings. It will affect, for instance, his manner of preaching, and this is a very important consideration. So soon as one announces the text, he passes an unconscious ordeal of criticism. The people become at once prejudiced against him or are inclined to hearken. Is there that sober gravity about him which implies that he has talked with God in the mount, and has come to deliver a message of whose serious import he is well advised? Has he an humble sense of his own deficiencies, and with this has he also a sense of his official right and responsibility? Has he come merely to fill out an hour and preach a sermon, or is there a large holy thought conceived in the mind and warmed and vivified in the heart? Does he propose to accomplish anything by his sermon, to reach any point or anybody? Does he evidence a childish complacency in the effort he is making, or is self clean forgotten in zeal for God and good will to men? Is he puffed up with a consciousness of his ability, or has he that quiet deference for the intelligence and right-mindedness of his audience, which they feel to be their due?

Manners mould themselves to the mind just as clothes do to the body—we cannot put on a right manner. It must be a natural reflection of the inner man.

If during the week previous the man of God has been truly devout, diligently engaged in holy meditations, lifting up the heart every day and all the day, his demeanor will be grave and sober. We can see it in the very way he handles the holy books upon the desk. If he has been pondering for himself the awful mysteries of death and judgment, hell and heaven, with what seriousness and reverence will he speak of them, and instead of lightly hurling angry threats at the people, how will he urge them to escape as one who still shudders with the thought of perils past. If his heart has been filled with loving thoughts of God, and with tender pity for Christ's erring flock, how will this empty him of himself, and guard against levity and self-complacency. For it is among the notes of charity that it does not behave itself unseemly. A grave, earnest sermon, evidently intended to accomplish something for the glory of God and the good of man, at once conciliates a congregation and inclines them to hearken. It is very wonderful

how the spirit and temper of the man, evidenced by his manner and by the tones of his voice, influence the effect of his teachings. He may speak, for instance, upon the passion of Christ, collecting each incident of woe, and exhausting all the language of pathos, while hearts shall be cold as a stone. But let him have knelt in the garden with Him, let him have stood with the weeping Maries by the cross, let him have reverently reached out his hand to that wounded side and striven to appropriate its healing stream, and his tale is replete with life, his simplest words are instinct with holy fire; the people cease to admire, and are ready to weep with him.

And now as to the subject matter of sermons. There is a wonderful mine of material, and such wealth of allusion and illustration as no other speaker has. Something to fill out the time is easily made, but diligent study and earnest thought are necessary to make an effective preacher. Yet these alone will not secure effectiveness. An appreciative, sensitive mind is necessary, that catches the contagion of the sacred page, and not merely reads threat or pity, joy or woe; but feels as it reads a sympathizing thrill of dread or tenderness, of pleasure or of sorrow; without this no man can understand the mind of the Bible. Vast is the power of him who has not only compared his text with other related Scriptures, and knows what wise and good men have said about it, but who more than this has his soul enlivened with it, and feels the thought in his heart larger than his lips can properly utter.

Preaching is eminently a work of adaptation. We do not exhibit a store-house of remedies, but apply and adapt them to the spiritual wants of our people. It is very mournful to see a man combatting an error which has no place among his hearers, proving that which no one doubted until he tried to prove it, fighting against enthusiasm, when the affections of his people need to be kindled into a blaze, opposing Puritanic notions, when his people need rather to be taught unworldliness and strictness of living—talking earnestly or eloquently about something entirely out of the sphere of common duty and common sympathies.

A truly devout man, cannot trifle thus. Personally engaged in the spiritual strife, either wrestling, or perhaps still dripping with the sweat of conflict, or rejoicing in advantage gained and hopeful of final victory, he utters that which is of deepest interest to

every thoughtful mind. Chords in his own heart have vibrated under the breath of the Good Spirit, and their music sets in motion like chords in other hearts. How it cheers and strengthens us to have one encourage us in the christian fight, in whom we recognize a faithful champion, who plainly and unmistakably has tried the remedy he offers to us; who has sounded the depths of penitence into which he would lead us, who has in his own trials leaned on that breast to which he beseeches us to confide all our troubles. Think how earnestly and yet how considerately Thomas could rebuke the self-conceit of the man who should prescribe to God what He must do! Think how gently and lovingly Peter could encourage a sorrowful apostate. It is the man of the broken heart who knows what ointment will best mollify a wounded spirit. It is the man most like Christ who will perseveringly obtrude the message of love upon the thankless and reluctant. I cannot ask the laity to excuse ignorance and incompetence in the pulpit; these are utterly and absolutely inexcusable, but I charge them not to put talent and style before unpretending goodness, never to scorn the simple words of one who in a true and religious spirit, abstaining from great matters too high for him, urges the plain essential truths of our holy religion.

II. The clergyman as a PASTOR. When he descends from the pulpit the clergyman enters upon another sphere of duty. He is to divide God's truth, to individualize his teachings. He is to carry the consolations of God's word, its warnings and rebukes, to individual men. How essential is warmth of piety, a rich depth of religious experience, for the right discharge of this duty.

For instance, in the course of any long pastorate, the shadow of sorrow will darken almost every dwelling within his cure. He visits the mourner and what shall he do? lecture a man all stunned with grief, and argue with one that is desperate! deafen him with common places, weary him with ponderous talk! Never is religious garrulity so offensive as in the chamber of mourning.

A Bishop who more wonderfully combined wisdom and goodness than any man I ever knew, one who by an instinct seemed to claim a share in every sorrow that came under his

notice, was the late Bishop Cobbs of Alabama.¹ When a deacon I went to him with the question, how to deal with sorrowful people. He gently answered, "I do not know much about it, but this only I have found out, that when I visit a mourner, if my heart is in the right frame, I naturally sit down and weep with him; and that does him more good than anything else." What a lesson that was from a saint of God who, as a Pastor, stood unrivalled in the American Church. His secret was to cultivate a christlike spirit of tenderness; the rest took care of itself. Ready sympathy, not gotten up or affected for the occasion, but genial and spontaneous sympathy is what the afflicted need; and in these hours while his heart is wounded and ours bleeds in-sympathy, they grow together, and a relation and an affection grow up, I think the purest and the most beautiful that this world knows. There is a filial veneration on the one side, and a paternal tenderness on the other, which never die out in after years. But this is utterly impracticable, unless the heart of the Pastor is enlarged, and his spirit habitually stirred by communion with the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls.

Again, the pastor has to instruct, to rebuke, to admonish; but how useless and even offensive are rebuke, instruction, and admonition when delivered from the lofty chair of superior virtue. He must lay a firm yet gentle hand on men's faults, and this he cannot do unless his faith has been confirmed by leaning on Christ's promise, and his heart has been made gentle by His felt tenderness. The pastor has to deal with unreasonable as well as wicked men, fretful, prejudiced, dull of comprehension. His tried supporters often fail him in time of need, and the best friends he has are careless of him and leave him to serve alone. If he lose patience and scold, if he betray irritation or despondency, the wand of his influence is broken. What shall endue him with the long-suffering necessary to minister among those who are in truth so derelict? nothing can give it him but the continual recollection of his own folly, stupidity, negligence and instability. When with all these in view, he has been crying to God, "wash me, make me clean," he is not minded to give over any as reprobate and hopeless.

There is also a sterner side to the pastorate. Sometimes truth is

¹For a sketch of Bishop Cobbs, see *CHURCH REVIEW*, Vol. XX, p. 543.

to be followed rather than charity. Sometimes the pastor must assume an unpopular stand; and how hard it is to be unpopular. He must do that which will offend his best friends and set the indifferent in open hostility. How glorious is that robustness of ministerial character which makes a man stand firm in his place, when friends are falling away like the frequent leaves in autumn, and prejudice clamors on him with a hundred tongues! Nothing but strong manly piety, nothing less than nourished saintliness of temper can carry him through an ordeal by no means unusual in ministerial life.

III. The clergyman as an EXEMPLAR.

People argue, and rightly too, if there is virtue in this gospel, the clergyman should illustrate that virtue, for his very calling keeps its precepts habitually before his mind, and he who stands dispensing all day the bread of life, ought himself to be nourished by it. The common sort of men learn by example much more readily than by precept. They may be careless hearers of sermons, but they are acute observers of persons. They can appreciate an example of self-denial and charity, although they would be deaf to an exposition. They cannot be deceived by a demeanor put on for appearance and example's sake. No mortal man can keep enough on his guard not to betray himself to men who have found study of character essential to their success in everything. If the clergyman is not a man of clean heart, that impurity will on some occasions flash out. If he is idle and spends his time frivolously within his study, although the door be shut, he will betray the deficiency. If he does not furbish his armor in secret and keep it ready, men will see how confused and unprepared he is in the hour of trial.

A holy man of God passing by continually, what a blessing is he to any community. His mournful silence is often the severest reproof to the jests of the profane, his unaffected humility the best confutation of things scandalously laid against him, the simplicity and ingenuousness of his demeanor the best proof of his honesty and integrity. Virtue goes out of him which he knows not of, and men are left dissatisfied and self-reproachful at the spectacle of one whose conversation is manifestly in heaven, and whose highest ambition is to win a soul for Christ. Beautiful is such a one in

life; and how lovely is his death! To be followed to the grave at last by those who testify with one accord "he was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost;" who weep at the loss of religion's purest example, and of their own most unselfish friend and gentlest counsellor, this is a consummation which will amply repay every labor and every heart-ache.

The practical result of what has been said may be thus summed up; to do good, we must be good. The lesson applies specially to those in holy orders, but generally to all who are consecrated to God by holy vows. Christian—clergyman, layman, be good and do good. Bathe often your soul in the waters of contrition, kneel often at the feet of your most loving Lord, draw down by earnest prayers the presence of the comforter, so that the Holy Dove shall nestle in your breast, and although you be small and of no reputation, void of influence, genius, or natural engagingness of manner, your life shall not be useless; *then* shall you, even you, "teach God's ways to the wicked, and sinners shall be converted unto Him."

HENRY C. LAY.

L A T I N H Y M N O D Y .

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land, Dix, Moultrie, Pott and Williams, *passim*.

I.—THE PATRISTIC PERIOD.

It is one of the most encouraging signs of the revival of a true Christian and Churchly spirit in our midst, that the majestic compositions of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church are receiving attention in many unexpected quarters, and have even been introduced as text books into some of our American Colleges. The foul and libidinous poetry of heathen rakes, has too long been presented to the youth of our land as the purest specimen of *classic* thought. It is time that a purer element of beauty than the mere quantity of long and short syllables should be studied and imitated, and this can be found in the immortal lyrics of Christian bards.

It is probable that in addition to the scriptural psalms, hymns were used from the earliest ages in the church. It is certain that their use in public worship, commenced in the East, long before it found its way to the less cultivated West. The introduction of hymns into the church at Milan, is thus described by S. Augustin in his *confessions*.

"Not long had the Church of Milan begun to use this kind of consolation and exhortation, the brethren zealously joining with harmony of voice and heart. For it was a year, or not much more, that Justina, mother to the Emperor Valentinian, then a child, persecuted Thy servant Ambrose, in favor of her heresy to which she was seduced by the Arians. The devout people kept watch in the church; ready to die with their Bishop, Thy servant. There my mother, Thy handmaid, bearing a chief part in these anxieties and watchings, lived for prayer. We, yet unwarmed by the heart of Thy spirit, still were stirred up by the sight of the amazed and disquieted city. Then it was instituted that, after the manner of the Eastern Churches, hymns and psalms should be sung, lest the people should wax faint through the tediousness of sorrow; and from that day to this the custom is retained, divers, yea, almost all, Thy congregations throughout other parts of the world following therein." ¹

Although S. Ambrose is usually reckoned the father of Western Hymnody, we have a few of the still earlier hymns of

S. HILARY.

This Father was born at Pictavium, (now Poitiers) in France, during the early part of the fourth century. He became Bishop

¹ Confess. b. ix., 14, 15.

of his native city A. D., 353, which See he held until his death in 368. During a temporary banishment in Phrygia, he noticed the great influence over the people produced by the use of Arian hymns, and resolved to introduce sacred verse into the West on his return, as a weapon of orthodoxy. I have selected for translation his ;

HYMNUS PENTECOSTALIS.

PENTECOSTAL HYMN.

Beata nobis gaudia
Anni reduxit orbita,
Cum spiritus paraclitus
Elapsus est discipulis.

Ignis vibrante lumine
Linguae figuram detulit,
Verbis ut essent profui,
Et charitate fervidi.

Linguis loquuntur omnium;
Turbæ pavent gentilium:
Musto madere deputant,
Quos spiritus repleverat.

Patrata sunt hæc mystice,
Paschæ peracto tempore,
Sacro dierum circulo,
Quo lege fit remissio.

Te nunc piissime Deus,
Vultu precamur cernuo;
Illapsa nobis coelitus
Largire dona spiritus!

Dudum sacrata pectora
Tua replesti gratia,
Dimitte nostra crimina,
Et da quæta tempora!

Blest joys to us and comforts sweet
Return with earth's revolving frame;
As God's own spirit, Paraclete,
On His elect disciples came.

The fire, in quivering light, on each
Parted in tongue-like flames they see;
That eloquent might be their speech,
And fervid their true charity.

With tongues they speak thro' power Divine.
The gathering Gentiles dread the sight,
And deem them drunken with new wine,
Whom God's blest Spirit filled with light.

These things in mystic type were done,
When Paschal-tide its ending saw;
The sacred course of days now run,
Which brought remission by the Law.

Thee now, most holy God of Love,
Humbly we pray with suppliant face;
Shed on us from Thy Throne above
The Spirit's holy gifts of grace!

And as our hearts receive within
Thy grace, which bids all sorrow cease;
Pardon in love our former sin,
And grant us hours of joy and peace!

Other versions of S. Hilary's "Beata nobis gaudia," can be found in Dix's Book of Hours, p. 70, "Blest joys for mighty wonders wrought;" and by Blew, in People's Hymnal, No. 155, "Round roll the weeks our hearts to greet."

DAMASUS,

was born at Rome, of a Spanish family, A. D., 306, and is said to have been the inventor of *rhyme*. He became Bishop of Rome in 366, and died December 10, 384. S. Jerome was for a time his secretary, and greatly lauds his remarkable learning and piety. The hymn which follows is well worthy of attention, not only for its easy, flowing metre, but also because it is said to be the oldest specimen of rhyming poetry extant.

HYMNUS DE S. AGATHA.

Martyris ecce dies Agathæ,
Virginis emicat eximie,
Christus eam sibi qua sociat
Et diadema duplex decorat.

Stirpe decens, elegans specie,
Sed magis actibus atque fide,
Terrea prospera nil reputans,
Jussa Dei sibi corde ligans.

Fortior hæc trucibusque viris
Exposuit sua membra flagris;
Pectore quam fuerit valido
Torta mamilla docet patulo.

Deliciæ cui carcer erat,¹
Pastor ovem Petrus hanc recreat;
Inde gavisa magisque flagrans
Cuncta flagella cucurrit ovans.

Ethnica turba rogum fugiens
Hujus et ipsa meretur opem;
Quos fidei titulos decorat,
His Venerem magis ipsa premat.

Jam renitens quasi sponsa polo
Pro miseris supplica Domino,
Sic sua festa coli faciat
Se celebrantibus ut faveat.

Gloria cum Patri sit Genito,
Spirituque proinde sacro,
Qui Deus unus et omnipotens
Hanc nostri faciat memorem.

HYMN ON S. AGATHA.

Fair as the morn in the deep blushing east,
Dawns the bright day of Saint Agatha's feast;
Christ, who hath borne her from labor to rest,
Crowns her as Virgin and Martyr most blest.

Noble by birth and of beautiful face,
Richer by far in her deeds and her grace,
Earth's fleeting honors and gains she despised,
God's holy will and commandments she prized.

Braver and nobler than merciless foes,
Willing her limbs to the scourge to expose;
Weakly she sank not, by anguish oppress,
When cruel torture destroyed her fair breast.

But her dark dungeon was filled with delight,
Peter the shepherd refreshed her by night;
Thence to her tortures rejoicing she went,
Thanking her God for the trials He sent.

Barbarous pagans, escaping their doom,
Honor her virtues, that brighten their gloom;
They, whom the title of Faith hath adorned,
Like her, earth's pleasures and passions have
scorned.

Radiant in glory, as Heaven's fair bride,
She to the Lord for the wretched hath cried;
So in her honor your praises employ,
That ye may share in her triumph and joy.

Praise to the Father, and praise to the Son,
Praise to the Spirit, the blest Three in One;
God of all might in Heaven's glory arrayed,
Praise for Thy grace in Thy servant displayed.

¹ Alludes to a legend in the Early Church.

I am not acquainted with any other English versions of this hymn. S. Agatha's day in the calendar of the English Prayer Book is February 5th.

S. AMBROSE.

Passing on to S. Ambrose, the acknowledged father of Western Hymnody, we must distinguish carefully between the hymns, of which he is the recognized author, and a large mass of others, styled *Ambrosian*, because written in his style and attributed to his pen by a less critical age.

The history of the Bishop of Milan is too well known to the readers of the REVIEW, to require a detailed sketch. Born about A.D. 340 at Trier, or Arles, he was called at the age of thirty-four, while still a layman, by the voice of a child and popular acclaim, to the See of Milan. He died A. D., 397, after a life of great usefulness to the church. Of the many hymns attributed to him, twelve are believed to be of genuine authorship.¹ I have selected from the genuine hymns of S. Ambrose his celebrated ;

HYMNUS IN ADVENTU DOMINI

ADVENT HYMN.

Veni, redemptor gentium,
Ostende partum virginis,
Miretur omne sæculum ;
Talis decet partus Deum.

O come, Redeemer of our race,
Display the Virgin's mystic birth ;
Such birth befits God's endless grace,
The joy and wonder of the earth.

Non ex virili semine,
Sed mystico spiramine,
Verbum Dei factum est caro,
Fructusque ventris floruit.

Born of no carnal, earthly seed ;
Breathed by the Spirit from above,
The Word of God is Flesh indeed,
The Fruit of Manhood blooms in love.

Alvus tumescit virginis,
Claustrum pudoris permanet,
Vexilla virtutum micant
Versatur in templo Deus.

The Virgin's body is His shrine,
Her bonds of innocence still bound ;
The banners of the virtues shine,
Where God is in His temple found.

Procedit e thalamo suo,
Pudoris aula regia,
Geminae gigas substantiæ,
Alacris ut currat viam.

He comes from out His royal place,
The hall where chastity bears sway
The Giant of a two-fold race,
Swiftly to run His destined way.

¹ Let me here call attention to the interesting sketches of Christian Hymns, and their authors, which are to be found in Mrs. Charles' "Voice of Christian Life in Song."

Egressus ejus a Patre,	Proceeding from His Father's Throne
Regressus ejus ad Patrem,	Returning to His Father's Love,
Excursus usque ad inferos,	Conquering the powers of hell alone,
Recurus ad sedem Dei.	Back speeding to His seat above.
Aequalis æterno Patri	Thou, equal of Thy Father's grace,
Carnis tropæo cingere,	Art clothed in triumph with our flesh,
Infirma nostri corporis	Strengthening the weakness of our race
Virtute firmans perpetim.	With Thy blest virtue, ever fresh.
Præsepe jam fulget tuum,	Thy manger shines with holy light,
Lumenque nox spirat novum,	And night breathes forth a glorious dawn,
Quod nulla nox interpolet,	Which never more shall end in night
Fideque jugi luceat.	Till Faith is lost in Heaven's own morn. ¹

This majestic hymn has often been translated :

In German, by LUTHER,

Nu komm der Heiden Heiland ;

by JOHN FRANK, (very fine,)

*Komm, Heidenland, Lösegeld :—*and by others.

Other English translations are by NEALE, (very poor, see Schaff's Hist. Christian Church, Vol. 3, p. 591.)

Come, thou Redeemer of the earth ;

MRS. CHARLES, Christian Life in Song, p. 97,

Redeemer of the Nations, come ;

DR. SCHAFF'S Christ in Song, p. 9.

O Thou Redeemer of our race !

A. L. P., in People's Hymnal, No. 25.

Redeemer of the Nations, come ;

Dix's Book of Hours, p. 57.

*Come, Redeemer of the Nations,
Thou the Virgin's mystic birth.*

Passing on to the hymns that are called AMBROSIAN, we find two, that have attained celebrity as Easter Hymns. The first is said to have been used in the early church on Low Sunday ; when those baptised on Easter Even made their First Communion, still wearing their white robes.

¹ It is but fair to say that this translation (by the author of this article) appeared first in the N. Y. Evening Post of March 25th, 1875.

Ad regias agni dapes
Stolis amicti candidis
Post transitum maris rubri
Christo canamus principi ;

Divina cujus caritas
Sacrum propinat sanguinem,
Almique membra corporis
Amor sacerdos immolat.

Sparsum cruorem postibus
Vastator horret angelus,
Fugitique divisum mare,
Merguntur hostes fluctibus.

Jam Pascha nostrum Christus est
Paschalis idem victima,
Et pura puris mentibus
Sinceritatis azyma.

O vera coeli victima,
Subjecta cui sunt Tartara,
Soluta mortis vincula,
Recepta vitæ præmia.

Victor subactis inferis
Tropæa Christus explicat,
Cœloque aperte subditum
Regem tenebrarum trahit.

Ut sis perenne mentibus
Paschale, Jesu, gaudium,
A morte dira criminum
Vitæ renatos libera.

Deo patri sit gloria,
Et Filio qui a mortuis
Surrexit et Paraclito
In sempiterna sæcula.

At the Lamb's royal feast to-day,
Clad in fair robes of white array,
Passed o'er the Red Sea's flood, we sing
To Christ, our souls' eternal King ;

Whose Love Divine, man's highest good,
Gives us to drink His sacred Blood ;
And in a sacrifice still fresh,
Offers, as Priest, His holy Flesh.

When he beheld the blood-stained door,
Th' avenging angel passed it o'er ;—
Israel, the sea divided saves,
His foes sink helpless in the waves.

For Christ is now our Paschal Feast,
Himself the Victim and the Priest ;
Th' unleavened Bread all pure and clear
To those, who with pure minds draw near.

O very Victim of the sky,
To whom hell's powers subjected lie ;
Burst are Death's cruel bonds and chains,
And man the prize of Life regains.

For Christ is Victor o'er the grave,
On high His glorious trophies wave,
He holds for us a starry crown,
And drags the king of darkness down.

O Jesu, endless Paschal Joy !
Let ceaseless praise our tongues employ ;
From death's dark doom, that waits on sin,
Save us and make us pure within.

To God the Father praise be said,
Praise to the Son, who from the dead
Arose, and to the Paraclete
Through endless ages, as is meet.

The hymn sometimes begins,

Ad coenam agni providi.

There are many English translations, among them :

DR. NEALE, in People's Hymnal, No. 117.

The Lamb's high banquet we await ;

MRS. CHARLES, Christian Life in Song, p. 103.

The Supper of the Lamb to share ;

DR. A. R. THOMPSON, in *Christ in Song*, p. 238, (very spirited).

*We keep the festival
Of the slain Lamb our King,
The Red Sea passed,
And safe at last,
Our Leader's praise we sing.*

BISHOP WILLIAMS' hymn (Hymnal, 111.)

Once the angel started back,

is a paraphrase of some of the verses. Also in our Hymnal, No. 100,

At the Lamb's high feast we sing.

See also, *Hymns of the Ages*, i, p. 83.

Now at the Lamb's high royal feast.

The other paschal hymn is the concluding part of a long one, beginning,

Aurora lucis rutilat.

Sermone blando angelus
Prædixit mulieribus :
" In Galilæa Dominus
Videndus est quantocius !"

Illæ dum pergunt concite
Apostolis hoc dicere
Videntes eum vivere
Osculantur pedes Domini.

Quo agnito discipuli
In Galilæam propere,
Pergunt videre faciem
Desideratam Domini.

Claro paschali gaudio
Sol mundo nitet radio,
Cum Christum jam apostoli
Visu cernunt corporeo.

Ostensa sibi vulnera
In Christi carne fulgida
Resurrexisse Dominum
Voce fatentur publica.

Rex Christe clementissime,
In corda nostra posside,
Ut tibi laudes debitas
Reddamus omni tempore !

With gentle voice, that banished dread,
The angel to the women said :
" Your risen Lord, ye soon shall see—
Seek Him in distant Galilee !"

But, while with speed they haste to bring
Th' Apostles tidings of their King,
With joy their living Lord they greet,
And kiss in love His wounded feet.

When this the glad disciples hear,
To Galilee, with hope and fear,
They haste to see th' eternal Word,
Their long-desired and risen Lord.

And now with purest paschal beams,
The sun o'er earth its radiance streams,
As Christ to meet th' Apostles came,
Clothed in a bright, immortal Frame.

His holy wounds, to them displayed,
Shine with a light that cannot fade—
They cry amid earth's deepest gloom :
" The Lord is risen from the tomb !"

O Christ, most gentle King of grace,
Possess our hearts, accept our praise,
And teach us sweetest songs to raise
In heavenly courts through endless days !

Other English translations are by ;
 MRS. CHARLES, *Christian Life in Song*, p. 101,
The women came to embalm the dead ;
 CENTO, *People's Hymnal*, No. 115,
In accents bland the Angel blest ;
 and DIX's *Book of Hours*, p. 66.
With gentle voice the Angel gave.

Among the hymns ascribed by tradition to S. Augustine, although it is by no means certain that any of them were composed by him, is a beautiful one which, so far as I am aware, has never before been rendered into English. It is called :

ANTIDOTUM CONTRA
 TYRANNIDEM PECCATI.

Quid, tyranne! quid minaris?
 Quid usquam poenarum est,
 Quidquid tandem machinaris:
 Hoc amanti parum est.
 Dulce mihi cruciari,
 Parva vis doloris est:
 " Malo mori quam foedari!"
 Major vis amoris est.

Para rogos, quamvis truces,
 Et quiquid flagrorum est;
 Adde ferrum, adde cruces:
 Nil adhuc amanti est.
 Dulce mihi cruciari,
 Parva vis doloris est:
 " Malo mori quam foedari!"
 Major vis amoris est.

Nimis blandus dolor ille!
 Una mors, quam brevis est!
 Cruciatus amo mille,
 Omnis poena levis est.
 Dulce mihi sauciari,
 Parva vis doloris est:
 " Malo mori quam foedari!"
 Major vis amoris est.

ANTIDOTE FOR THE TYRANNY
 OF SIN.

Tyrant! why thy threats and anger?
 Though by fear thou seek'st control,
 Vain thy snares that threaten danger;
 Nought can move the loving soul.
 Sweet to me is dissolution,
 Gentle is the stroke of pain:
 " Better death than foul pollution!"
 Love shall triumph—Love shall reign.

Bring then pains and bitter losses,
 Let the vilest shame be brought;
 Add the sword, add cruel crosses:
 To the loving soul 'tis nought.
 Sweet to me is dissolution,
 Gentle is the stroke of pain:
 " Better death than foul pollution!"
 Love shall triumph—Love shall reign.

Far too soft are pain and anguish!
 Death is but a short, dark night!
 'Mid a thousand woes I languish,
 Still I find my suffering light.
 Sweet to me is dissolution,
 Gentle is the stroke of pain:
 " Better death than sin's pollution!"
 Love shall triumph—Love shall reign. ¹

¹ N. Y. Evening Post, March 25, 1875.

PRUDENTIUS.

Aurelius Clemens Prudentius was born at Saragossa in Spain, A. D., 384. Barth calls him "Poeta eximius;" and Bentley styles him, "the Horace and Virgil of the Christians." His finest work is a funeral hymn from his tenth *Cathæmerinon*. Of this hymn Barth speaks, as "*plane divinum*;" and Trench, as "the crowning glory of the poetry of Prudentius." Translated into German :

Hört auf mit Trauern und Klagen,

it has become the favorite funeral hymn of Protestant Germany.

IN EXSEQUIIS.

FOR FUNERALS.

Jam moesta quiesce querela,
Lacrymas suspendite, matres!
Nullus sua pignora plangat:
Mors hæc reparatio vitæ est.

Now cease every sad lamentation,
And dry, weeping mothers, each tear!
This death is but life's renovation;
Let none mourn their pledges tho' dear.

Quidnam sibi sara cavate,
Quid pulchræ volunt monumenta?
Res quod nisi creditur illis
Non mortua, sed data somno.

Oh! why these carved stones are ye heaping?
Or why by fair sepulchres weep?
The treasure ye trust to their keeping
Is not lost in death, but asleep.

Nam quod requiescere corpus
Vacuum sine mente videmus,
Spatium breve restat, ut alti
Repetat collegia sensus.

The body, now stripped of its spirit,
Seems lifeless and dead to the eye;
But soon its fair soul shall inherit
That body, made meet for the sky.

Venient cito sæcula, quum jam,
Socius calor ossa revisat,
Animataque sanguine vivo
Habitacula pristina gestet.

The ages fly swiftly, still bringing
The hour heat revisits this frame;
When currents of blood, warmly springing,
Shall kindle anew life's bright flame.

Quæ pigra cadavera pridem
Tumulis putrefacta jacebant,
Volucres rapiuntur in auras,
Animas comitata priores.

The corpse, which once mouldered and perished
In darkness and death and despair,
Now, joined to the spirit it cherished,
Shall soar like a bird in the air.

Sic semina sicca virescent
Jam mortua jamque sepulta,
Quæ reddita cespiti ab imo
Veteres meditantur aristas.

The seeds which we sow in our sorrow,
Though withered and dead they appear,
Bloom forth on the harvest's bright morrow,
And yield the full corn in the ear.

Nunc suscipe, terra, fovendum,
Gremioque hunc concipo molli!
Hominis tibi membra sequestro,
Generosa et fragmina credo.

Animæ fuit hæc domus olim
Factoris ab ore creatæ;
Fervens habitavit in istis
Sapientia principe Christo.

Tu depositum tege corpus!
Non immemor ille requireret
Sua munera fictor et auctor
Propriique ænigmate vultus.

Veniant modo tempora justa,
Quum spem Deus impleat omnem;
Reddas patefacta necesse est,
Qualem tibi trado figuram.

Non, si cariosa vetustas
Dissolverit ossa favillis,
Fueritque cinisculus arens
Minimi mensura pugilli;

Nec, si vaga flamina et auræ,
Vacuum per inane volantes,
Tulerint cum pulvere nervos,
Hominem periisse licebit.

Sed dum resolvable corpus
Revocas, Deus, atque reformas,
Quanam regione jubebis
Animam requiescere puram?

Gremio senis addita sancti
Recubabit, ut est Eleazar,¹
Quem floribus undique septum
Dives procul aspicit ardena.

Sequimur tua dicta, Redemptor,
Quibus atra morte triumphans,
Tua per vestigia mandas
Socium crucis ire latronum.

Patet ecce fidelibus ampli
Via lucida jam Paradisi,
Licet et nemo illud adire
Homini quod ademerat anguis.

O earth, on thy soft bosom cherish
The precious remains, which we give!
And suffer no member to perish
Of him, who in glory shall live.

For here in this mansion immortal
A soul dwelt, inspired from above;
Here passed through this beautiful portal
Christ's wisdom and glory and love.

Then shelter the body now given!
For God not unmindful will be,
But down from the mansions of Heaven
Shall come His own Likeness to see.

The day of just judgment draws nearer,
When God every hope shall fulfil;
And thou must restore brighter, clearer,
The form given now to thy will.

What if the decay of long ages
Should mingle these bones with the sand,
And that, which our love now engages,
Should shrink to the grasp of a hand?

What if wandering flames and swift breezes
Should bear it aloft through the sky?
The day of just doom all releases—
God's Image shall never more die!

But while this dead body is lying,
O God, to be formed by Thy hand,
What Paradise art Thou supplying,
Where pure souls can find a fair land?

In the bosom, with just Eleazar,
Of the holy old man they shall lie;
While Dives, an agonized gazer,
For the flowers of God's garden shall sigh.

Redeemer, we follow Thy saying,
When conqu'ring dark death in Thy strife,
Thou badest the thief, to Thee praying,
To tread in Thy footsteps to life.

Lo! now to the faithful victorious,
The bright road to Paradise runs;
We enter that garden all-glorious
The serpent once closed to God's sons.

¹ i. e. *Lazarus*. Vide, Tertullian.

Nos tecta fovebimus ossa
Violis et fronde frequenta,
Titulumque et frigida saxa
Liquido spargemus odore.

Then cover this form, ne'er to perish,
With violets and leaves of the grove;
While o'er the cold stones, that we cherish,
We sprinkle sweet odors of love.

There are many German translations of this hymn by Bässler, Knapp, Königsfeld, Puchta, Weiss and others. There is a very good one by Dr. SCHAFF, (Gesangbuch, No. 968),

Schweige, bange Trauerklage.

There are English translations by:

MRS. CHARLES, Christian Life in Song, p. 110, (the whole hymn),

Ah! hush now your mournful complainings;

A. L. P., in People's Hymnal, No. 379, (a beautiful fragment.)

Be silent, O sad lamentation;

DR. E. A. WASHBURN, Christ in Song, 638.

No more, ah, no more sad complaining;

E. CASWALL, Christ in Song, p. 635,

Cease, ye tearful mourners, thus your hearts to rend;

and MISS C. WINKWORTH, in Bunsen's Gesangbuch, No. 288,

Oh weep not, mourn not, over this bier!

Another hymn of Prudentius is well known to those who use our *Hymnal*, as No. 353, in DR. NEALE's translation:

The winged herald of the day

Proclaims the morn's approaching ray:

AD GALLI CANTUM.

ON THE COCK CROWING.

Ales, diei nuntius,
Lucem propinquam præcinit;
Nos excitator mentium
Jam Christus ad vitam vocat.

A bird, the harbinger of day
Proclaims the near approach of light;
So Christ, our minds from sin away,
Now calls to life and glory bright.

"Auferte," clamat "lectulos,
Aegros, soporos, desidos,
Castique recti ac sobrii:
Vigilate: jam sum proximus!"

"Take up your downy beds," He cries,
"Where sickness, sloth and lust appear;
Sober, serene and chaste, arise
To watch, for I, the Lord am near!"

Jesum ciamus vocibus,
Flentes, preccantes, sobrii:
Intenta supplicatio
Dormire cor mundum vetat.

To Jesus we in grief draw nigh,
Sober and prayerful, still we weep:
Our earnest, agonizing cry
Forbids the chastened heart to sleep.

Tu, Christe somnum disjice;
 Tu rumpe noctis vincula;
 Tu solve peccatum vetus,
 Novumque lumen ingere!

Dispel, O Christ, our sleep within,
 And burst the bonds of guilt's dark night;
 Absolve us from our former sin,
 And pour new glory on our sight! ¹

Other English translations are in Hymns of the Ages, Vol. I.
 p. 14,

Now, while the herald bird of day;

and by Miss HILLHOUSE, (M. H., p. 11),

The herald cock, with cheery note.

SEDULIUS.

was a priest of Irish birth; who lived in Italy under Theodosius the Great, in the fifth century. A few of his hymns have come down to us. Among them this:

DE EPIPHANIA DOMINI.

Herodes, hostis impie,
 Christum venire quid times?
 Non eripit mortalia,
 Qui regna dat coelestia;

Ibant Magi, quam viderent
 Stellam sequentes præviam:
 Lumen requirunt lumine,
 Deum fatentur munera.

Caterva matrum personat,
 Collisa deflexis pignora;
 Quorum tyrannus millia
 Christo sacravit victimas.

Lavacra puri gurgitis
 Coelestis agnus attingit:
 Peccata, quæ non detulit.
 Nos ablundo sustulit.

Miraculis dedit fidem
 Habere se Deum patrem:
 Infirma sanans corpora,
 Resuscitans cadavera.

EPIPHANY HYMN.

O Herod, impious enemy!
 Why dost thou fear the Lord to see?
 He struggles not for things that die,
 Who gives celestial realms on high.

The Magi, when they saw its ray,
 Followed the star that led their way:
 True Light by its true light they sought,
 And God confessed, by gifts they brought.

A multitude of mothers mourn
 Their pledges from the cradle torn;
 Slain by a cruel tyrant's hand,
 That Christ might perish from the land.

Within the pure and cleansing flood
 The heavenly Lamb in glory stood:
 That He, who bore no taint of sin,
 Might make and keep us pure within.

His miracles of mercy prove
 Him offspring of His Father's Love:
 He to the sick fresh vigor gives,
 The dead obeys His voice and lives.

Novum genus potentis:	New power in Jesus is revealed:
Aquæ rubescunt hydria,	The urns of water blushing yield,
Vinumque jussa fundere	The wave obeys the Word Divine,
Mutavit unda originem.	And changes into ruddy wine.

There is an old German translation by LUTHER,

Was fürchtest du Feind Herodes sehr ;

and an English version in Mant's Ancient Hymns, p. 77. I know of but one other English translation, that of DR. NEALE, People's Hymnal, No. 43,

Why, impious Herod, vainly fear ;

with some alterations in Hymns Ancient and Modern, No. 60,

Why doth that impious Herod fear ?

The first verse of this hymn was curiously used against the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church by the Freemasons of Cuba, a year or two since.

VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS.

The interesting and romantic career of this "last of the Latin verse writers, or first of the troubadours" is in strange contrast with the hymns, which he gave to the Church. Venantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus was born at Treviso, in Italy, A. D., 530. Out of friendship to Queen Radegunda, he settled at Poitiers in Gaul, where he was made Priest, consecrated as Bishop, (595), and died about the year 609.

I have selected for translation his hymn,

DE PASSIONE CHRISTI.

It is in our Hymnal, (Neale's version, improved in Hymns Ancient and Modern,) No. 79,

*The Royal Banners forward go,
The Cross, shines forth in mystic glow.*

DR. NEALE's own rendering is unfortunately weak, e. g.

—"O Tree of Beauty, Tree of light !
O Tree with royal purple dight !" and,
—"Amidst the nations God saith he."

The hymn is sung in the R. C. Church on Good Friday, as a processional, when the Sacrament is brought back to the Altar. It ranks as one of "The Seven great Hymns of the Mediæval (?) Church."

DE PASSIONE CHRISTI.

Vexilla regis prodeunt,
Fulget crucis mysterium,
Quo carno carnis conditor
Suspensus est patibulo.

Qui vulneratus insuper
Mucrone diro lanceæ,
Ut nos lavaret crimine
Manavit unda et sanguine.

Impleta sunt, quæ concinit
David fideli carmine,
Dicens: In nationibus
Regnabit a ligno Deus!

Arbor decora et fulgida,
Ornata regis purpurâ,
Electa digno stipite
Tam sancta membra tangere!

Beata, cujus brachiis
Pretium pendedit seculi;
Statera facta corporis
Prædamque tulit tartari.

Aroma fundis cortice,
Vincis saporem nectaris,
Iucunda fructu fertili,
Plaudis triumpho nobili.

Salve ara, salve victima,
De passionis gloria:
Qua vita mortem pertulit,
Et morte vitam reddidit!

O crux ave, spes unica,
Hoc passionis tempore,
Piis adauge gratiam,
Reisque dele crimina!

ON THE SUFFERING OF CHRIST,

Forth come the banners of the King;
Bright shines the Cross's mystery.
In flesh its Maker suffering
Hangs guiltless on the fatal tree.

Deep wounded by the cruel spear,
Flows from His holy side a flood
To wash us from our guilt and fear,
Cleansed by the water and the blood.

Fulfilled is now that faithful word
Which David sang in mystery:
Amid the nations, God the Lord
Shall reign in triumph from the Tree!

O Tree so fair and gleaming bright,
Adorned with purple of a King,
Elected to possess the right
That sacred limbs to thee should cling!

Blest Tree, upon whose branches hung
The Ransom of the universe,
To death the price of sin He flung,
And spoiled hell of its prey and curse.

The fragrance of thy goodly frame
Surpasseth nectar of the earth;
Sweet is thy fruit and fair thy fame—
Triumphant in thy noble birth.

Hail altar! hail, Thou Victim King,
In glory of Thy Passion's crown:
Thy Life destroyed Death's bitter sting;
Thy death brought Life eternal down!

Hail, Cross, our only hope and trust!
Now, in this blessed Passion's hour,
Bring grace and mercy to the just,
And blot out all transgression's power!

¹ Evening Post, March 25, 1875.

Other English translations are by :

MRS. CHARLES, *Christian Life in Song*, p. 131,

The Banner of the King goes forth ;

EDW. CASWALL, in *Lyra Catholica*, and R. C. books of devotion,

Forth comes the Standard of the King ;

BISHOP J. WILLIAMS, (spirited, but free), *Christ in Song*, p. 161.

Forth flames the Standard of our King ;

and ARTHUR SULLIVAN's *Church Hymns*, No. 118, (fragmentary),

The Royal Banner is unfurled.

S. GREGORY THE GREAT,

Whose memory should be dear to all Christians of English descent, because of his zeal for the conversion of the Saxons ; and to the lovers of true church music, who delight in the Gregorian chants, which he arranged—was born about A. D. 550, of an illustrious Roman family. He died Bishop of Rome, A. D. 604. I have selected several of his hymns for translation.

IN QUADRAGESIMA.

Audi, benigne conditor,
Nostras preces cum fletibus,
In hoc sacro jejunio
Fusas quadragenario.

Scrutator alme cordium
Infirma te scis virium,
Ad te reversis exhibe
Remissionis gratiam.

Multum quidem peccavimus,
Sed parce confitentibus ;
Ad laudem tui nominis
Confer medelam languidis.

Sic corpus extra conteri
Dona per abstinentiam,
Jejunet ut mens sobria
A labe prorsus criminum.

IN LENT.

Kind Maker of the world, now hear
The prayers, which to Thy throne we raise ;
Poured forth with many a bitter tear
In this blest fast of forty days.

Dear Searcher of the human heart,
Thou know'st the weakness of our power ;
Thy pardoning grace to us impart,
Returned to Thee in sorrow's hour.

Much have we sinned—we own our shame,
But spare the souls, that guilt confess :
And to the glory of Thy Name
Our languid hearts restore and bless.

And as the body mortified
By abstinence, keeps holy time ;
So let the sober soul abide,
Fasting from every taint of crime.

Other English translations are in Hymns of the Ages, vol. i., p. 54.

Thou loving Maker of mankind ;

CHAMBERS, People's Hymnal, No. 62.

O merciful Creator, hear ;

Hymns Ancient and Modern, No. 75.

O merciful Creator, hear ;

To us in pity bow Thine ear ;

and Dix's Book of Hours, p. 60.

O Maker of the world, give ear !

Several of S. Gregory's hymns are written in that easy, flowing, graceful metre of Horace, known in prosody as a verse of three Sapphics and one Adonic. I give a translation of three short hymns.

AD NOCTURNAM.

AT NIGHT.

Nocte surgentes vigilemus omnes.
Semper in psalmis meditemur, atque
Voce concordi Domino canamus
Dulciter hymnos !

Ut pio regi pariter canentes
Cum suis sanctis mereamur aulam
Ingredi coeli simul et perennem
Ducere vitam.

Præstet hoc nobis Deitas beata
Patris et Nati pariterque Sancti
Spiritus, cujus resonat per omnem
Gloria mundum.

Let us by night arising watch for morning,
Chanting our holy psalms till light is dawning,
Singing to Christ, our hearts and voices joining,
Hymns of sweet music !

So to the King of Mercy ever singing,
May we, with saints our joyful praises bringing,
Enter Heaven's courts, where songs are ever
Through life eternal. ringing,

Praise we the Godhead, blest thro' endless ages,
Father and Son, Whose love our love engages ;
And to the Spirit, Who all grief assuages,
Be praise eternal. ¹

AD LAUDES.

AT DAWN.

Ecce jam noctis tenuatur umbra,
Lucis aurora rutilans coruscat,
Nisibus totis rogemus omnes
Cunctipotentem.

Ut Deus noster miseratus omnem
Pellat angorem, tribuat salutem,
Donet et nobis pietate patris
Regna polorum.

Lo ! now the shades of night are softly fading,
Light's golden dawn the crimson sky is shading.
Let us then pray our Father, ever aiding,
God the Almighty.

That our Lord God would pity us while praying,
Drive away grief, give safety, fear allaying,
Grant the good gift, our trust in Him still staying,
Of Life eternal. ¹ Praise we, etc.

¹ Evening Post, March 25, 1875.

DE EPIPHANIA.

FOR EPIPHANY.

Nuntium vobis fero de supernis, Natus est Christus, dominator orbis, In Bethlem Judæ, veluti propheta Dixerat ante.	Tidings I bear to you from highest Heaven, Christ hath been born, earth's Lord to us is given In Bethlem Juda, as the prophets even Long since predicted.
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Hunc canit lætus chorus angelorum, Stella, declarat, veniunt, Eoi Principes dignum celebrare cultum, Mystica dona.	Him praise the joyful choirs of angels singing, Stars show his advent—all the East is ringing— Princes adore with worthy rights, while bringing Mystic devotions.
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Thus Deo, myrrham trocleten humando, Bracteas regi chryseas tulere, Dum colunt unum, meminere trio Tres dare terna.	Incense to God, and myrrh for Man's embalming, Plates for the King, of gold, most fair and charming; One Lord they worship, still Three Persons psalming, With their gifts threefold. ¹
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Other English translations are in Hymns of the Ages, vol. i, pp. 9, 11.

Let us arise and watch ere dawn of light.

and *Lo, fainter now lie spread the shades of night ;*

MISS HILLHOUSE, (M. H., pp. 14, 17.)

In the silent night we rise and vigil keep.

and *Glad news, glad news from heaven to earth I bring ;*

MASTER'S Pocket Manual of Prayers, pp. 3, 4.

*Let us arise, and watch by night, And meditate always ; and
Paler have grown the shades of night, And nearer dawns the day.*
See also Mant's Ancient Hymns, and the Day Hours of the Church
of England. p. 138.

Lo ! now the melting shades of night are ending.

Among the anonymous hymns of this period, is one, which has found a place in our Hymnal, (No. 432,) and Hymns Ancient and Modern (No. 336), in a metre differing from that of the original : (by Ellerton.)

*Sing Alleluia forth in duteous praise,
O citizens of heaven ; and sweetly raise
An endless Alleluia.*

¹ Evening Post, March 25, 1875.

Its composition dates back to the fifth century, and it was intended for use in the Church at Septuagesima, or the week before.

IN SEPTUAGESIMA.

Alleluia piis edite laudibus
Cives ætherei, psallite suaviter
Alleluia perenne.

Hinc vos perpetui luminis accolas
Assumet resonans hymniferis choris
Alleluia perenne.

Vos urbs eximia suscipiet Dei,
Quæ lætis resonans cantibus excitat
Alleluia perenne.

Felici reditu gaudia sumite,
Reddentes Domino glorificum melos
Alleluia perenne.

Almum sideræ jam patriæ decus
Victores capitæ quo canor est jugis
Alleluia perenne.

Illinc regis honor vocibus inclytis
Jocundo reboat lætoque carmine
Alleluia perenne.

Hoc fessis requies, hoc cibus et potus,
Oblectans reduces, haustibus affluens,
Alleluia perenne.

Nos te suavisonis conditor affatim
Rerum carminibus laudeque pangimus
Alleluia perenne.

Te Christe celebrat gloria vocibus
Nostris omnipotens ac tibi dicimus
Alleluia perenne.

TRANSLATION.

Heaven's Alleluia raise, in strains of pious praise ;
Citizens of the sky, chant sweetly, joyfully,
Alleluia forever.

Where the Eternal Light flashes its radiance bright,
Let hymning choirs rejoice, chanting with ceaseless voice
Alleluia forever.

God's city shall receive you, who His Word believe ;
Where joyful anthems rise, echoing through the skies
Alleluia forever.

There, on your glad return, joy's flame shall ever burn,
Rendering to God on high glorious melody—
Alleluia forever.

Palms grace the victor's hand in Heaven's starry land ;
There joyful conquerors sing to Christ, their God and King,
Alleluia forever.

Honoring their Monarch's name, joining in grand acclaim,
Loudly the echo sounds to Heaven's remotest bounds,
Alleluia forever.

Here weary hearts find rest, here hungry souls are blest,
Here heavenly waters gleam, thirsty ones drink the stream—
Alleluia forever.

Thee, who hast all things made, in glorious light arrayed,
Our songs shall ever praise—Love's sweetest chorus raise,
Alleluia forever.

Thee Christ we celebrate, King of celestial state :—
Thou the Almighty art!—Sing we with voice and heart
Alleluia forever.

Other English translations are by CHAMBERS, People's Hymnal,
No. 56.

Alleluias sound ye in strains of heavenly laud ;
and " From the Mozarabic Breviary," p. 613,
Alleluia ! let the holy sounds of cheerful praises ring.

A PARAPHRASE.

Heaven's Alleluia raise
In strains of pious praise,
With blest accord ;
Citizens of the sky,
Chant sweetly, joyfully,
Heaven's own dear melody—
Praise ye the Lord !

Where the Eternal Light
Flashes His radiance bright,
Flaming abroad ;

Making melodious noise,
Let hymning choirs rejoice,
Chanting with ceaseless voice,
Praise ye the Lord !

God's city shall receive
You, who His truth believe,
Trusting His Word ;
There joyful songs arise,
Ever the echo flies,
Ringing through Paradise,
Praise ye the Lord !

There, at your glad return,
Joy's flame shall ever burn.

Hope's rich reward ;
Rendering to God on high
Songs of sweet melody,
Ever with angels cry,
Praise ye the Lord !

Palms grace the victor's hand
In that celestial Land ;
Bound by Love's chord.
Conquerors forever sing
To Christ, their God and King—
Loudly their anthems ring—
Praise ye the Lord !

Honoring their Monarch's name,
Swelling the grand acclaim
Heaven can afford ;

Still shall that chant resound
To glory's utmost bound,
Pealing with thunder's sound,
Praise ye the Lord !

Here weary hearts find rest,
Here hungry souls are blest,
Here bliss is stored ;
Lit by the Godhead's beam,
Drinking Love's crystal stream,
Praise is their endless theme—
Praise ye the Lord.

To God, who all things made,
In golden light arrayed,
Our Faith hath soared ;
Him in our songs we praise,
To Him our chorus raise,
Chanting through endless days,
Praise ye the Lord !

Thee, Christ, we celebrate,
King of celestial state,
Ever adored !
Thou the Almighty art—
Never from Thee to part,
Sing we with voice and heart.
Praise ye the Lord !

The limits of space forbid further extension of this article. In some future number of the *REVIEW* I hope to be able to give a translation of S. BERNARD's Rhythm in the metre of the original :

These are the latest hours, now reign the evil powers,
Let us be waking.
Lo! in the eastern sky, comes the great Judge on high,
Just vengeance taking.
Nearer and nearer draws He who will try our cause,
Rectitude showing ;
Sin's strife to terminate, sad souls to liberate,
Heaven's gifts bestowing.

JOHN ANKETELL.

THE CHURCH OF CHRIST IN ITS ESSENTIAL BEING.

"The visible Church of Christ," as defined, with scientific precision, in article XIX of Religion, is "a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same." The first clause of the article, it will be observed, embodies a definition of the Church visible in its essence; the clauses following, as above quoted, further define or describe it by an enumeration of the notes or marks whereby it is identified. The definition proper of the Church in its essential being is alone the subject of this article, the "notes" may be considered in a future number.

"The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men." This is distinctively the Protestant definition, embodied as it is, for substance, in the confessions of all the churches of the Reformation. It is strictly also the logical definition, designating as it does the Church's specific difference,—that, namely, in the Church's being, which is ever-during and unchangeable, that which is the basis of its outward being, constituting it what it is "antecedently to the exhibition of its visible organic form." In other words, it is a definition of the Church visible, not according to its phenomenal or apparent, but according to its ideal, which is in truth also its real being. The title of the article, it will be observed, is "of the Church," not as, in accordance with the now current use of terms, might be deemed more accurately descriptive: Of the visible Church. It has hence been hastily inferred that while the opening clause of the article relates to the Church in its essence, or real, internal, invisible being, the article taken as a whole, de-

scribes the Church considered as a visible organization, and as such necessarily, it is held, a mixed community.¹ But to say nothing of the untenableness of this interpretation as involving an unheard-of double application of the defining term,—in one application of it standing for the truly believing only, in another application designating the professedly believing simply as such,—it must be rejected as inconsistent with the settled *usus loquendi* of the compilers of our Confession. Nothing can be more evident than that in the language of the framers of our Formularies, closely conformed as that language is to that of the New Testament, “the Church” and “the visible Church” stand for one and the same concrete conception; the visible Church, in their conception of it, fully corresponding to its ideas as a body of true believers, a community of real saints.

Another class of interpreters, equally at fault in regard to the usage of the writers of the Reformation age, have rashly charged the article with ambiguity, or rather a confusion of meanings in the use of the word Church, finding in it, as they profess to do, an unconscious transition from the “One Holy Catholic Church” to particular churches. The former, it is contended, cannot be described as “a congregation of faithful men,” since the words, taken literally, imply that there is *one* visible Church, and only one in the world; a doctrine which is directly opposed, it is affirmed, to Scripture, and against which it was one of the professed purposes of our articles to place on record a protest. For it is of the church invisible only, it is maintained, that we are authorized to speak as *one*, having no warrant, either in Scripture or in Protestant use, for predicating unity, oneness or exclusiveness, of the Church visible. “The visible Church,” therefore, it is insisted, is an expression, which involves a glaring solecism.² Now it must be evident to those who have studied the subject with attention, that this sweeping censure is founded on a misapprehension of the use of language consistently preserved in the writings of the Anglican Reformers. While it is plain that the description of

¹ Bp. McIlvaine: *True Temple*.

² Whately, *Kingdom of Christ*, p. 155. Litton on the Church, p. 48.

the Church in the XIXth article is more strictly applicable to a particular church, it is no less clear that if *a* visible Church, composed of a plurality of local societies, may properly be defined as "a congregation of believers," with equal propriety, in an extended application, may the collective whole of such particular churches, that is to say, "the visible Church," be defined in the same terms.

To the same effect, and in words, if possible, yet more unmistakable, speaks the Second Book of Homilies, in a well-known passage, which assigns to "the true Church," expressly identified as that is with the Church Catholic, the notes, or characteristic external marks which belong to a *visible* body. "The true Church is an universal congregation or fellowship of Christ's faithful and elect people, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the Head corner-stone. And it hath always three notes or marks whereby it is known; pure and sound doctrine, the sacraments ministered according to Christ's holy institution, and the right use of ecclesiastical discipline." (Hom. xvi.)

The term "visible Church," as applied in the article, it is thus plain, is simply descriptive of the true Church in its earthly essence, "the Church militant," in contradistinction, not to an invisible community extant upon earth, but to the Church in its supra-mundane being, the Church triumphant (so called), the body of the faithful departed.

The question then: What is the essential nature of the Church of Christ in its earthly being? is authoritatively settled by the definition of "the visible Church," with which the XIXth article opens; and the true import of that definition is to be ascertained by determining the force of the defining terms, that which marks the Church's differentia, namely, "faithful men." That the expression as here employed, is to be understood in its strict and proper sense, its literal acceptation according to the usage of the New Testament, might seem almost too plain for formal proof. In the Protestant Confessions and the writings of the first Reformers, Anglican and Continental, the term *fideles*, translated "faithful men" is uniformly used as the lexical equivalent of the word "Saints"—the spiritually sanctified in Christ, living members of

His body mystical. Thus in the Homily above quoted, "the faithful" are identified with the "elect of God;" and in the seventh article of the *Augustana* the word *Sancti* in the Latin copy is in the German rendered "faithful men" (gläubigen); while in the supplementary article on the Church in the same formulary (art. viii.) terms yet more definite are employed to express the same conception; "the Church is properly a congregation of saints and the *truly believing*" (vere credentium). An expression of unmistakable meaning here fitly replaces a term (fideles) which through long-continued Romish misapplication had become, not merely ambiguous, but devoid of all distinctive import. Still more precise is the language of the *Variata* (1540), which explains the expression by the Scriptural paraphrase, "the members of Christ, that is, the saints who truly believe in Christ and obey Him." To the same effect the VIIth article of the Helvetic confession: "The Church is an assembly of believers, called and gathered out of the world, a communion of all saints, of those, that is to say, who through the word and Holy Spirit truly know and rightly worship the true God, and by faith partake of all the good things freely offered through Christ,—the saints and faithful men upon earth, sanctified by the blood of the Son of God."

The striking uniformity of statement on this point which marks the early Protestant confessions clearly points to a common original, and when we come to compare the language of these venerable formularies with that of the New Testament, we cannot, I think, fail to discover that original in the Word of inspiration. A close inspection of those passages in the Gospels, the Apostolic history and epistles, in which the Church is named or alluded to, will be sufficient to convince all who are open to conviction, that the teaching of the inspired writers on this subject and that of the Protestant symbolical books of the Reformation age are one and the same.

In appealing "to the Law and to the Testimony," we of course assign the first place to the direct, personal witness of the Lord Jesus Himself, as recorded by St. Matthew in these memorable words:—"And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church."

Out of seventy-seven places in the writings of the more eminent

church fathers who have commented on this text, in sixteen, we are told, is found that interpretation which explains the rock on which the Lord builds His Church, of Christ Himself; in seventeen, that which interprets it of the person of Peter; while in no less than forty-four it is interpreted of Peter's faith or confession. The majority of the older Protestant expositors adopt the view supported by the weight of patristic authority, so that this has come to be generally regarded as distinctively the Protestant interpretation. Since the post-reformation age, however, there has been a very general unanimity among biblical scholars in support of a modification of this exegesis, which, I am persuaded, the better part of the early fathers had more or less clearly in mind, though they had not yet learned to give it clear and consistent expression. It is this:—When the Lord puts to the Apostles the question: "Whom do ye say that I am?" Simon Peter, in behalf of all, makes answer: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." This is recorded by the pen of inspiration as the first articulate utterance of a Christian confession, distinctively such—a confession of Jesus the Christ, in His Person and Mission, as God-man Mediator. As the first of the sons of men to make this confession, the first of all the Saviour's followers openly to acknowledge Him in His true character as God incarnate for man's redemption, the apostle Peter prominently stands forth as the representative, not only of all the Apostles, or company of the Lord's first immediate followers, but of all believers in all time, *the whole community of Christian confessors*—THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH. As such, he receives the blessing which follows. It is in direct recognition of this, his pre-eminent distinction, as the *first Christian confessor*, the first, at once *with the heart to believe, unto righteousness; and with the mouth to make confession unto salvation*, that the Saviour pronounces upon him the solemn benediction: *Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but My Father which is in heaven.* In receiving this blessing, as in making the confession which called it forth, the Apostle PETER is the representative of the *entire body of the faithful in Christ*, for, of *each individual believer in that innumerable company*, from the first to the last born of Christ's mystical members, may it be declared with no

less truth than of Simon Bar-jona, that the faith which unites him to Christ, and constitutes him a living member of His body, is no mere human product, but the result of a direct divine influence, a spiritual and heavenly illumination. Yet while receiving the blessing in the name of all believers, as thus far representing all, it is not to be overlooked that Peter receives it, not without a special application to himself personally. So much indeed is apparent from the form in which the benediction is pronounced; not, it will be observed, according to the analogy of the question proposed to the disciples in a body, viz., *Whom say ye that I am?* Blessed are *ye*, but—*Blessed art THOU*. And the ground of this special application can be no other, as it seems to me, than the special favor divinely vouchsafed to Peter, that, viz., of precedence to all the other Apostles in having been chosen by the Father as the first to receive the revelation of His Son. *Blessed art thou*, not simply because of thy confession of *Me*, or thy faith confessed, nor because of the priority of thy confession; but because of thy election by the Father to be *My* first witness among men. Literally, *and I also unto thee say*, as if the Lord had said, “Thou, a frail son of Adam, hast confessed *Me* as made known to thee by direct divine illumination; in like manner do I, the Son of God, now declare and confess thee as actually being that which thou wast prophetically named by *Me* when first called to be *My* disciple (John i., 42.), that which thou art now constituted by living union with me, through faith: *Thou art PETER, MAN OF ROCK*; Rock-like in thy character of witness to the Truth, as embodied in the Person of God manifest in the flesh. *And on THIS Rock—not upon THEE, Simon, Son of Jona—born of the sinful flesh; but on THIS Rock-like man, “born of the Spirit,” a Son of God—THIS new man in Christ,—*first among men openly confessing *Me* as the eternal Son of the living God, *I will build My Church*. The new name, representing the new man in Christ, thus evidently denotes the personal position of Peter, in the future Church. The foundation of that building, as described by an apostle, is constituted of the “apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone” (Eph. ii., 20); and among these living foundation-stones Peter occupies the first place. As he, and none other with him, was the

first to believe and confess "in the true, full and deep Christian meaning of faith and confession," and, in that character of first confessor, was himself the first among the foundation-stones, joined in intimate union to the head CORNER-STONE, (THE ROCK in the infinitely higher sense, on which the living temple of God is founded, and thus, as we have seen, here stands forth as the representative of the future Church—true type according to the perfect limning of inspiration of the Church Militant. Even so this first of the Apostles, the first laid by the great Master Builder among the foundation stones, was the first to build (instrumentally), upon *this* foundation. To him was assigned the pre-eminent honor of inaugurating the new dispensation of the Spirit by the first public proclamation of the finished work of redemption in Christ crucified, risen, glorified. We have thus unfolded to us the import of the words that follow: "And on this rock I will build My Church." The personal reference to Peter would thus seem too clear and pointed to be mistaken. To evade the force of the allusion, recourse is had to a distinction between the words in the original, translated PETER and ROCK; that our Lord, in calling Simon *a stone*, designed merely to designate him, in common with the other apostles, a foundation-stone in the spiritual house, while by the change from *Peter* to ROCK (*πετρος* to *πετρα*), he meant to point out HIMSELF, THE ROCK, as the one sole foundation of His Church. To add to the plausibility of this exposition recourse is further had to the supposition that in the address to Simon Peter, after the words, *Thou art Peter, Man of Rock*—the Lord, altering His accent, or turning away from Peter, and pointing to HIMSELF, or laying His hand upon His breast, continued: *and on this rock—MYSELF—I will build My Church.*

But not to insist upon the gratuitousness of such a supposition which may just as fairly be adduced for the opposite interpretation—for if gesture and accent are to be taken into account, why may we not suppose that the Lord turned to the other Apostles, and pointed to Peter, to designate *him* as the object of a peculiar honor?—not, I say, to press so obvious a consideration, I would further ask, with Bishop Middleton¹:—"What advantage is to be

¹ Gr. Art. in loc.

gained by such a gloss, unless the meaning of the words—*I will give unto THEE the keys*—which immediately follow, can be evaded? Protestants in adopting it have betrayed unnecessary fears: there is no occasion to have recourse to violence.”

That the direct reference to Peter has not met with universal recognition is, perhaps, due mainly to the change in the original of the masculine form, PETER, into the feminine, ROCK, when the writer might, with perfect propriety, in the use of language, so far as we can perceive, have continued the use of the masculine: *and upon this PETER I will build.*

The direct reference to Peter is supposed to leave this change unaccounted for. The truth, however, is that, on the contrary, it is only on the supposition of such a reference, that the change in question is to be satisfactorily explained. For there is here a generalization, so to speak, of “the individual PETER in the general ROCK,” in view as LANGE expresses it, of “the *Petrine* characteristic of the Church, viz., *faithfulness of confession*, as first distinctly exhibited by this Apostle. Hence the reference is here to Peter only in so far as, by his confession, he identified himself with Christ, and was the first to upbuild the Church by his testimony.” “All this,” to adopt the pithy utterance of BENDEL, “is said with perfect safety, for what has Rome to do with it?” Absolutely nothing! for “nothing can be further from any legitimate interpretation of the promise than the idea of a perpetual primacy in the successors of St. Peter; the very notion of succession is precluded by the form of the promise which relates to the *person of* PETER, and so far as it is a *direct* promise, PETER exclusively.”¹ “That this is the simple and only interpretation is shown by the whole usage of the New Testament, in which not doctrines, nor confessions, but MEN are uniformly the PILLARS and STONES of the spiritual building.”²

¹ Alford

² It is gratifying to remark a good degree of unanimity in regard to the interpretation of this text among Protestant commentators of the last two centuries. As much may be said of the more judicious critical expositors of our own day. This *consensus*, earlier and later, is witnessed by the names of Cameron, Grotius, Hammond, Pool, Whitby, Le Clerc, L'Enfant, S. Clarke, Bengel, Doddridge, Campbell, Kuinoel, Middleton, De Wette, Olshausen, Stier, Meyer, Bloomfield, Barnes, Eadie,

To speak of any confession or form of words, however sacred, as a foundation or rock, would be completely at variance with the living representation of the New Testament. It is not any doctrine concerning Christ, but Christ *Himself* that is spoken of as being in the highest and strictest sense the foundation of the Church (I. Cor., iii., 11), and so whenever the same figure is used to express the lower and earthly instruments of the establishment of God's kingdom, it is not any teaching or system that is meant, but living human persons (Eph. ii., 20. Gal. ii., 9. Rev. xxi., 14).¹

Returning from this partial digression, we are led to mark the form of the expression *my Church*, in the original literally *of me* the Church. A seeming solecism, it may have been designed to bring out more clearly not only, as Wordsworth suggests, our Lord's Supremacy against all other claims, but also and above this, the fact of the Church's derivation of being *from*, and perpetuity of being *in* Christ. *OF ME*, not in the sense, simply, of belonging to *Me* as a purchased possession, but, as *of My own being*; *OF ME, in Whom all the building, fitly framed together, groweth unto a holy temple in the Lord.*

Not only does the Lord thus designate the Church as *of Himself*, He moreover declares *Himself* to be the sole builder of it:—*I will build.* As such He must needs Himself alone select and fashion the materials of which the building is constructed. Each several stone which goes to rear or beautify the rising temple must be chosen out and formed, fashioned, and fitted to its proper place by Him who planned the building, laid its foundation, and is carrying it forward to completion. God's *building*, it must needs be, as such, divinely perfect, every part in keeping each with the other, and all the parts combining to form a symmetrical whole. Such is the description of it, at its first foundation, as recorded by the pen of inspiration. *The Lord added to the Church daily such as should*

¹ Ford, Owen, Crosby, Nast, D. Brown, Webster and Wilkinson, Whedon, Lange, Schaff. Lightfoot in the 17th century, and Wordsworth, accompanied by J. A. Alexander in the 19th, constitute the signal exceptions.

Such expositors as the pious Thomas Scott, and the laborious Adam Clarke belong to a separate class, reproducing, as they do, the reactionary view of the first Reformers, which denies that primacy in any sense is here assigned to Peter.

¹ Stanley.

be saved. It is "the saved" by union with Himself through faith, and "the saved" only, that the Divine Builder adds to His Church. Of such only, therefore, is His Church, properly speaking, composed. He speaks of it, moreover, as a *future* erection:—*I will build.* While naming *Himself* the sole builder, He contemplates the process of erection as yet *to be begun*, and declares that, from the beginning to the completion, from the laying of the first stone in the foundation, to the bringing forth of the head-stone, crowning the finished structure—the whole process of erection is expressed in the one word—*οικοδομήσω*—*I will build.* So that the promise of the Saviour's sole agency in the upbuilding of His Church—a promise now, as in all the ages past, since it was first pronounced, in course of fulfilment, and only to be fully accomplished at "the revelation of the sons of God"—carries with it divine assurance of the truth, that the Church of Christ, at every period, and in all the stages of its existence upon earth, is constituted of the blessed company of the faithful in Christ, "*chosen of God before the foundation of the world, that they should be holy and without blame before Him in love.*"

This exposition is amply confirmed by the immediate context: *And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.* The doctrine to be deduced from this part of the promise addressed to Peter, so far as it bears upon the point immediately before us, is specifically this, viz.:—that the Church, in its earthly essence, is not only, according to the fundamental conception of it, a community of true believers, but also, at the same time, the Institution upon earth, or visible organization, by means of which, according to the divinely established order, entrance is ordinarily—not with absolute exclusiveness—obtained into the kingdom of God. Or rather, the Church of Christ is (in terms) here represented as *itself* "the kingdom of heaven" in its earthly aspect. Strictly speaking, the terms, "Church" and "Kingdom of God," are not, it is evident, synonymous or interchangeable, as they are not, in the New Testament, used as convertible, though the distinction between them is not, in general, broadly preserved. The Gospel of Christ is thus designated "the Gospel of the Kingdom," not, the Gospel of the Church. To the ministry in the Church are committed "the keys of the kingdom," because the Church is the

visible organization through which, as I have said, entrance into the kingdom is ordinarily, by divine arrangement, secured. Christ builds upon Peter, the first confessor, not His kingdom, but His Church, which is the earthly form of the kingdom's manifestation. Still, in the passage before us, this distinction is not kept clearly in view. "The keys" belong to the building, and the building is the Church. The Church, therefore, as thus far identified with the kingdom of heaven, must needs be a "living temple," built up a spiritual house, of "lively stones" (I. Peter ii., 4), the kingdom of heaven in its earthly being, comprehending all the children of God, heirs of the kingdom in its consummation. In full harmony with this exposition of these words of the Lord Jesus is the yet more explicit teaching of His first commissioned apostles. Summed up in brief, their doctrine of the Church is this :—The Lord chooses out of the mass of mankind the heirs of His kingdom, calling them by the preaching of the Word of Truth, "the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost." Of the body thus constituted a living organism Christ is the head, each several one of its "many members" having its proper office exclusively its own, the office in every instance arising out of a special spiritual endowment.

The Apostolic conception of the Church is further illustrated by the terms in which particular Churches are addressed in the Pauline Epistles. In no single instance is a local society of Christians addressed by the Apostle under the character of a mixed community. Churches are invariably addressed as homogeneous bodies, composed of—Saints and faithful in Christ, the beloved of God, the called according to His purpose, the sanctified in Christ Jesus;—and the arguments and exhortations, the warnings and rebukes addressed to them *in their corporate capacity, as Churches of Christ*, are, one and all, addressed to them under this character; that is to say, pre-suppose their true discipleship. And yet more clearly, if possible, illustrating the same point, is the application to the Church visible in the Apostolic writings of the descriptive title of "the Body of Christ." "*Ye are the body of Christ*," writes St. Paul to the Church at Corinth, and members in particular—members severally of His body, of His flesh and of His bones. According to this striking representation, the Church in

its earthly being is really, and not in a figure merely, Christ's Body, "not that which, in our glorified humanity, He personally bears, but that in which He, as the Christ of God, is manifested and glorified by spiritual organization. He is its head; from Him comes its life; in Him it is exalted; and in it He is so witnessed to and glorified that it is, as an Apostle expressly names it, in the innermost reality, HIMSELF." (I. Cor. xii., 12.)¹

This Church, which is Christ's body, is no mere ideal conception, but a veritable concrete reality—the Church, that is to say, primarily in the reality of its earthly being. For it is *this*, Church that, as the Apostle repeatedly affirms, a ministry of divine orders has been divinely established. For the edification of *this* Church God "gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some pastors and teachers;" and, as he assures us, He will continue to give them until the Church shall have attained its perfect development—when the whole body of the saved in Christ shall have come "unto a perfect (or full grown) man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." (Eph. iv., 4–13. I. Cor., xii. 27–28.)

To this view of the Apostolic doctrine of the Church in its earthly essence, we shall be challenged to meet objections professedly drawn from the text of the New Testament. A brief examination of those objections will form the conclusion of this article.

And first, it is objected that our exposition of the Apostolic doctrine is not borne out by the recorded character of some of the Apostolic churches. We are referred, for example, to the epistles, to the Church at Corinth, in which St. Paul rebukes the flagrant irregularities of a portion of its membership, and to the epistles to the seven churches in the Apocalypse, some of which are described as tolerating the grossest scandals, or as embracing in their communion men destitute of all claim to the Christian character.

But this objection, however plausible, is plainly grounded on a misapprehension of the view to which it is ostensibly opposed. For when we affirm that "the Church" in the New Testament is uniformly to be understood as a community of true Christians;

¹ Alford in loc.

that the term is invariably applied to a body of professed believers considered as really being what they outwardly profess to be, viz: "members of Christ," in the proper sense of the expression, we do not mean to affirm that any particular church in the Apostolic age, in point of fact, ever fully realized this ideal; or that it was believed by the Apostle who founded it, or who exercised chief pastorship over it, to have wholly escaped the intrusion of foreign elements. On the contrary, our statement is simply this: that according to the usage of the writers of the New Testament, the word *CHURCH* is uniformly taken in the one only general acceptance of a community of persons who *believe in Christ with the heart, and make confession of Him with the mouth*; never in that of a body composed of believers and unbelievers; never in that of a Society consisting wholly or in part of *the merely externally professing*, any more than in that of an *invisible body* of real but *non-professing* Christians. Thus even in the Apocalyptic salutations, to which particular reference is made in support of this objection, the churches are collectively addressed in terms which admit of no other interpretation, viz., as composed of the loved ones of Christ, "washed from" their "sins in His own blood," made "kings and priests unto God and His Father." (c. i. 4-6.)

Hence it is reasonably inferred that when, in these epistles, particular individuals in the churches addressed are spoken of as impenitent, unholy, "not having the Spirit," they are contemplated as constituting no part of the Church properly so called, but as excrescences upon it, or as a foreign element temporarily in contact with it, (in Augustinian phrase) *in* it, not *of* it. Particular churches are, indeed, in a few instances, rebuked for tolerating in their communion open offenders, and exhorted to repentance for this particular delinquency; threatened, too, that unless they repent, by exercising a self-purifying discipline, their candlestick shall be removed, or their very existence cease. But it is obvious that in all such cases, a broad line of demarcation is drawn between the Church itself and the wicked within her external enclosure, whom she is required promptly to separate from her communion.

Neither is it implied in this definition of the Church that its individual members are in all respects what they ought to be. On

the contrary, while justly named *believers* and *saints*, and *the faithful in Christ*, they are no less justly regarded as but imperfectly representing the Christian ideal; as, many of them, "babes in Christ," some, to a greater or less extent, as the Apostle expresses it "carnal," "lukewarm," "weak in the faith," some even "ready to die." Churches, it is evident, are to be viewed as, in this respect, subject to the same variety of influences as individual Christians. The same alternations of growth, and decline, and revival; the same fluctuations of spiritual life, like seasons of comparative lukewarmness or coldness, of torpor or of deadness, are to be predicated of each alike. And we are bound to apply to a particular church the same rule of charitable judgment that we are wont to apply to its individual members, a rule which evidently guided the first founders of the Church. The Apostles uniformly accept the profession of individual believers as a true profession, speaking to them and of them accordingly; except indeed in those few instances recorded, in which the professed Christian had by open, persistent wrong-doing, put himself out of the pale of the Christian communion. In like manner, they address a local community of Christians as a true Church of Christ, a living member of His body-mystical; and if, in any instance, it had come to light, that in its outward communion were to be found "open evil livers," endangering the purity or the life of the body, the Church is directed to purge itself by their prompt excision. Such is the purport of the Lord's injunction: *Tell it unto the Church.* And such, as based on this, the Church's fundamental law of discipline, are the numerous Apostolic commands to the same effect: *Purge out the old leaven; put away from yourselves that wicked person. Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers. From such withdraw thyself.*

Again, and lastly, it will doubtless be objected to our exposition that it is in direct contradiction to the teaching of our Lord in the parable of THE TARES OF THE FIELD. Here, we shall be told, the visible Church is undoubtedly described as composed of the good and the bad alike; the commingled wheat and tares growing up together in the same field, symbolizing, it is affirmed, the Church's constituent elements as, demonstrably, of a mixed character.

But that which is thus alleged as most conclusive against our

exposition, is itself, that very "sure word of prophecy" which we hold to be most conclusive in its support.

It is really humiliating that in the clear light of our Lord's own explanation, His teaching in this parable should have been so grossly misconceived, so grievously perverted. There is not here the space for an extended exposition of the parable; but we can do no less, in justice to our subject, than meet the objection deduced from it, by pointing out, as briefly as we may, its true bearing on the question under consideration.

The main scope of the parable, it is obvious, is to set forth the state of the Church of Christ during the entire course of the present dispensation, as a state of comparative humiliation, of trial and conflict with opposing forces surrounding it, and antagonistic elements in close contact with it. It prophetically depicts the comparatively limited success of "the Gospel of the Kingdom" in subduing the dominion of the wicked one; the co-existent and co-extensive development of the two antagonistic powers of good and evil in the world; a state of trial for the Church destined to continue through the whole period of its earthly history, and to reach its culmination at the return of the Kingdom's Lord.

Now to those who accept the Saviour's own emphatic statement, "*The field is the world*," in its obvious import, it must appear quite unaccountable that interpreters should have found in the commingled wheat and tares, growing up together in one field, the Lord's chosen symbol of His Church. Unaccountable, because "the field" in which both grow together, is expressly declared by the Lord himself to be the World—not (in terms) the Church, "the world," that is to say, considered as the kingdom of the Son of Man upon earth. According to his own exposition, the Lord of the harvest scatters the good seed over the entire face of the habitable globe, the peopled earth—that very "*world*" in which—to its utmost limit—He has commanded the Gospel to be preached, i. e. His Kingdom.

It is in this field of the world, then, that the "good seed" is sown, and wherever, over its whole vast extent, received into "good ground," it springs up as pure wheat, and grows and bears fruit, to be gathered in due season, into the garner. Now that it is by this product of the pure unmingled wheat that the Church

upon earth in its true being is here symbolized, seems the plain import of the Saviour's explanation :—" *The good seed, THESE*"—as it is in the original with marked emphasis—" *THESE are the children of the Kingdom* ; in other words, *these* constitute, collectively, THE CHURCH, or Kingdom of heaven in its earthly essence. The distinction here thus broadly drawn, is clearly that between the Church in its essential being, and the world, "the Kingdom of God" upon earth, and the kingdom of Satan ; both *in* the world, side by side, together. No such distinction is here recognized as that between the evil world, regarded as composed of *tares alone*, and the holy Church as composed of *mingled tares and wheat*—the world a homogeneous body, the Church a bipartite community of saints and worldlings, children of God and children of the evil one. Not a word of all this ; not even an allusion to the supposed necessary co-existence in the one Body of Christ of believers and unbelievers. On the contrary, the distinction between the two, here drawn, is absolute,—the tares, one and all, root and stalk, belonging to the outside "evil world ;" the wheat, and the wheat alone, belonging to the CHURCH.

The whole great field of the world, then, had been sown over, broad cast with "the good seed ;" and yet, side by side, with the legitimate growth, appear the tares. Knowing, as they do, that their Lord had Himself sown the entire field, in all its parts, with a pure, unmingled grain, the servants look for a corresponding growth. They look for it, moreover, not in any one particular spot, or in any enclosure set off from the field, but throughout the whole extent of the field itself ; that is to say, they expect to see the whole face of the inhabited globe covered with a growth of pure wheat ; and when they discover another and a noxious growth, they are naturally surprised and perplexed. They expected, in other words divested of the figure, to witness the universal reception of the Truth, the unlimited spread of "the Gospel of the Kingdom ;" in a word they confidently expected to see the kingdom of heaven in its ideal conception at once established upon earth ; and when they behold the unmistakeable evidence of the *counter reign of evil in the world*, their disappointment and chagrin find apt expression in the words of eager questioning : "Sir, did'st not Thou sow good seed in Thy field ? From whence then

hath it tares?" And when informed that this is the work of an *enemy*, they very naturally request permission to eradicate all traces of that malign agency out of the world: "Will thou then that we go and gather them up?"

The true import of this question would thus seem to be made plain from the drift of the preceding context. Let me briefly recapitulate: *The field is the WORLD*, not as taken in the sense of the mass of the ungodly, in contradistinction to the Church; but in the other well-known Scripture sense of the whole peopled earth; whether viewed with reference to the limited period of its history during the Gospel dispensation, or in a wider application, with reference to the whole period of its duration, from the beginning to the end of time. It is obviously in this breadth of meaning that the "world" is designated in the context, *the Kingdom of the Son of Man* (verse 41), "the world" that is to say *now*, as in all the *past*, rightfully His kingdom; and in the *future* at the consummation of the age, *to be His*, in actual and full and sole possession. (Matt. xxv: 31.)

Thus while the parable in its strict and proper reference evidently relates to the development of the kingdom of God under the present dispensation, setting forth the aspect which it would present—its outward appearance, or its condition as apparent to the eye of man, yet in its widest scope it takes in the whole course of the world's history, from the beginning to the final consummation; at once looking back to the original sowing in the Adamic Paradise, and forward to the completion of the sowing, when "the Gospel of the kingdom" shall have been "*preached in all the world* for a witness unto all nations." In this field of the whole peopled earth, sown throughout—in the successive ages of the world's history—with the good seed of the Word, grows "*the wheat*," symbolizing "the children of the kingdom," composing collectively the Church of Christ upon earth. Intermingled with this legitimate growth appear the tares, representing "the children of the Wicked One," and composing, collectively, the kingdom of Satan. When the servants of the householder detect this alien growth, knowing, as they do, that their Lord had sowed the whole field over with the pure seed of wheat, they are naturally surprised and perplexed, when informed of its origin they no less

naturally, as faithful servants, crave permission to proceed at once to its extermination: "Wilt thou then that we go and gather them up?" The true interpretation of these words, it is thus evident, is to be determined by the answer given to the question: who are "*the servants*" of the householder? It is just at this point, unhappily, that the great body of expositors are at fault. So controlling has been the influence of a traditional interpretation, that they have not even thought of entertaining this as a question; taking it for granted, as they do, that "the servants" of the householder represent the ministers of the visible Church.

That this is a radical misconception, involving a denial of the truth of the Gospel on a vitally important question, will be apparent from the briefest statement of a number of considerations, to which I now, in conclusion, ask a renewed attention.

I. It will be observed, that in putting to their Lord the question, "Did'st not *Thou* sow good seed in thy field?" The servants recognize their master's *sole agency* in the matter. In the sowing of the good seed it is evident the servants had taken no part whatever. Hence they do not say, "Did not *we* sow?" but "did'st not *Thou*?" This is not the language of representatives of the Christian ministry. Regarded as such, it is wholly out of keeping with the analogy of Scripture. For throughout the New Testament ministers of the Word are uniformly spoken of as co-laborers with "the Lord of the harvest." While the Church is represented as "God's husbandry," its ministers are described as "workers together with God," the husbandman. But of this there is nothing in the parable. It observes a profound silence in reference to any such co-workership. Everything of the kind is kept carefully out of sight. The householder is the sole sower of the field; the sower of the good seed is the Son of Man, and He only. The servants, therefore, cannot in consistency with the usage of the sacred writers, be intended to represent the ministry in the Church visible.

II. A further objection to this interpretation is found in the palpable incongruity involved in it. It supposes that Church officers, themselves constituent members of the Church visible, considered as a mixed community, and, as such, represented in the growth of commingled wheat and tares—and hence, many of them

themselves "the children of the Wicked One," "hirelings, thieves and robbers," commingled with the true shepherds—it supposes that these are here introduced as seeking to eradicate from the Church an element to which they themselves belong; of which, indeed, they—not seldom, alas!—form a conspicuous part.

III. That the servants 'cannot represent Church-officers is yet further evident, and it would seem conclusively evident, from the very significant fact, that in His own exposition of the parable, our Lord determines the application of every other point but this; *the servants have no place in it*. Now this remarkable omission were wholly unaccountable, if, while the servants who gather in the harvest, i. e. "the reapers," are expressly declared to denote angels from heaven, the servants who seek to anticipate the harvest, are meant to represent the ministers of the Church upon earth. It would appear quite impossible, indeed, that a distinction so exceedingly important as this should not have been prominently set forth. But on the supposition that no such distinction was intended, the omission is readily accounted for. The servants are not separately and distinctly named in the exposition, simply because they are not distinguished in the parable as a class from "the reapers," subsequently named. Both evidently belong to the same sphere of supra-mundane being, for no other than celestial intelligences could be supposed capable of performing the part assigned to the servants in the parable; that, namely, of taking a survey, at a single view, of the whole "field of the world," the peopled globe!

IV. A final consideration, absolutely precluding the interpretation we oppose is, that it is in direct conflict with the explicit teaching of Christ and His Apostles in reference to the maintenance of discipline in the Church. For if this interpretation be received, no member of the Church, however confessedly unworthy, no "evil liver," however "notorious," no open transgressor, however scandalous, can possibly be removed out of its communion! The rule as here laid down, is absolute:—"Let both grow together until the harvest." This admits of no qualification. The exercise of discipline in the Church is thus utterly and forever precluded. And this, too, in the face of the fact that the formularies of every Protestant Church, without exception, expressly designate "the due

exercise of ecclesiastical discipline" as an essential note, or characteristic mark of a true Church.

The diversity of official title, "servants" and "reapers" which may be alleged against this exposition, is fully accounted for in the fact that, when first introduced, the servants are represented as unoccupied. They merely declare their readiness to proceed at once to the performance of a work which they evidently regard as properly their own—to anticipate the discharge of a function in due time to be regularly assigned to them. Hence they are naturally designated by the general name of "servants." But when represented as actually engaged in their proper labors in the field, at the time of harvest, they are appropriately named "the reapers."

Now that which the "servants" regard as their proper work, the gathering up of the tares out of their master's field, is plainly no other than the work in due time to be performed by "the reapers," who are the angels; that, viz., of "gathering out of their Lord's kingdom"—commensurate as that kingdom is with the universal earth—"all things that offend, and that do iniquity." When the servants, therefore, seek to do their work *at once*, they can mean nothing else than to proceed, without delay, to eradicate all evil out of "the world," by removing, as they suppose for ever, "the children of the Wicked One" out of their Lord's kingdom upon earth, territorially co-extensive as that kingdom is, to their view, with the globe itself. But such an achievement as this, it is evident, could not have been proposed by beings "lower than the angels," for in no lower sphere of being than theirs are to be found the conditions requisite to its accomplishment. To introduce beings of such limited powers, such scant intelligence and puny arm, as the officers of the visible Church, proposing to execute so high a commission, were an incongruity too flagrant to be ascribed to the pen of inspiration.

Thus by the unforced interpretation of a single term, this important passage of God's word is rescued out of the hands of those spoilers of the Lord's vineyard who would fain pervert it to the utter breaking down of the wall of separation between the Church and the world. For it is here, as is well known, that the enemies of scriptural purity in the Church militant have been

went to entrench themselves, as in an impregnable strong-hold. That strange and motley host of papal zealots and protestant latitudinarians, and nominal Christians of every name, have been united as one man to destroy "the ancient landmarks" of a Godly discipline, well-nigh whelming the Church in such a flood of worldliness that the Church and the world no longer appear as distinct communities.

We have seen that the parable furnishes no ground whatever for any such abuse, having no reference to matters of Church discipline; every question of the kind being entirely foreign to its scope.

In conclusion, the truth of our exposition is, if possible, yet more strongly established by the answer given to the servants:—"Nay, lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them." The general drift of these words is plain: The wicked in the world—in *the world*, whether without or within the pale of the Church's external communion—are to be spared in their wickedness for the sake of the righteous. Even as in the day of Sodom, if a single servant of God had been found in it, the doomed city had been spared; so in the world, "the children of the wicked one" are not to be utterly cut off for the children of the kingdom's sake. To say nothing of higher providential purposes in the permission of the co-existence in the world of the evil with the good, such as must occur to every reflecting mind, it is evident, at a glance, that the interests, secular or social, of the two classes, are so intimately united, the temporal weal and woe of the just and the unjust are so indissolubly bound up together that the destruction of the one must necessarily involve irreparable loss to the other. Both, therefore, are to continue living in the world, side by side together, until the consummation of the age, the long looked for inauguration of a new economy, when a full and final separation will be made.

In full harmony with this exposition is the analogy of the scripture teaching in reference to the earthly ministry of "the angels," and their relation to the Church militant. They are described as God's "*servants*," by eminence, made by Him swift as the winds to "do His pleasure," resistless as the thunder-bolt "to fulfil His commandment;" as "ministering spirits" *sent forth for min-*

istration in behalf of the heirs of salvation; as deeply interested in all that concerns God's kingdom upon earth; as earnestly desiring to look into its mysteries; as with the Church militant and triumphant together forming one communion of fellowship in the exalted Head, Who is also "Head over all things to the Church, which is His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all."

Such, in brief, is the teaching of this parable, in its direct bearing on the great question of the Church's essential constitution. So far from affording a semblance of support to that conception of the Church which defines it according to its external characteristics, this portion of the divine testimony in that which, above all others, most conclusively establishes *that definition of the Church* which carries with it, for us of this Church, the authority of *the Church itself*.

J. J. McELHINNEY.

MAN AND BEAST.

The last two acts of creative power were the brute-creation and the human race. Man and beast!—So near and yet so far apart. Science, just at present, busies itself with the problem of our relation to the animal world more than with any other, and it is at just this point that the skepticism of the day makes its fiercest assault on religion and the church. The morbid thought of Solomon is wrested from its connection, and we are assured that, literally, “a man hath no pre-eminence above a beast.”

It is the purpose of this article,

I. To point out some of the manifold differences between the human race and the other animals.

II. Then we will ask ourselves the question, “can these two by any processes of progression or development become merged at last in one and the same race of creatures?” In other words, “can an animal ever become a man?”

III. And, finally, it will not be difficult to show, even if it be proved that man does not essentially differ from the brute-creation, —that this fact can not inconvenience our individuality in the least, and does not make, in the slightest degree, against the immortality of the soul.

First, then, as to some of the manifest differences between us and the beast of the field. We are accustomed, for example, to designate the principle by which animals act by the name of “Instinct,” while to man, alone, we assign the faculty of “Reason.” Now these two guiding powers lead to the same end but they differ wholly in their character. Animals have “memory,” it is true, and may be said to “recollect.” They have “knowledge,” too, but not “comprehension.” They never “understand” anything, —the “whys” and the “wherefores” of it. If they could, they would rise successively, as man does, higher and higher in their

knowledge, and would at last obtain a moral state. A dog knows about as much at one period of his life as at another. His knowledge does not accumulate; which shows that it is not knowledge at all in our sense of the word; it is only instinct.

It is well, in such a discussion, to observe the exact meaning of words, and to beware lest in asserting one truth we deny another. Animals have "consciousness," but not "self-consciousness." A cat, for instance, never says to itself "Now that is a man; that is a horse; that is a bird; I am a cat,—distinguishing between its own self and other objects (the Ego and non Ego). If the hog, wallowing in his mire, could for one moment say, "Now I am a hog," then in an instant he would become a man. But without plunging into the fine discriminations of German theologians with regard to the "Geist" and "Seele," (which best mark, perhaps, the difference between mankind and the brute) let us return a little and point out a few illustrations of the practical working of these principles, "instinct" and "reason."

The former is blind, and is in no way the result of thought or design. Its action is not premeditated. There is, for example, a species of butterfly which itself subsists upon the leaves of flowers but which always, just before it dies, deposits its eggs on the under-side of a cabbage leaf. Observe, in passing, that if placed upon the upper side the wind and rain would soon sweep them off. But why should this insect deposit its eggs upon a plant which it never consumes—upon the cabbage and not upon the rose? This appears a little later. These eggs are hatched, not as butterflies but as worms which subsist entirely upon cabbage leaves and abhor a rose. But how should the butterfly know this since it always dies before its eggs are hatched and never sees one of these worms, any more than it was seen by those from whence it sprang. For, what is equally remarkable, late in the summer these worms, their offspring, crawl up into barns and houses, fasten themselves to beams and rafters, and in the spring-time they shed the chrysalis and become butterflies, who in their turn will deposit their eggs upon the cabbage plant again. Once more the question returns upon us, and with redoubled force, "Why should these worms leave the cabbage where they were born? Why not attach themselves to the under side of the leaf, and in due time, shed the

chrysalis there?" For the simple reason that late in the fall the cabbages are gathered in and the chrysalis would be destroyed. But the worms could not have known this since they all die in the early autumn, before the cabbage plant matures.

A thousand such instances as this prove conclusively that animals are furnished with a faculty which differs widely from human reason, and that they act from another principle than that which impels man. Why jump at a conclusion in so important a matter? If we see an animal and a man doing the same thing, we infer that they act from the same prompting. But we have no right to make such inference; that is our mistake. We see a cat pursuing a bird in the field; she approaches stealthily; goes back a little, and then comes up behind a bush. If we judge the cat by ourselves, we say she had a design in this; we fancy that she reasoned thus to herself. "I think it will be better to get behind that bush. It will be safer than to go straight down, for I am afraid the bird will see me, and then I shall lose the prey." We think that because we act thus the cat must. Such, however, is not the fact, if we may believe the best judges. The cat approaches the bush instinctively and without a plan; without thought, just as one winks at a flash of lightning or a blow.

We are vastly too prone to fill with a guess, the gap between human nature and the antics of the brute. It has sometimes been maintained that animals lacked nothing but the power of speech. Endowed with reason, their want of language, it is said, is the only thing which prevents them from developing into intelligent and rational beings. This position is most unfortunately taken, for there happens to be a pertinent case just at hand. It seems as though truth had set a trap for every shallow argument of unbelief.

How is it with the parrot? It speaks, but only the few words it has learned by heart. This shows that the bird has no thoughts of its own. There is no man so stupid however, but he can express himself after a fashion; which proves, says Descartes the French philosopher—who has been unjustly accused of atheism, and who was during his life time sadly persecuted on that account—which proves, says he, that the animals not only have less reason than man, but that they have none at all.

And, now, if all the wonderful dogs and cats we read about in the weekly story-papers, and whose antics are seized upon to show that animals have souls, if all these could speak, we repeat, we might expect the same result as that observed in the case of the parrot.

So much for the manifest difference between the animals and man. But perhaps the partition is a fluctuating line, and we come to our second point and ask ourselves the question: "Can animals develop into men?" We hear a great deal said in these days about what is called the "Development Theory" and the "Descent of Man." A class of thinkers maintain, in effect, that man was once a monkey and roamed the woods. We are told that he accidentally learned the use of the muscles, by which the thumb is brought in contact with the forefinger, and that this led to all the subsequent improvements in the race. According to this hypothesis all animals have sprung from one common species, and circumstances have been the sole agents in bringing about the diversity which we now observe. The hog and the giraffe, for instance, were originally the same animal. The swine living in a country where its food lay strewn about upon the earth stooping to reach it, gradually assumed its present form with its nose reaching nearly to the ground. The giraffe, however, its lot cast in tropical places, and forced to subsist upon the foliage of trees, by its constant reaching up, slowly lengthened out its neck to suit the need of its surroundings.

It is by logic such as this that men have come to trace their own descent from monkeys. It would be an argument worthy of those who use it were we to say that the only plausibility of such a theory, lies in the fact that many of these men have succeeded so nearly in getting back where they came from. For what an amount of credulity it must require to believe a doctrine such as this. It exceeds that of the greatest religious enthusiast who ever lived; nay, of the wildest fanatic. No class of men are so credulous as those who are always prating about reason, and the atheist is the greatest bigot of them all.

Young men, in particular, oftentimes feel called upon to be the champions of what are vainly called "new ideas." But this "Development Theory" cannot claim to be either novel or pro-

gressive; the doctrine is at least two thousand years old. One of the Jewish sects maintained it a long time before the Christian era, but it was ancient even then. It is in fact nothing but the old stew of Sadduceism warmed over and served up again.

People should not be alarmed at what is sometimes called the "tendency of the times." There is positively nothing new under the sun. All the new forms of unbelief are as old as Satan,—the father of all lies, both in science and theology. In one of the books of the Chaldeans, (*The Nabatean Agriculture*) supposed to have been written 600 B. C., the same old battle between skepticism and faith is waged as fiercely as in our own times. It is easily understood why young people should be fascinated by that which shocks and startles ancient prejudices, but as men grow old and know the world, they are more inclined to seek the old ways and walk therein. The Radical, says some one, is only a young Conservative. The Conservative is but an old Radical.

In closing this head of our argument, we must briefly indicate what may be regarded as the keystone in all this controversy concerning the descent of man. This is the power of human development. No man is sunk so low that he may not be reclaimed and elevated. But not so the brute. It remains forever on the same level. It is not denied that we have many things in common with the brute, such as appetites and passions, but we claim the power to rise higher than they ever can in the scale of being. The difference between a Hottentot and a gorilla, we are told, is slight. But the resemblance is only an apparent one. Is there a single instance where a gorilla has passed over into a man? The Hottentot is always susceptible of elevation and civilization, the gorilla is not.

This theory of the development of animals does not stand the test of observation. History preserves no record of a time when dogs were less sagacious than they are to day. And if it is urged that immense periods of time are required for the change, we call attention to the fact that geology,—the testimony of the rocks through countless ages,—utterly fails to substantiate this hypothesis. If we examine the fossils, the petrified animals of the geological world, we do not find the slightest evidence that would sustain this theory. Through millions of years we fail to discover the least disposition on the part of one species, to pass over into

another. Down to the granite core of the earth, we trace the fish that swim to day. The late Prof. Agassiz was a life long opponent of the theory of Mr. Darwin, which, already, has begun to lose its hold on the best minds among the scientists of the old world; the writer of this has frequently heard him arraign it in the most pronounced and unequivocal way.

There remains a single point and we are done.

If all that Darwin says is true, what then?

Suppose we grant that one and the same principle of life pervades all nature, that the lowest form is a cell and the highest man himself; that between these, in ebb and flow, stands animated nature; will it follow irresistibly that man has no assured existence, no pre-eminence above the brute? Must we then conclude that, at death, the plants, the animals, the human race are all merged at last, or slip off, as it were, into one stupendous sea of being? Is the universe alone immortal?

It is enough to say, in answer to these questions, that the Supreme Being preserves our conscious identity in this world, and will do it in the world to come. We, for our part, can not see that it would practically change our relations with the animals to know precisely what the theory of those relations is. Let it be what it may, the Providence which led us into this life and sustains us here, can be trusted to lead us safely out of it, and to take care of us when we get out.

If it were plainly shown that man had been developed from the lower forms of life, we should only see in it a pledge of infinite progress and unending expansion in the myriad ages yet to come—a fore-gleam of our immortality.

It may be the plan of the Divine Being to hold for a time in this world, as in a crucible, all the elements of animalism, which shall combine and at last foment a creature strong enough to wing its way to higher spheres of life, born upwards in its steady, onward, flight, by the breath of Him whose will is law,—in ceaseless progress towards perfection.

Let the result of this controversy, then, be what it will, “the faith” remains unchanged, for we are assured that in life *and death*,—in the one as well as in the other—“we are the Lord’s.”

JOHN EDGAR JOHNSON.

THE CHURCH IN THE MARITIME PROVINCES OF CANADA.

PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE.

There is, for many reasons, a peculiar interest connected with this subject. The Church has ever had regard for the "day of small things." Places or people of small note among the nations, are often of the greatest importance to that Church, whose glory arises from Nazareth of Galilee.

The circumstances under which this Church was founded in Asia Minor, Greece, and Europe, under the mission of St. Paul, afford room for the most careful investigation and often help to elucidate marked expressions in the Epistles. What would not the theologian be willing to give for a fuller or more authentic account of the first gospel missions, in the days of St. Paul, to that once little known Island, in that "far West," the then abode of barbarism whence more than from any other place on earth, has gone forth the sound of the Church into all lands !

In a worldly point of view the countries named in this paper, are of comparatively little importance, yet the day may come when the Church in the dominion of Canada, the descendants of the honest, hardy inhabitants of her seaboard, will be ready to do a good part in extending a knowledge of the truth to distant countries.

To what are, at present, three Dioceses, of large extent, attention is now invited. That comprising Newfoundland, the coast of Labrador, and Bermuda ; Nova Scotia including Prince Edward's Island, and New Brunswick known as the Diocese of Fredericton.

In the early history of the Church in the British colonial possessions, there is one point worthy of attention. On the part of those in authority in the mother country, there was a prominent recognition of the claims of the Church, in striking contrast to the policy of statesmen of the present day. A company was established in 1612, to form a colony at Bermuda. The following forms one of the clauses drawn up, and subscribed to by the members of the corporation. "Ever to continue in that faith, into the which we were baptized in the Church of England, and to stand in defence of the same against all * * * deviating from the said word and faith." About the same period Great Britain obtained possession of Newfoundland, and we find, among other instructions set forth by Lord Bacon, then chief in the government, the following passage. "The Church in those parts should agree with that which is settled in England, and be subordinate to some Bishop of this Realm." It seems so strange that the necessity of sending out Bishops in charge of these infant churches was not at once provided for.

In the year 1610, a company was formed for the trade of Newfoundland and principally in the words of the royal patent,

"For increase of the knowledge of the Omnipotent God, and the Propagation of the Christian Faith," and it was stated in an address of one of the earliest missionaries,—“it is by a Plantation in Newfoundland, that the poor inhabitants of this country, may be reduced from barbarism to the knowledge of God and the light of His truth.”

Under somewhat similar circumstances, about the same time the Church was first established in Bermuda. There was, however, this great difference. The tropical climate and scenery of this lovely Island formed a striking contrast to the forbidding features, the cold and fogs of Newfoundland. Emigrants of a higher class, apart from the purpose of trade, were ready to make Bermuda their future home. Its position too, as the Gibraltar of the West Indies, made it from an early period, what it is to day, a post of the first importance for the army and navy of Great Britain.

The first settlers in Bermuda, solemnly bound themselves to the following declaration.

"We do faithfully promise, and by these presents, solemnly bind ourselves evermore to worship the one true and living God * * * and ever to continue in

that faith into which we were baptized in the Church of England, and to stand in defence of the same, against all sectaries * * * dissenting from the said word and faith."

What might have been gained for the cause of Christ, had this spirit been fostered, and the Church been enabled to put forth all her strength from the first!

The distracted state of the empire, frequent wars, and more than all, the pursuit of gain on the part of the early traders left the Church in these colonies for many years sadly in the background. Very little seems to have been done for the natives, and the Church barely kept an existence among the Europeans. In the year 1704, it is authentically stated, that,

"Newfoundland has several settlers of English, to the amount of several thousands, but no public exercise of religion except at St. John, where there is a congregation, but unable to *sustain* a minister."

The Province of Nova Scotia, then including that of New Brunswick, was in 1621, recognized by royal charter as belonging to the crown of Great Britain. As in former documents of a like character, the holy purpose regarding the establishment of the Church, is most prominent. Very little seems however to have been done in furtherance of these enactments. Yet they still bear witness to the claims of the colonies to the spiritual birth-right of the mother country.

In the year 1749, a body of settlers was sent out to Nova Scotia under a company which provided for the support of missionaries and schoolmasters. A hard lot awaited these early pioneers. "Food," writes one of these missionaries, in a very pinching time, "food, I have but barely; as to raiment, I am in great distress, for I receive no additional benefits from the people here." Those pious declarations in the royal charters were not it seems of much benefit in this poor man's case.

The earliest settlements in New Brunswick were by the French. The first missionary tour made in the Province by a clergyman of the Church of England, was in 1769. It is said that the Indians on the St. John river, "assembled, and at prayer they all knelt and behaved very devoutly." It is terrible to think of the great wrong by which the Church of England has failed to gain the

aborigines of these Maritime Provinces. A rapid glance at the history before us shows how this was so.

Up to the middle of the 18th century, say 180 years ago, the Church in these Dioceses does not present a hopeful picture. Various events were, however, ready now to work a favorable change. The original charters to companies were now assumed by the government, and in a few years, the different colonies were provided with representative forms of government.

True to the old traditional feeling, the crown reserved to the Church, various tracts of land, which in many instances have since become valuable. But most of all, the existence and extension of the Church on this continent, is due to the establishment and blessed work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. No better history of the American Colonial Church, can be obtained than in the early reports of this Society. Never was there formed a nobler league of nobler men, than that of which it is said in their first report, [a portion of which is now before the writer,] the object is, "to recover the ground lost * * * in reducing all denominations into one fold, whether Jews or Gentiles * * * England hath been too much wanting to herself in this great concern." In this first report it is stated that grants have been made to missionaries to the Indians, to bring into the Church's fold, such as those who form an important portion of the American Church in her Western Dioceses, and in that of Ontario. Grants at this time were made by the Society in aid of the Church in New York, and what are now leading cities and States. In many instances the work thus begun, often in a small way, laid the foundation of the present strongholds of the Church, and this work is gladly traced, and gratefully remembered by our brethren in the United States.

One great draw-back as was urged so often upon the government in England by the Colonial Church, and reiterated by the Society, was the want of Bishops. This was one of the evils resulting from the union of Church and State, and the narrow views regarding the Church entertained by the statesmen of that time. It was not till the year 1787, that this great want was supplied. In that year the See of Nova Scotia was established, and Dr. C. Inglis was appointed the first Colonial Bishop. His Diocese included all that territory

to which the present article refers. The Diocese of Newfoundland was established in 1839, and that of Fredericton, comprising the Province of New Brunswick, in the year 1845.

Some idea may be formed of the growth of the Church, when we are told that while 88 years ago there was one Colonial Bishop, there are now at least 40 Colonial, besides 12 missionary Bishops.

That great revolution, which ended in the formation of the United States, was the means of a vast change in the Church in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Large numbers of loyalists left their homes and came with their families, to these thinly inhabited coasts. They were, for the most part, members of the Church of England, and men of stern principle and much culture. Several clergymen were companions of these exiles, and were at once employed by the Society. In most instances they were men highly fitted for their trying duties. The son of the first Bishop, who succeeded to the office, informed the Society, that in less than 60 years, he had seen the clergy in the Diocese of Nova Scotia increase from 5 to 50. In what is at present the Diocese of Fredericton, the Church obtained little foothold, till after the arrival of the loyalists. The French, members of the Church of Rome, had their own missionaries, who must have been zealous and laborious in bringing the native Indians into their communion. A work which the Church of England failed to do.

With our present facilities for travelling, our railroads and steamers, we can form little idea of the hardships of the first missionaries in these countries. They had to make their way as best they might, along the coasts, by the shores of the rivers, or through the forest, from one settlement to another. Year by year, however, the prospect brightened. The report of the S. P. G., for 1803, is now before the writer. It speaks of the appointment of the Rev. Mr. Pidgeon, as missionary at Fredericton, now the cathedral city. The report tells us that Dr. Byles, missionary at St. John, now one of the most flourishing cities of the dominion, had baptized 62 that year. He speaks of the decreasing influence of the dissenters in his mission. Mention is also made of duties performed, with much apparent success, at posts which are now prominent in the Diocese. One missionary writes of the intemperate zeal of the "New Lights," which "at first had unsettled many of his parishioners,

but who were now returning to a sober sense of religion, and of their duty." It is most worthy of notice that the number of baptisms in the infant state of the Church, is far greater in proportion than those reported at the present day.

The hardships, incident to the state of the country, were increased to these first missionaries, by those who sought to draw off the members of the Church, to various systems of dissent. Families of churchmen, living in distant settlements, could but very seldom be reached by the over-worked clergyman, and at the present day, the effects of this are seen in the numbers of those hostile to that communion with which their parents were connected.

The connection of the Church with the State, was in some respects, a hindrance to its advancement. It gave rise to much conflict in the Colonial legislatures, which was continued until the union was finally severed.

While New Brunswick remained a portion of the Diocese of Nova Scotia, it received only four visits from the Bishop. These were of short duration, and only extended to the most important parishes. Churchmen of the present day, may look back to the times to which we now refer; to the bare ill-arranged Churches, only a few of which now remain; they hear or read of undue attention to order and ritual, but they would do well to remember the character of the work in which the clergy were thus engaged. Would they, who think themselves wiser and better than those who have gone before them, have submitted so patiently to such hardships, and have laid so well the foundations, on which we now are building?

In the year 1845, the first Bishop of Fredericton was consecrated. Soon after, the beloved Bishop Inglis was called to his rest, and was succeeded by the present Bishop of Nova Scotia. Bishop Feild was now in charge of the Diocese of Newfoundland. God, in His mercy, had thus called three learned zealous and devoted men to preside over this extensive portion of His Church.

Now we arrive at a new era; we may be prepared for a favorable change, and also for encounter with new difficulties. The State had determined to leave the Church in the like position with other bodies of Christians. The Society in England intimated its determination not only to give no further aid to new missions, but

gradually to withdraw that already afforded. For its existence and extension the Church in these Dioceses was now, to a great degree, to depend on its own resources. This gave rise to the institution of Diocesan Church Societies, which called for the offerings and co-operation of every member of the Church. For many years, the work undertaken by these Societies, was slow and discouraging, and the most sanguine could hardly have anticipated the influence they exercise at the present time. That in the Diocese of Fredericton is now in its fortieth year. It originated in the wise foresight and good judgment of the late Archdeacon Coster, and takes precedence in point of time, of like institutions in the other Dioceses.

But the time to which we now refer, was fraught with many difficulties. It was just the beginning of that movement, by which the Church in England was led to assume her distinctive position; resulting in a greater regard for her ordinances, the restoration of her Churches, the erection of others more fitting for their sacred purpose, and new life in the great work of missions at home and abroad. Slowly but steadily this movement extended to the Colonial Church. It was met there with determined opposition. Conservative Church and a State churchmanship disliked all change, or what was called, innovation. The movement was misunderstood by shallow theologians. It disturbed the comfort and repose of the easy-going churchmen. But, the greatest difficulty of all, it raised the old popular, "no popery" cry. Want of wisdom and prudence in too many instances alarmed the timid. Those ignorant of or hostile to the Church's claims and position, left no stone unturned in their bitter opposition. Then the sad tidings came of defections to Rome, on the part of many of the first leaders in this movement. It was industriously contended, with great force on the popular mind, that any change from slovenliness and neglect to more reverence in public worship, any attempt to conform to the teaching and rules of the Prayer-book, more reverent and frequent celebration of the Sacraments, any distinctive dogmatic church teaching, was most dangerous, to be watched and guarded against, especially by the Laity. Those who during the past thirty years have been asked to take an active part in the work of the Church in these Dioceses, know well of the trials arising from

the sources alluded to. Nor can the fact be disguised that, for a time, the onward progress of the Church was severely affected. Its new position did not suit the popular taste. Temporary strength and numbers were added to the various christian denominations. But the thoughtful observer, may see now clear indications of a different state of feeling. A reaction is evident. Those faithful to the Church's teaching, most prominent in seeking her good, foremost among whom have been the Bishops of these Dioceses, have pretty well lived down suspicion. Intelligent laymen have studied out the subject for themselves. The like conclusion is every where being arrived at. The maintenance of the distinctive position of the Church is found to be the only safeguard against error on either side. Her creeds they have found firmly based on the facts of history. Her doctrines they find, bear the test, better than those of any other branch of the Church, of universal tradition, from the earliest primitive ages. To bring this about, as far as it has gone, has required much labor, much teaching and great patience, and the blessed work is only just in its infancy.

But with all the hindrances alluded to, the Church in these Maritime Provinces has, during the past thirty years, made steady progress. Churches have been built with some regard to architecture. The barn-like style of previous years is nowhere reproduced. This is specially the case in the Diocese of Fredericton, and is due to the excellent taste of the Bishop, whose Cathedral will remind many ages to come of his zeal, for the house of God and "the offices thereof." Nor was this improvement only an improvement in externals. The Church with a style marking it as a house of prayer, with its open seats, soon to be every where free and unappropriated, the font at the door, the well arranged Holy Table the most prominent object in the Church, all this has its teaching, and aids in leading to reverence and worship.

Frequent, hearty well arranged services, confined no longer to the Lord's day, the celebration of Holy Communion from once a quarter or once a month, to every alternate Sunday, and in many cases to every Sunday, the increasing reverent attendance at the services, all are marks of a deep feeling of devotion, which is evidently gaining ground, especially among the younger members

of the Church. It is now found that the distinctive principles of the Church, may be held and taught with an exhibition in the daily life and character of the fruits of the Holy Spirit. In years gone by, spiritual life was supposed to be confined to what was called the evangelical school, or to those who had separated from the Church's communion. It is no longer so.

In the way of sound religious education, much is sadly wanting. This arises from our unhappy divisions. It will take hard continued labor, through many years to come, to lead the people in these Provinces, to feel that the most important portion of education, is that which cannot now be taught or gained in the public schools. At the same time it must be thankfully noticed that in catechising, in the teaching in Sunday Schools, in an awakening sense of the duties of parents and sponsors, in the preparation of candidates for confirmation, there is a marked improvement compared with past years. Many of the young people are being in this way trained for the position they are to fill by and by, when "others will have entered into our labors." Apart from the four Bishops who now so ably preside over the Dioceses in these Provinces, the clergy have more than doubled since the year 1845. They number now a little over two hundred, all with few exceptions, actively and judiciously engaged in their master's work.

Allusion has already been made to the Diocesan Church Societies, which answer in some respects to the Board of Missions in the American Church. Every member of the Church is called upon to make annual offerings to these Societies, and every subscriber is a member. Each parish or mission elects annually two lay delegates who, with the resident clergyman, have the disposition of the funds. These Societies, and especially that in New Brunswick, are frequently benefited by legacies, and in Nova Scotia a large amount has been raised for an endowment fund. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, entrusts the disposition of its funds to the Diocesan committee, and proposes within a limited period, to withdraw the aid at present afforded, for the benefit of those more in need. There is every reason to believe that the Church in these Provinces will be ready to supply this deficiency, and become stronger by more self-reliance. Every year there is an advance in the home missionary work, and of late offerings to

a considerable amount, have been sent from these Dioceses for missions in Foreign countries.

The Bishop of Newfoundland has established a theological school at St. John, for the benefit of candidates for the ministry, by which means many most useful clergymen have been provided for that Diocese. The work there is of a peculiar character, and exposed to much danger and hardship. The writer has lately received a most interesting letter from a retired missionary of Newfoundland, who came from England with Bishop Spencer in 1839, and has, till within a few years, labored constantly in charge of an extensive mission. "There are now," he writes, "at least forty-five clergy not confined to a few localities, as they were a few years ago, but scattered over the Island, encircling the whole coast. The Straits of Belle Isle, and part of Labrador, the Western, Southern and Eastern shores have the benefit of the Church's ministrations. But still there are very many settlements which call for help, distant from each other and difficult of access. They are lonely and require much self-sacrifice in every way on the part of those able to be satisfied with a little." The Church is being firmly established, especially in the city of St. John, and good Bishop Feild, after a life of unusual labor will, when called to his rest, leave a work well grounded and prepared for his successor.

There is one institution with which the present and future well-being the Church in these Provinces, is most closely connected, that of King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia. This College was founded by Royal Charter, soon after the appointment of the first Colonial Bishop. It is in the language of a kind friend, "a recognized university of high standing, with a bright roll of honorable names of graduates, who have distinguished themselves in law, divinity, and literature." The College is said to be well supplied with able professors, and has an extensive and valuable library. Many facilities are provided, especially for students in theology. The institution is well endowed, and wholly under the management of the Church. There is a movement now going on, which can hardly fail to be successful, by which the Dioceses in these Provinces, will unite in making Windsor the future nursery of their divinity students.

It is only within a very few years that the Church in the Maritime

Provinces, undertook to legislate for itself by synodical action. This is done now in each Diocese, and in most respects very satisfactorily. The yearly meetings are marked by increasing unity and avoidance of party feeling. A beneficial effect—apart from any resulting from legislation, is being produced by bringing together the clergy and lay representatives, for the attainment of one common object.

Two years ago, a further advance was made by the union of the Dioceses of Nova Scotia and Fredericton, with the Provincial Synod. Newfoundland will, it is hoped, before the next meeting, be ready to overcome the geographical difficulty, and follow the example of her sister Dioceses. By this union, the Church here is placed in accordance with that in the United States. Our Diocesan and Provincial Synods, answering to their Diocesan and General Conventions.

The result of the first meeting of the Provincial Synod at Montreal last September, comprising representatives from each Diocese in the Dominion, was very encouraging, much strength and increasing confidence were imparted both to the House of Bishops, and the Lower House.

In comparison with the whole Church in the United States, that portion of which this paper treats, has made small progress. So it may be said with regard to individual Dioceses in the American Church, which were destitute of many of the aids named here. But, through the means before spoken of, the Church in these Provinces, has maintained a deeper hold in the poor and country districts, than in the New England Dioceses. The time may come, when in many instances what are now considered insignificant posts, will be great centres for surrounding missionary labor.

But now in judging from this hasty glance at the past and present, what hope and work has the Church before her in the future? First and foremost the future will be affected by *religious education*. This must come through the Church. The minds of churchmen will be aroused to this great subject. The leaven of the Church's teaching will go on to "leaven the whole lump." As in the mother country, so it will be wherever the Church is aroused to her duty, By and by, the minds of those well

instructed in early youth, will be called to fill positions of influence. So it has been in England, and the effect is noticed in the consideration of the great questions regarding the Church and education, by the House of Commons.

The Colonial Home Mission work is only begun; and missions are waiting to be formed in every portion of the Dominion. The Provincial Synod must soon have its special Foreign Mission. The most earnest and devout among the young men of the laity, are settling themselves to this view of things, and it must go on.

Then comes the great, the all-important question regarding men fitted for missionary life, the least attractive, in a temporal point of view, of any to those capable of advancement in other callings. Such men are to be had in this country. "The Lord hath need of them." They must be looked after. Some are now in their cradles or at school. They are not confined to any particular class in society. That Church institution before alluded to at Windsor, must draw these young men from every quarter. Then they must be trained, as far as possible for these peculiar duties. They must have an abundance of those highest gifts of intellect, so valuable for this high service. They must moreover, have that gift, the most necessary of all, the gift of wisdom, common sense, that qualification shown to be so indispensable by the Bishop of Maine, in the last number of this periodical. Great have been the benefits imparted to the Colonial Church, by those sent forth from England for the missionary field, and well may she hope, from time to time, for a continuance of these favors. But the prosperity of the Church for the future, must rest upon the labors and the ability of *her own children*. Well enough they do for other professions. There is no need to send to other countries for our lawyers, our judges, or our statesmen. Do the clergy compare so unfavorably with those in other callings?

Welcome to those who come from elsewhere, to join under like circumstances, with a native clergy. In this matter there must be no feeling, but that of rivalry in gaining to the Church. But there can be no policy so suicidal, none so perfectly hopeless with regard to the future, as that by which the young men of the country, are led to consider that the most useful and influential positions in the Church, are beyond their reach.

Only give the Church fair play, and years to come will witness her beneficent work in this Dominion. Years must come and go before the very many in these Provinces, closely bound up in their several communions, will be moved from their position. Within and without, the Church has much to do before she can look for such a result, excepting in solitary instances. But outside of these concentrated bodies, there are thousands and thousands from many of whom the sad cry goes up to heaven, "no man careth for my soul." They are living and they are dying as heathen. Now among such there lies no end of work for the Church. The writer now speaks from experience. These lost and straying sheep are ready to receive the teaching of the Church. Her teaching too with no uncertain sound. They are often very intelligent. They can be asked to "search the scriptures." They are ready to receive what the Prayer book and Catechism set forth. They want something definite, something reliable. The Church only waits for men, the right sort of men, and other means will come to do this work, which is waiting all over our country.

To those who give consideration to these great questions, there is one thing very plain. Apart from questions in theology of right or wrong, the people in these Provinces will have no *imitations of the customs and doctrines of mediæval Rome*. As noticed above, the battle has years ago been fought and partly gained in favor of the primitive teaching of the Church, in her formularies. That ought to be enough. It is sufficient to form the noblest characters, and to fit for life or death. But whether or no, those who feel they must copy after Rome, will find more easy work, and perhaps do less injury, by going on a mission to convert the inhabitants of Turkey or Japan. What might do in large cities—with peculiar minds and habits, will not suit for the spiritual culture of the earnest practical hard working people of these Provinces.

The Church here must be the *Church of England*, as it was reformed after the model of the best and purest times. Presented as such, its teaching will be received, and its influence will extend from generation to generation. Statesmen tell us of the great future of the Dominion of Canada. Those who know it most, know of its vast resources. In that predicted physical prosperity, it must be that

the Maritime Provinces will largely share. They must be the outlet to the Upper Provinces. And may not this glad time be looked for, when by the earnest hardy dwellers on the seaboard, the glad tidings of salvation shall be carried to other distant lands, even as in years gone by, the same glad tidings were brought to them.

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LATIN GRAMMAR.

- A GRAMMAR OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE, by *E. A. Andrews and S. Stoddard*, 364th thousand, revised and corrected. CROKER AND BREWSTER, BOSTON, 1874.
- A LATIN GRAMMAR, by *Basil L. Gildersleeve*, Ph. D. NEW YORK, 1868.
- A LATIN GRAMMAR, by *G. R. Bartholomew*. WILSON, HINKLE & CO., CINCINNATI, 1874.
- A LATIN GRAMMAR FOR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, by *Albert Harkness*, Ph. D., Professor in Brown University. D. APPLETON & CO., NEW YORK, 1875.
- A GRAMMAR OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE, with exercises and vocabularies, by *W. Bingham*, A.M. 4th Edition. PHILA., 1869.
- A MANUAL LATIN GRAMMAR, by *W. F. & Joseph H. Allen*. GINN BROTHERS, BOSTON, 1869.
- A LATIN GRAMMAR FOR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, founded on Comparative Grammar, by *Joseph H. Allen & Jas. B. Greenough*, BOSTON, 1873.
- ARNOLD'S FIRST LATIN BOOK, remodelled and rewritten, by *Albert Harkness*, Ph. D. 22nd Edition. NEW YORK, 1860.
- A FIRST BOOK IN LATIN, containing Grammar, Exercises, and Vocabularies, by *J. McClintock & George R. Crooks*, Professors in Dickinson College. NEW YORK, 1860.
- A FIRST LATIN BOOK, by *A. H. Bryce*, LL.D., Trinity College Dublin. LONDON, 1866.
- PRINCIPIA LATINA PART I., a first Latin Course, by *Wm. Smith*, LL.D. LONDON, 1859.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL LATIN PRIMER. *Edited with the sanction of the Head Masters of the Public Schools included in Her Majesty's Commission.* LONDON, 1869.

A LATIN GRAMMAR ON THE SYSTEM OF CRUDE FORMS, by T. Hewitt Key, *Professor in University College.* LONDON, 1846.

AN EXPOSITION OF THE LAWS OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE, by Gessner Harrison, *M.D., Professor in the University of Virginia,* NEW YORK, 1852.

A GRAMMAR OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE, by C. G. Zumpt, (*various translations, by Kenrick, Anthon, & Schmütz.*)

AN ETYMOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF LATIN VERBS, by Alexander Allen, *Ph. D.* LONDON, 1836.

ANALYSIS OF THE LATIN VERB, *illustrated by the forms of the Sanskrit,* by Charles H. Parkhurst. BOSTON, 1874.

A LATIN GRAMMAR FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS, by J. N. Madvig, *Professor of Latin, Copenhagen.* Translated by Rev. Geo. Woods, *University College, Oxford,* 1859.

This is an imposing list with which to head an article on Latin Grammar. The books here mentioned are only a part of the collection now lying on the writer's table, and the list would have to be made twice or three times as long if it were to include all the grammars now used in the classical schools of Great Britain and America.

Some of us can remember the time when three or four different books of this kind were all that could be found among English speaking people. And we all know that for very many years Scotland was satisfied with Ruddiman's and Adams', England with the Eton, Ireland with Bishop Wettenhall's modification of the Eton, and this country with a reprint of Adams and of Wettenhall. Then came the reign of Valpy in England and that of Bullions in this country. In the better schools of Great Britain the former gave place to Kennedy's and to abridgments of Zumpt, and here (especially in New England) the latter was superseded by the work of Andrews and Stoddard. But now in place of two or three books in each country there are probably two or three dozen, and the end is not yet! This is indeed a remarkable

change, but one of which it is not easy to determine the exact nature and import. A Scotch writer complained bitterly about a hundred years ago of "*the itching humor that hath insensibly crept in among us of using such a variety of grammars to the no small detriment of learning.*" He saw evil in such a "variety" as three or four, and yet there are many who would point to the list at the head of this article with pride, as if it gave evidence of very extensive interest in the study of the Classics.

It cannot be denied that there are at present in this country more boys learning the languages of Greece and Rome than there ever were before, but that fact is no proof of increased appreciation of classical learning, on the part of the public. The number is probably not as great in proportion to the whole population as it was fifty years ago, and certainly among those who are prominent in the various professions, or in the public service, the proportion of liberally educated men is less than it was at the beginning of this country's national existence. Indeed, so far from comforting ourselves with the belief that the "Humanities" are becoming more popular, we are obliged to think that since the Reformation, there never was a time when Classical study was more persistently decried than it is to-day. We are constantly hearing it said of this man or that, that he conducted a leading newspaper, or amassed great wealth, or held a seat on the judicial bench, or in the Senate itself, without having any knowledge of Latin or Greek, and this is regarded as proving that such knowledge is of no use! This same spirit is manifested in the demand for what is called a "practical education," and the strength of it is shown by the fact that almost all our Colleges have made a partial surrender to it. The surrender is veiled under pretence of "advancing with the spirit of the age." But is it an advance? For our part, we can see nothing like wisdom, nor true regard for the interests of education in the establishing of "partial courses" and "scientific courses," and the allowing of "elective studies," which are advertised as attractions by certain Colleges and Universities. In political economy we must recognize the principle that the supply should be regulated by the demand, but it ought not so to be in connection with religion or education. In spite of the fact that it holds the purse, the public should not be permitted

to dictate its own gospel, nor to prescribe a curriculum. Those who have the ministry intrusted to them must ever "hold fast the form of sound words" though the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing; and in like manner those who preside at our chief seats of learning should guide the public and not yield to it—they should not, on account of an ignorant clamor, abandon that method which the experience of centuries has proved to be the best for developing and training the mind.

But if the multiplying of books designed to impart knowledge of the classic tongues is not proof of increased appreciation of such knowledge, we may at least hope that it will lead to it.

Hardly any two methods of instruction could be more opposed to each other than that which was established in the great schools of England during the Reformation period, and that which took its place. When the noble Dean Colet founded St. Paul's school, and Cardinal Wolsey that at Ipswich, they gave specific directions for their management, which are still extant. These, as well as other contemporaneous writings, prove that the teaching of the classic tongues was conformed as closely as possible to the mode in which the vernacular is acquired. Latin was the language of all learned men. Among such persons boys heard it spoken from their earliest youth, and when they began to study, it was talked to them, read to them, and explained to them orally, and it was only to a very slight extent that they were troubled with grammatical forms and rules. They learned the language by hearing it and by using it under the direction of proper instructors. And what they needed to know of declensions, conjugations and syntax, they learned from the little book now known as the Eton grammar, which was drawn up by Colet, Lily and Erasmus. That manual was in Latin, but there was nothing unnatural in its use, when Latin was the common speech of the school room and even of the play ground. The Reformation which did away with the absurdity of conducting public worship in a "language not understood of the people" was the indirect cause of similar absurdity finding its way into Schools. Learned men began by degrees to stoop to the use of their own language, and so boys were left without that which was the main element in the existing system of instruction, yet in spite of this complete change in their

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circumstances they were required to use, as their predecessors had done, the grammar of Colet or Lily! Teachers of that day would have thought the man insane who should undertake to teach *them* Hebrew from a grammar written in Hebrew, yet they could not see the unnaturalness and cruelty of the course they themselves pursued with the boys. But this was not the only great error into which they fell. They made their scholars no amends whatever for the loss of the constant conversation and patient "lessoning" in classic authors by which their fathers had profited in their youth, but set them, with no other help than that of a dry and difficult book, to "the making of Latines" as best they could, and flogged them soundly if they failed. Well might wise old Ascham say that in such case, "the master were more worthy to be beaten than the child," and that there was nothing better calculated "to dull the wits of children," or give them a hatred to learning than the course pursued. Well might he speak of the "*butcherly fear*" which poor boys had in regard to this "making of Latines," when they were forced, as it were, to make bricks without straw, when "they lacked teaching, lacked encouraging, lacked all things" of *that* sort, but "never lacked beating!"

This most absurd and cruel system ought not to have been tolerated even for a single year, and yet we are sorry to say that with very slight modifications it continued for about two hundred years! Indeed there are people still living who were drilled in accordance with it, and whose teachers would have regarded it an unpardonable heresy to advocate the use of any other books than a big dictionary, Turner's Exercises, and the Eton Grammar!

John Milton and John Locke spoke with great wisdom and indignation against this wretched system, but the credit of exposing and abandoning it in actual tuition belongs to the man who published the first Latin grammar in plain English—viz., JOHN CLARKE, of Hull, who, in the application of common sense to education, was the legitimate successor of Ascham, and whose labors in the cause were constant and of great value, though now they are almost forgotten. His "New Latin Grammar" and "Latin Composition" marked a new era. With them and his editions of Latin works with literal translations, boys were put as nearly as it was possible for them to be, in the position of those

whose teachers conversed with them, and "lessoned them carefully," day by day, in "some select epistles of Cicero, or some history of Sallust or of Cæsar."

The Eton Grammar, Ruddiman's Rudiments,¹ and Clarke's New Grammar, are all very meagre looking, when put beside any of those named at the head of this article. Even the poorest now in use is in some respects much better than they, and yet, in spite of their defects, and the wrong methods employed in connection with them, they did good work. They trained such scholars as Andrews, Lowth, Bentley, Barnes, Porson, Dawes, Parr and Blomfield, whose profound learning is one of the glories of their country. And it was doubtless from some compend inferior to Lily's, that Valla and the Scaligers and Erasmus, Muretus, Castellio and George Buchanan learned the parts of speech; but the smallness of the grammar did not prevent their becoming the greatest Latinists the world has seen for 1600 years. There is a lesson in this fact, which we wish that all classical teachers would lay to heart.

The works now before us may be divided into two classes—viz.

¹ We have been amused at a brief criticism on Ruddiman's little book, which appears in the preface to one of the most recent and most pretentious of Latin Grammars. The author could not find in the old book any mention of *oratio obliqua*, or of *protasis* and *apodosis*, or of the *subjective genitive*, or some other of the phrases that seem indispensable to modern grammarians. From this absence of the terms the learned author seems to infer that Ruddiman knew nothing of the *things* they are used to describe, and he is apparently filled with astonishment that a man whose knowledge of grammar was so scanty, should have held, for a whole century, a high reputation as a teacher of the Latin tongue. He thus invites a comparison which we think he is not able to bear. He is a man of ability, and according to the standard of the times, he is an accomplished scholar. He has written a large grammar on the basis of Comparative Grammar—full of references to Sanskrit and other tongues. But these are not Latin. Doubtless he knows far more about them than Ruddiman did—and more than Cicero! But it is one thing to know *about* a language, and another to *know it*. Learned Doctors, however, are apt to forget this! Ruddiman was as familiar with classical literature as with that of his own country. He wrote and spoke Latin as readily and correctly as if it were his mother tongue. He was *facile princeps* among teachers at a time when the Professors' chairs at Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Glasgow were filled by men who lectured regularly in Latin that would not have disgraced the age of Celsus and Pliny, and the students who listened with delight to the prelections of Cullen and Gregory were all trained by the use of those little books of his, of which the great Dr. — has so contemptible an opinion!

"Practical" and "Systematic" Grammars. Of the former there are two kinds. 1st. Those that follow the order of the systematic works, being in fact mere abridgements of them, accompanied by exercises in double translation. 2d. Those which, like the works of Ollendorff, are constructed on a more natural principle.

To the former of these subdivisions belong the excellent books of Bingham, Bryce and Smith, which deserve well the popularity they have attained. For the use of beginners they are immeasurably superior to the very best of the larger works. And yet we do not consider them equal to their rivals constructed on the other plan. These latter were introduced to the public by the late Mr. Kerchever Arnold. They had (and in England still have) an immense circulation and have done good work, but they were not pleasant books to use. The opening lessons (which are always the hardest) were not made as easy and progressive as they might have been; words were often encountered in the exercises which had not been given in the vocabularies, and the pages were marred by note marks of various kinds referring to paragraphs, and hints and cautions, very few of which were needed in such a book. The first of the series was remodelled by Professor Harkness; and his edition of it competes with the kindred work of McClintock and Crooks for the credit of being the very best initiatory grammar that ever was put into a beginner's hand.

What has thus been said will have prepared the reader for our judgment upon the larger systematic Grammars whose titles we have given. But before saying anything in the way of criticism, let us give them the credit to which they are fairly entitled. They are, in accuracy of *statement*, if not of doctrine, in copiousness and in their presentation of principles rather than isolated facts, far superior to any works of their kind that we have ever seen. Judged by the prevailing opinion as to what a Latin Grammar should be, we confess with pleasure that they come very near to that ideal. They all have great merit, and each has some characteristic excellence. The works of Zumpt and Madvig are, of course, well known to all scholars, and stand at the head of their class. Next to them we are inclined to place the works of Professor Key and of Andrews and Stoddard, although in the Etymological part, the latter is defective, and the former rendered

almost useless by its author's devotion to the "crude form" theory. The special excellence of these grammars is in the comparative independence, the faithfulness and industry with which the writers labored at the syntax. Key's books will always find a place on the table of the Scholar; and we believe that Andrews' (now in its 364th thousand) will not be wholly supplanted by those that are competing for the position it has held for more than a generation.

Professor Gildersleeve's *Syntax* is a very creditable exposition of the laws of the language, more independently wrought out than the corresponding portion of most grammars. It is in our opinion superior to that in Bartholemew's, which yet is on the whole a better book—for school use far better. This latter has certain peculiarities that should commend it to teachers, but want of space forbids us to do more than allude to them. The grammars of Dr. Harkness and Messrs. Allen and Greenough are the only other American publications that are entitled to rank with those we have mentioned, and they are now the greatest favorites. The authors are practised teachers, and zealous philologists, and therefore well qualified to produce works in which the benefits of experience and of scientific research should be combined. It is only just to say that their grammars are more simple in method, and more correct in principle than the older ones, and that, all things considered, they excel all the more recent ones that are, or claim to be, of the same grade.

In reply to the question, "which of these is best?" we answer as Queen Elizabeth did when asked to decide which of two eminent scholars was the greater, "Buchanan I rank before all, but Haddon second to none!"

But apropos of Allen and Greenough's work something remains to be said. In the year 1868, a book appeared bearing the title: "A Manual Latin Grammar, by W. F. and J. H. Allen." This (like everything published by Ginn Brothers) was a beautifully printed volume. It professed to be "full and accurate enough to be a practical guide to the learner," and to avoid "the prodigious multiplication of details, which have so overgrown that study in our ordinary school books." Editors and professors seemed to be delighted with the book. One College President wrote thus concerning it:—

"It gives some hope of classical scholarship. I have long been convinced that the most dangerous foes of classical studies are not the men who decry them—the Philistines—but the men who smother them—the pedants. If classical scholarship shall ever be utterly neglected among us, it will be because those appointed to promote it have substituted for the great works of the great minds of antiquity *endless gerund-grinding, and second-hand scraps of doubtful philosophy, and metaphysics of the subjunctive mood.*"

It was supposed then that the Messrs. Allen had made a great and original discovery; but it was not so. They had only returned to one of the principles upon which all teachers proceeded three hundred years ago, and one, we would add, which was constantly acted upon until the "Great Gerinans" taught our writers to draw fine distinctions and to give elaborate essays in place of the rules of Syntax. We have seen that at the Revival of Learning formal grammar was but little employed in tuition, because, as Ascham said, "*Grammatica* itself is surer and sooner learned by examples of good authors, than by the naked rules of grammarians." As a proof of this, the same writer points to:—

"Our noble Queen Elizabeth, *who never yet took Latin nor Greek Grammar in hand after the first declining of a noun and verb*, but only by double translating of Demosthenes and Socrates daily every forenoon, and likewise some part of Tully every afternoon, for the space of a year or two, hath attained to such perfect understanding in both the tongues, and to such a ready utterance of the Latin as that they be few in the Universities or elsewhere in England, that be in both tongues comparable to Her Majesty."

If such results can be attained without "gerund-grinding," or learning of innumerable rules and exceptions, why should such unprofitable work be continued. The Messrs. Allen believed it should not be, and so sent out their book to meet the real wants of the student. They aimed at precisely the same end as Clarke had in view when he published his little work about 130 years ago. That sensible man said:

"There are a great many things within the compass of the Latin Grammar of very rare and uncommon use, and so of very little, or no significancy, and with which therefore it would be very impertinent to trouble youth. Accordingly *all this stuff I have dropped* as foreign to my purpose, which was to deliver the most substantial and useful part of grammar, and this I apprehend is what is very much wanted, and *not a large complete critical exact grammar, comprising all the most minute and uncommon things that any ways relate to the subject.*"

Thus then we see that the common sense principle was clearly

understood long ago. In accordance with it Clarke wrote his little book of 116 pages, 16mo. Messrs. Allen required 127 pages, and each one of theirs would make two of Clarke's. If, then, for the purpose of giving everything that could be required, and bringing their work up to the level of modern scholarship, they doubled the amount formerly deemed sufficient; if by courageously rejecting all superflinities they brought back the reign of reason and restored "hope of classical scholarship," why, in the name of common sense, did they incontinently abandon the principle on which their manual had been compiled, and offer to the world "Allen and Greenough's Grammar," a book of twice the size? If they themselves are to be credited, all that is in excess of the Manual is useless to the immense majority of students and belongs to the region of pedantry, gerund-grinding and doubtful philosophy. What the Manual required was to be pruned to the extent of about 50 pages, and not to have 120 added. It seemed fitted to supply a great want, and would have had great success, if the authors had not, by their own act, proclaimed that they believed it insufficient.

And now we return to the larger Grammars. Our view of them is that they are wholly unsuited for the work that they are expected to do; that they are hindrances in the place of helps to ordinary pupils; and that their only use is to serve as books of reference. We maintain that for school use the very best of them would be improved by cutting off three-fourths of the matter they contain and simplifying the remainder. Through injudicious following of the "Great Germans" they have become fanciful and dogmatical in their treatment of Etymology, and painfully metaphysical in Syntax. The latter, as they present it, is not a plain statement of the rules which determine the cases of nouns and adjectives, and the moods, tenses, persons, and numbers of verbs; but an attempt at philosophical exposition of mental operations. It is, in fact, an analysis of the laws of thought illustrated by extracts from Roman authors! And this inexcusable anomaly is apparently the thing upon which they pride themselves most. Thus one writer says in his preface:

"The functions which the dependent clause performs as subject, object, adjective or adverb is set forth prominently, as aiding the learner in discovering how the subordinate is related to the leading clause, and hence *how the thought is related to the mind of the author!*"

Now we do not doubt that this may be a fine thing to know, but what on earth has it to do with Latin, more than with English or Hebrew ; and what right has such stuff to be in a book designed for boys ? Its proper place would be in a treatise on the philosophy of language, or possibly in a rhetorical grammar of our own tongue. Class-room drill in subtleties of this kind doubtless does some good. For advanced students they are capital exercises in logical analysis, but not in Latin Grammar. The study of the classics is surely difficult enough of itself. Why, then, should that difficulty be increased ? or why should the vulgar prejudices against the dead languages be strengthened by making the study of them responsible for what belongs to a different department ?

Our fathers knew the ablative case when they saw it, and understood its use quite as well as we do ; but we are quite sure they never heard of "an ablative of quality, with epithet," and that they never dreamed of there being *fifteen* different kinds of ablatives requiring about 25 separate rules to describe them and explain their use !

But let us look into these magazines of grammatical knowledge for some satisfactory exposition of a matter upon which the authors claimed to have labored successfully.¹ "The Subjunctive Mood—that severest trial of the teacher's patience—has been presented, it is hoped, in a form at once simple and comprehensive." We turn to the place and find that the writer of this sentence makes only *nine* varieties of the subjunctive, and that to explain these he does not require many more than one hundred and seventy separate rules and remarks ! This "treatment" of the Subjunctive is "simple and comprehensive," with a vengeance ! The fact is, that these philosophical grammarians devote much more space to this one subject than most of the smaller grammars give to the whole syntax, and after all leave it just about as clear as it was before.

All their expositions are based on the theory that "the sub-

¹ We beg leave to make honorable mention of the Messrs. Allen as exceptions to this rule. They say they "are far from claiming an entirely satisfactory treatment of the subjunctive, which indeed has never yet been adequately analyzed." But Messrs. Allen and Greenough make no such confession.

junctive is used to express *not a fact*, but a *conception* of the mind." Let us test this fundamental position by one or two of their own examples:

"Exploratores per castra Scipio circumduci jussit dimittitque ut renunciarent Hannibali *quas vidissent*."

So then the spies were not to report facts, the things actually seen by them, but the conceptions of their own mind! Virgil, speaking of Helen, says:

"Pergama quum *peteret* inconcessosque Hymenæos."

He refers to this as an event well known, but according to the grammarians, it was not a fact, and Virgil meant it to be regarded as a thing doubtful, or "a mere conception of the mind." They tell us that the indicative represents action as real and definite, and the subjunctive as unreal, contingent, or indefinite. But unfortunately for this doctrine we meet with many cases in which the indicative is used for what is doubtful, and the subjunctive, for what is real and definite. Compare "*Quicquid id est*"—"whatever that *may be*"—with "*præterrita enim ætas quum effluxisset*"—"for past time when it *had flowed away*." Here the sense requires us to reverse the grammarians' rules,—to translate the Latin indicative by the English subjunctive, and the subjunctive by the indicative. Again, we are told that the subjunctive is employed to describe action that was frequent, or customary. This we had been taught to regard as a use of the past imperfect tense of the indicative, but the philosophical grammarians would convince us of the contrary, by examples like these:

"*Id fœtialis ubi dixisset hastam mittebat*."—"When (or whenever) he had said that [the fœtial priest] was accustomed to hurl a spear."

Here it is as plain as possible that what was represented as customary was the throwing of the spear. The saying of certain words was followed by this act, one, therefore, was as customary as the other, but that which the writer emphasized was the hurling of the spear, which he described by the imperfect indicative!

"*Cum in jus duci debitorem vidissent, undique convolabant*."—"whenever they saw a debtor being led to trial they flocked together on every side."

Here the repeated or customary action, which Livy records, was the flocking together to show sympathy with the debtor, or to interfere with the process, and *that* is set forth in the indicative! Moreover, it is very evident that by the subjunctive, "vidissent," actual witnessing of the circumstance was meant, and not mere supposition. Again, we are told that the subjunctive is used in "indirect questions," and in illustration of this we are pointed to passages that contain no question whatever! Thus the whole subject remains, in spite of the industry of these writers, just as obscure and difficult as it was before. They have labored hard and given us a great deal in the way of distinction, dogma, and illustration, but after all it amounts to little more than what the College President called "second-hand scraps of doubtful philosophy, and metaphysics of the subjunctive mood."

Another chief ground of dissatisfaction with these larger grammars is a feature that they and their admirers consider a special advantage, viz, that they are conformed to the latest views of German philologists. There could be no reasonable objection to this if their guides had attained to certainty. But in spite of all confident assertions about it, this "philological science" is very far from being unquestionably correct, or a "fixed quantity." What, for instance, is thought now of those "most recent results of philological investigation" which Professor Andrews incorporated in his grammar, or of those still more "recent results" which Dr. Alexander Allen, of London, and Dr. Harrison, of Virginia, explained and defended with such marked ability. Or of the "crude-form" theory with which Key, Robson, and others spoiled their otherwise excellent books? We are told that these "have been exploded long ago," and the parties who bear this testimony to their fate, recommend their own works on precisely similar grounds. They are "based on Comparative Grammar," they embrace "important results of recent philological research!" And so it is to be presumed the writers of twenty years hence will record the "explosion" of *these* "results," and offer us others attained by the industry of some Schwenkenfeld or Schleicher, whose *dictum* will then be held as law! This is sorry work. The truth is that in place of what is said in prefaces and advertisements, these grammar writers should say they have adopted the

most recent *guesses* of their German authorities. Comparative grammar is as yet in a very early stage of development. Its students have collected a vast amount of matter in the way of forms, resemblances, analogies, etc., and on the strength of these they have made many bold assertions; but after all they have given us very little in the way of law that is unquestionably correct. And as long as this is the case, the less use that is made of their works the better. Is it not absurd to suppose that the principles of Latin Grammar must vary from year to year? But while German philosophers are trying to discover them, let not their experimental essays be accepted as ultimate truth.¹

If the much lauded "philological research" were of any great value, it should have cleared up before this the mystery that envelopes the subject of inflection; it should have given us something in the way of explanation that all scholars would see to be true and satisfactory. But we find nothing of the sort. Take the matter of case endings. What and whence are they? Why do they differ so greatly? These are questions that the philologist meets at the very beginning of his work, and questions that ought to be answered, but are not. Take the subject of declension. The prevailing doctrine is substantially this—that all nouns were originally declined in one way, with a set of terminations almost

¹ English and American writers are sometimes led into strange predicaments by their willingness to adopt things introduced as improvements by their favorite German authorities. Thus we find in Bartholemew's grammar, in that of Allen of Oxford, in Parry's Greek Grammar, and other recent publications, the cases of nouns arranged in this order: Nominative, Vocative, Accusative, Genitive, Dative, and Ablative. This is held to be a great improvement, and credited to Madvig. The Copenhagen professor introduced it, from him Key adopted it, Bryce did the same in his first editions, and when requested to return to the usual order, did it reluctantly, and in fact gave both, claiming that the new method is every way better than the other. Other writers took the same ground, and one of them defends his adoption of the unusual arrangement by saying that Madvig would not introduce an innovation unless it were sure to prove a decided advantage.

Well! this innovation is just 140 years old! And Englishmen are thus accepting and recommending as a genuine German invention, what was set forth in the little grammar of their own countryman, John Clarke! But what writer who wishes to be regarded as keeping up with the times would ever think of going to Yorkshire for precedent or authority?

identical with those of what is called the 3d declension, and all other existing modes are mere modifications of this. Such is the doctrine, and the attempt to make the facts agree with it is truly a procrustean operation. One can succeed indeed if he have full liberty to manipulate as he pleases the forms he uses to illustrate the theory. Thus, as the Genitive of *urbs* is *urbis*, so we must hold that that of *res* was *reis*, but the *s* has been dropped—that of *currus* was *curruis* but the *i* was dropped, that of *servus* was *servius* for *servis*, but the ending *us* has been dropped, and that of *ala* was *alais*, but the *s* was dropped and the *i* changed to *æ*. We are to run the changes in this manner through all the other cases, and having done so, we cannot fail to be convinced that the theory is correct! Unfortunately, however, the authorities are not agreed as to endings of the one original declension. One says the genitive ended in *os* or *is*, another says *ius*, and a third says in *i*. The nominative plural is given by one as ending in *ses*, by another in *es*, by another in *s*, and by another in *i*. The dative plural is variously represented as ending in *-bus*, *-ibus*, and *-is*, and the ablative singular in *-ed*, *-d*, *-bi*, *-i* and *-e*. Thus the different representations of the one original form give us almost as many variations as we find in the existing declensions. And what better could a lover of liberty desire than is thus afforded him. If such a one wishes to ascertain the genitive of *nauta* as it was formed originally, he can choose between *nautaius*, *nautaos*, *nautais* and *nautai*, and for the ablative he can take *nautad*, *nautaed*, *nautabi*, *nautai* or *nautae*! Such are the results of philological research!

But let us turn to the Verb. Have we any trustworthy analysis of it? In regard to the personal endings, the prevailing doctrine is that they are personal pronouns added to the verb form. It is evident that they serve the purpose which the pronouns would serve in that position, but that view is not at all positive enough for our scientific grammarians—they insist upon *identity*. Let us see then how they show it.

The ordinary person endings are as follows: Singular, 1st, *-o* or *-m*; 2d, *s*; 3d, *-t*. Plural, 1st, *-mus*; 2d, *-tis*; 3d, *-nt*. According to the theory each of these is the pronoun of the same number and person. *O* is *ego*, but *m* must be *ego* also, or the theory suffers. To get over this difficulty, Donaldson suggests

that *any* case of the pronoun would do as well as the nominative, and as *ego* has *me* for its accusative, the *m* is at once accounted for, and so while *Amo* means "I love," *Amabam* must mean "me was loving." -*S* is *tu*, but as that is not very evident, and cannot be made to appear even by taking an oblique case, a word is invented for the purpose, viz., a nominative for the reflexive pronoun *sui*. This furnishes the *s*, and so we are at liberty to proceed. The final *t* is *ille*. If one is so blind as not to see identity here, it is very evident that he does not understand the laws of "phonetic decay," and is not competent to criticise theories. In the same perfectly satisfactory manner we are to go all through. We are to believe that -*mus* is *nos*, -*tis* is *vos*, and -*nt* is *illi*! But the rank absurdity of this is too apparent, and so our scientific writers search through the Greek of every dialect for the much needed pronouns. Failing here they go still further away, and give us attempts at derivation from Sanskrit originals, that are very satisfactory to *themselves*! We have no space to spare, but must give a specimen or two. Did ever the herald's office make out for a parvenu a more unquestionable pedigree than this, of the *s* in the 2d person singular. There is in Sanskrit a pronoun of the second person, of which the root is *Tva*; by the loss of *a* and the change of *v* into *u*, this root becomes the Latin pronoun *tu*; but this same *tva* has become successively *ta* (by the loss of *v*), *ti* (by attenuation), *si* (by interchange between lingual surds), and *s* by elision of the vowel.¹ Could anything be more satisfactory than this. Of course it would be offensively inquisitive to ask where such pronouns as *s* or *si* or *ti* are to be found! But the ingenuity displayed in thus accounting for the 2d person singular is nothing compared to that shown in dealing with the first person plural. We have to find a pronoun identical with -*mus*. It used to be said that *हमेः* is that pronoun, and there was something like probability in the doctrine, but our Sanskrit scholars have passed it by in contempt. Their mode is as follows. The corresponding forms in Sanskrit are *ma* and *mas*, but these must (for the theory's sake) be regarded as abraded forms of a more primitive *masi*, that is made up of *ma* + *si*. Of these the former

¹ Parkhurst's "Analysis of the Latin Verb, illustrated by the forms of the Sanskrit."

"is identical with the pronominal root of the first person singular," and *si* is "derived from *tua*, the pronominal root of the second person;" "*ma+si* therefore=*I+you—we*." Thus the first person is made to include the second, and by these various "scientific" expedients the end is attained. "*Montes parturiunt et nascitur ridiculus—mus!*"

Provoked at such pretentious folly, we leave this whole department, feeling assured that if comparative grammar can give no better explanation of the ordinary endings, it is vain to expect from it at present any solution of the difficulties that beset those of the perfect tense, or those of the whole passive voice.

Between the verb stem and the person endings there are in some tenses other forms which modify the meaning of the verb; thus *doce-t*, he is teaching, *doce-ba-t*, he was teaching, and *doce-bi-t*, he will be teaching. In these it is plain that *ba* is the equivalent of "was," and *bi* of "will be." Can the choice of these precise forms be accounted for? We believe that at present (notwithstanding the important results of recent research) it cannot be. Most certainly it cannot on the principle of Dr. Allen, viz., that *a* indicates past time and *i* indicates a future. If so, then *Amat* would be past and *Amavrit* would be future, but they are not. *Regam* (which is future), would be past, and *Regrit* (which is present), would be future, if this rule were correct. But as it fails in Latin, Allen tries to establish or illustrate it by reference to Greek forms. He says that in Greek, "the vowel *a* denotes past time, or is the characteristic of two past tenses." This also is wrong. His example disproves his rule. He gives the aorist and the perfect of the verb *λυω*, viz., *ελυσα* and *λελυκα*. But the *a* in these is not the characteristic of the tenses; the *ε* prefixed to the stem in the former is the indicator of past time, and the *λε* in the other is the distinguishing sign of the perfect, which, however, is not a past but a present tense! As regards the other half of his assertion, he is no more successful in his appeal to Greek. He points to the *ο* in *λυθησομαι* and other future forms, and regards that as proving that *I* is a characteristic of future time! Such is the logic in which men of unquestionable learning will sometimes indulge.

But Allen and Greenough offer another explanation, viz., "The

suffix *bam* is an imperfect of [the Sanskrit] BHU, which appears in *fui*," etc., and "*bo* is a future of BHU." This is put forth so confidently and seems so plausible, that it is doubtless very unkind to call it in question. But we confess that after diligent inquiry we have not been able to discover that imperfect or that future of BHU. We cannot find *any* imperfect or future of that word. It is the root of the verb *Bhavami*, "to be," but unfortunately neither *bam* nor *bo* is found in any part of that verb! Here, however, we will permit the reader to judge for himself. Opposite to each Sanskrit form we place the corresponding Latin :

IMPERFECT.	LATIN ENDINGS.	FUTURE.	LATIN ENDINGS.
Singular—1. <i>Abhavam</i> ,	- - <i>bam</i>	Singular—1. <i>Bhavishyami</i> ,	- <i>bo</i>
2. <i>Abhavas</i> ,	- <i>bas</i>	2. <i>Bhavishyasi</i> ,	- - <i>bis</i>
3. <i>Abhavaḥ</i> ,	- - <i>bai</i>	3. <i>Bhavishyati</i> ,	- <i>bit</i>
Plural—1. <i>Abhavama</i> ,	- <i>bamus</i>	Plural—1. <i>Bhavishyamas</i> ,	- <i>dimus</i>
2. <i>Abhavata</i> ,	- - <i>batis</i>	2. <i>Bhavishyatha</i> ,	- <i>ditis</i>
3. <i>Abhavam</i> ,	- <i>bant</i>	3. <i>Bhavishyanti</i> ,	- <i>bunt</i>

The reader can now determine how much even of resemblance there is here. But be it remembered that much more than resemblance is claimed. "*Bam* is an imperfect and *bo* is a future of BHU!" The explanation of this is that our authors recognize in *bam* and *bo* the remains of this Sanskrit root, and because, in Latin, the one is an imperfect and the other a future, they consider themselves justified in representing them as those precise forms of Bhu. That indeed is a compendious way of getting over difficulties.

Mr. Parkhurst, in his book published under the eye and sanction of Professor Greenough, does not take this short cut. He endeavors to show the stages by which the Latin suffix was formed out of the Sanskrit word. He begins by cutting off the affix, although it is the *characteristic of the imperfect tense*. *Abhavam* thus becomes *bhavam*. Then he drops the *h* and gets *bavam*; the next step is to leave out the *v*, and so we have *baam*; after that there is no difficulty in getting rid of one of the *a*'s, and so the goal is reached, *Abhavam*=*bam*. But considering that there is no proof that these various changes ever took place except in the books of the scientific grammarians, we doubt whether it is worth while to take all this trouble. It might be just as well to take Allen and Greenough's shorter method and say the thing is so.

But Parkhurst's management of the future tense is a study. It seemed impossible by any amount of lopping and "interchange of lingual surds" to reduce *Bhaviṣhyami* to *bo*; so he wholly rejects the future and constructs "a future of *bhu*." To this root he adds "the Sanskrit future character *ja*." So then we start with *Bhuja*. 1st change, *Buja*; 2d (dropping the root vowel), *Bja*; add to this the Sanskrit person endings, and we have;

Singular—1. <i>Bjasmī</i> ,	-	<i>bo</i>	Plural—1. <i>Bjamas</i> ,	-	<i>bīmas</i>
2. <i>Bjastī</i> ,	-	<i>bis</i>	2. <i>Bjatha</i> ,	-	<i>bītis</i>
3. <i>Bjati</i> ,	-	<i>bit</i>	3. <i>Bjante</i> ,	-	<i>bunt</i>

We have supplied one step in the process, which our author passed over rather lightly, and now the result is before us; "*bo* is a future of *bhu*," because *bjasmī* is a [theoretical] future of *bhu*, and *bo* and *bjasmī* are obviously the same!

Did the reader ever see Dean Swift's ridicule of the Etymologists of his day? He had good excuse for exercising his wit, but he never parodied anything more absurd in itself, or more pretentiously put forth than what some of our "philosophical" grammarians now offer to the public.

But we have defects to complain of, as well as errors. In which of the books named at the head of this article can we find a proper analysis of the Verb, or even a decent attempt at explaining some of the chief features in its structure? The reader who goes to them for satisfaction upon this matter, will turn away disappointed. Their authors are so full of interest in extraneous matters that they cannot attend to the very business they have undertaken. They are so convinced that they must look to Sanskrit or some other ancient tongue for a solution of all difficulties, that they pay no heed to what is before their eyes—indeed they are not willing to see it when it is pointed out to them. When through this mistaken idea that a language *cannot* have laws of its own, these very learned men wander off in endless explorations of Sanskrit and Lithuanian, Gothic and Greek, and fail to give such clear exposition of the forms of Latin as every student needs, it is the duty of those who can to step in and supply the want, or help to supply it.

The present writer has made some efforts in that direction

already. He has in public journals invited attention to the structure of the Latin verb, and has set forth at considerable length, a theory of it which he claims to be both simple and sufficient. It will not be necessary for him then to do more than give a repetition of its main points and a few additional illustrations of it.

We must begin where, undoubtedly, conjugation began. The root or stem was the first thing, then came various additions to it, for the purpose of modifying its meaning. To find the stem then must be the first step in our analysis. The grammars which touch the subject at all go on a different principle. They say we must learn the various flection-forms, and then by distinguishing and removing them we will get the true "crude-form" or stem. We prefer a more natural mode of proceeding, and that there may be no difficulty, lay down the following:

1st RULE. THE IMPERATIVE MOOD (i. e. the second person singular present imperative) IS THE STEM OF THE VERB.

To this there is in the whole language only one real exception, and it may yet appear that that one is the result of change in the form, and is therefore only an apparent exception. This rule is not inferred from the mere fact, but from what seems to be a general principle. Children almost invariably learn verbs in what is called the imperative mood, as "come," "go," "give," "take." The general idea is expressed simply and directly by this form, and as the power of using language increases, additions are made it for the purpose of modifying that idea. And as it is with children so was it, we believe, in the beginning with the various tribes or nations. The law is found in English and in Latin and there is good ground for believing that it prevails in the great majority of languages. Even where it does not seem to have been followed, it will be observed that the departure from it is very trifling. The rule has been objected to, (1) because we pointed to the Turkish language in support of it, that language not belonging to the Indo-European class; (2) because it does not apply (or seems not to apply) to some classes of Greek verbs. But these objections are not worth much. We are glad to find facts that corroborate our opinion that the law is founded on a general principle, but we do not attach any special importance to its existing or not existing in any other language than the one with which we

are at present concerned. Even if it were not found in any other we would still point to it as beyond all question a law of the Latin. But if the critics will look carefully they will see that it does exist in many others and even in their own beloved Sanskrit. The imperative of Bhavami is Bhava!

The action described by a verb must be either present, past or future, and for each time there must be a distinct form. But the action may also be considered as going on (imperfect) or completed (perfect), or it may be regarded *absolutely*,—that is, without thought of anything beyond the mere doing of it. Thus we have three points of view, and three times, so that there should be in a perfect language *nine* distinct forms in the ordinary historical mood. Latin has not so many; but at present we need not trouble ourselves about the Aorists. We have in fact then two complete sets, viz., the *imperfect* present, past and future, and the *perfect* present, past and future. The former are called the simple tenses, and the latter the compound, as they are never formed without an auxiliary, though no grammar reveals this important fact.

The simple tenses describing incomplete action are in the indicative mood formed by adding to the verb stem, the flexion forms of which so much has been said above. In the present tense the personal endings are added directly to the stem.¹ For the imperfect past the suffix is *bam*, for the imperfect future it is *bo*. Take then the stem *Ara*, which conveys the general sense of ploughing, and in the simple tenses it is thus conjugated: *Ara-o*, contracted *Aro*, I am ploughing; *Ara-bam*, I was ploughing; *Ara-bo*, I shall or will be ploughing. The full forms are as follows:

PRESENT.	PAST.	FUTURE.
$\text{Ara} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -o \\ -s \\ -t \\ -mus \\ -tis \\ -nt \end{array} \right.$	$\text{Ara} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -bam \\ -bas \\ -bat \\ -bamus \\ -batis \\ -bant \end{array} \right.$	$\text{Ara} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -bo \\ -bis \\ -bit \\ -bimus \\ -bitis \\ -bunt \end{array} \right.$

There are many verbs, viz., those belonging to what are called

¹ In combining the person endings with the stem, or with tense signs, a connecting vowel may be used wherever it is needed, or concurrent vowels may be contracted, according to the well-known laws.

the third and fourth conjugations, which form their future imperfect in a different manner from that here indicated. They add the person endings, *-m, -s, t, -mus, -tis, -nt*, to the verb stem, with such vowel-change as may be necessary to prevent the resulting forms being confounded with those of the present. And so we have as futures, *Regam* in place of *Regebo*, and *Audiam* in place of *Audibo*. But some verbs that follow this rule have also old futures in *bo*. We find for instance such forms as *dicebo, fidebo*, etc. This therefore may be considered the original form, and set down as the type.

The subjunctive present is formed in all conjugations in the same manner as the modern future indicative is in those above mentioned, but of course with such change as is necessary not only to prevent the present tenses of the indicative and the subjunctive having the same form, but also to prevent confusion with the future indicative in the third and fourth conjugations. If this precaution were not taken, we would have the same form used in two or even three different parts of the verb. Thus the 3d singular present subjunctive of *Arare* would be *Arat*, precisely the same as the corresponding part of the indicative, but the vowel change gives us: indicative, *Arat*, subjunctive, *Aret*.¹ In *Regere*, if this principle were not observed, we should have either *Regit* or *Reget*, three times, but in place of an arrangement so awkward, we have three distinct forms produced by simple vowel change, *Regit, Regēt, Regat*.²

The imperfect past of the subjunctive is always formed by adding directly to the verb stem the endings *-rem, -res, -ret; -remus, -retis, -rent*. Thus the primary tenses subjunctive of *Arare* are as follows :

¹ The same end may be gained by adding another (different) vowel to that in the stem, and so we have *a* inserted in this tense of verbs of 2d and 4th conjugations—*monēat, audiat*.

² In connection with this feature in our Analysis, the author of one of our most popular grammars writes "It seems to me to be throwing away all that has been gained in the last century, and in fact destroying all the certainty of the science, to say 'The final vowel of the stem is changed, or another added to prevent confusion, etc.' But in the 2d Vol. of Roby's elaborate Latin grammar I find the following: In the compound future indicative 'the third person plural has *erint* instead of *erunt*, perhaps in order to avoid confusion with the third plural of the perfect indicative, page 207. Here there is another case in which I may leave the objection of the Harvard professor to be met by a brother professor and author."

PRESENT.		PAST.	
<i>Ara</i> , by vowel change <i>Are</i>	-m	<i>Ara</i>	-rem
	-s		-res
	-t		-ret
	-mus		-remus
	-tis		-retis
	-nt		-rent

In the subjunctive there is no future tense, the mood itself being in a certain sense future.

Now before we can go farther we must take up the verb, *Esse*. We have given all of the conjugation of active verbs that can be formed without it, except certain forms in the imperative, in the infinitive, which is a sort of verbal noun, or rather the *substantive mood* of the verb, and in the participle, which is the *adjective mood*.¹

The verb *Esse* is not inflected in accordance with the rules we have given. It belongs to the class of consonant verbs which we claim to have been the first to distinguish as such. By all grammarians it is described as "irregular," and so it is, but not to so great an extent as they suppose. Our paradigm will we think show a method in its irregularity that would hardly be suspected by one whose knowledge of the word was derived from the accounts given of it in even the largest and best [or worst] of the treatises in common use.

The reader will need in examining this paradigm, to bear in mind the fact that certain letters are so closely related to each other that they may occasionally be interchanged; for instance, C and G in the name Caius or Gaius. In this way *r* and *s* are sometimes used one for the other. Thus the name Furios was written Fusios, and Papirius, Papisius; *flos* is used for *flor*, *arbos* for *arbor*, *jus* for *jur*, *tempus* for *tempor*, *opus* for *oper*, and so on. Moreover it is recognized as a rule that when *s* comes between two vowels it may be changed to *r*. Thus we have nominative *Honos* or *Honor*, but the genitive is *honoris*, never *honosis*. In some cases the change does not *necessarily* take place, but either letter may be used. Thus we have the two forms of the names above mentioned and also of the verb *quæso* or *quæro*. The reader bearing these facts in mind will find no difficulty in understanding why in *Esse* the *s* of the stem becomes *r* in certain of the forms.

¹The reader is requested to observe that these descriptive terms are here used for the first time. At least so far as the writer is aware.

The first letter of the stem has been lost in some of the persons of the present tense. We supply it, and append to the original (or theoretic) form that which has taken its place.

Esse—to be.

IMPERATIVE ES—be! or (as STEM)—being.

PRIMARY TENSES.

INDICATIVE.		SUBJUNCTIVE.	
Present.	Es-um—Sum, . . . I am.	Present.	Es-im—Sim, I may be.
	Es-es—Es, . . . Thou art.		Es-is—Sia.
	Es-t—Est, . . . He is.		Es-it—Sit.
	Es-umus—Sumus, We are.		Es-imus—Simus.
	Es-tis—Estis, . . . Ye are.		Es-itis—Sitis.
Past.	Es-unt—Sunt, . . . They are.	Past.	Es-int—Sint.
	Es-am—Eram, . . . I was.		Es-rem—Essem, I might be.
	Es-as—Eras.		Es-res—Eases.
	Es-at—Erat.		Es-ret—Esset.
	Es-amus—Eramus.		Es-remus—Essemus.
Future.	Es-atis—Eratis.		Es-retis—Essetis.
	Es-ant—Erant.		Es-rent—Essent.
	Es-o—Ero, . . . I shall, or will be.	PARTICIPLES OR ADJECTIVE MOOD.	
	Es-is—Eris.	Present, Es-ens—Sens. or Ens—being.	
	Es-it—Erit.	Future, Es-turus,	
	Es-imus—Erimus.	Gerundive, Es-endus, } Not in use.	
	Es-itis—Eritis.	INFINITIVE OR SUBSTANTIVE MOOD.	
	Es-unt—Erunt.	Present, Es-re—Esse, to be.	
		Future, (would be)—Esturum Esse, about to be.	

COMPOUND TENSES.

INDICATIVE.		SUBJUNCTIVE.	
Present.	Fu-i, I am having been, that is, I [have been.	Present.	Fu-esim—Fuerim, I may be having been, or I may have been.
	Fu-isti.		Fu-esis—Fueris.
	Fu-it.		Fu-esit—Fuerit.
	Fu-imus.		Fu-esimus—Fuerimus.
	Fu-istis.		Fu-esitis—Fueritis.
Past.	Fu-erunt, or -ere.		Fu-esint—Fuerint.
	Fu-eram, I was having been—I had [been.	Past.	Fu-essem—Fuissem, I might be having been, or I might have been.
	Fu-eras.		Fu-esses—Fuissets.
	Fu-erat.		Fu-esset—Fuisset.
	Fu-eramus.		Fu-essemus—Fuissemus.
	Fu-eratis.		Fu-essetis—Fuissetis.
Future.	Fu-erant.		Fu-essent—FuisSENT.
	Fu-ero, I shall be having been—I [shall have been.	PARTICIPLE OR ADJECTIVE MOOD.	
	Fu-eris.	Future, Fu-turus—used irregularly.	
	Fu-erit.	Past, Fu-tus—not in use.	
	Fu-erimus.	INFINITIVE OR SUBSTANTIVE MOOD.	
	Fu-eritis.	Fu-esse—Fuisse, To be having been, that is to have been.	
	Fu-erint.		

This verb is irregular in having as perfect stem a form altogether different from that found in the primary tenses. The fact is that the verb, as we have it, is made up of two. The root or stem of the former being *Ea* (equivalent to $\epsilon\sigma$ in the Greek and *as* in the Sanskrit verb "to be"), and that of the other being *Fu* (equivalent to $\varphi\upsilon$ in the Greek $\varphi\upsilon\omega$, and to the Sanskrit root *bhu*). Some few forms belonging to the primary tenses of *Fu* are extant, still as a whole that system is obsolete. So is the perfect System of *Ea*. We have no remains of it. For the perfect tenses *Fu* was originally reduplicated, and *Fufu* was contracted to *Fuv*, which is found in some forms of the verb as used by Plautus and Ennius. This gave way to *Fu*, the meaning of which is therefore not simply "being" but "having been." To this stem, for the present perfect indicative, are added the endings *-i*, *-isti*, *-it*, etc. These are something more than person endings. The reader who examines our paradigm will see that following the analogy of the other tenses, the present perfect should be *Fu-sum*—I am having been. The ending *-i* therefore is equivalent to *sum*.¹ *These endings, whatever their origin may be, occupy the same position and have of course the same meaning in the perfect indicative of every active verb in the Latin language.*

¹ The origin of these person-endings in the perfect indicative cannot be traced. Dr. Harkness, (in his essay before the American Philological Association, 1874), says: "Schleicher himself, admits * * that it is of uncertain origin. No explanation is attempted of the troublesome *i*. Corssen calls it a vowel of formation, and with Aufrecht identifies it with the *i* in the Sanskrit aorist in *isham* as *avēdisham* (!) but attempts no explanation." Dr. H. endeavors in this paper to furnish what none even of the great Germans has supplied, but with no better success, and that simply because he feels bound even when he departs from them in particulars, to follow their methods. He begins by assuming a perfect of the stem *Ea*, viz. *Esi*, and this (by analogy of Sanskrit *asasa* or *asasma*) he supposes to have been originally *esesi*, or *esimi*, then *esimi* and then *esi*. The second person (on this theory,) was *esesti* or *esisti*, and the third singular, having precisely the same form as the second, became on some principle or other, *esit*. For all this there is no warrant, and from it all there is no gain. It brings us no nearer to an understanding of the final letters to prefix a theoretic *Ea*. The *i*, *isti*, *it* remains just as much of a puzzle as they were before. There is another fatal objection to the theory. Dr. H. supposes that in the termination he can trace reduplication, implying perfect action, if so then every perfect must have this represented twice. Thus if *Amavi* is only a much contracted form of *Ama-fu-esi*, then its literals meaning must be "I have been-having been-loving!"

The past perfect of *Esse* is formed, as shown, by adding to the perfect stem the past imperfect, meaning "I was,"—*Fu-eram*, I was having been, that is, I had been. So *the past perfect indicative active of every Latin verb is formed by adding the same suffix to the perfect stem.*

The future perfect of *Esse* is formed by appending to the perfect stem the future imperfect, meaning "I shall or will be."—*Fuero*, I shall be having been, or I shall have been. In the same manner *the future perfect indicative active of every Latin verb is formed by adding to the perfect stem the suffix—ero, the simple future of Es.*

In the subjunctive and infinitive moods the same principle is followed out. The perfect tense or form is made up of the perfect stem and the corresponding part in the primary system. Thus *Fuerim*, "I may have been," is composed of *Esim*, "I may be," and *Fu*, "having been."¹ *Fuisse*, "I might have been," is composed of *Fu* and *Essem*, "I might be."² And the infinitive

¹ In reference to this statement one of our most zealous students of "Comparative Grammar" has made the following remark: "If *erim* is the same thing as *sim*, then a horse chestnut is a chestnut horse. The form and functions are both different." It may be very presumptuous in the present writer to hold his opinion after such a sentence, nevertheless he must do it. The *forms* are not so different but that a school boy can see their close relation, and the *functions* are not different to the least extent. This learned Professor sees in *sim* the Sanskrit *Asyani*, which of course is not at all different in form or function! It is a little strange that what seems so wholly absurd to one scientific grammarian should be at last accepted by another of at least equal standing. In his essay on the Latin perfect, read before the Philological Association in 1874, Professor Harkness says, "It seems to follow as a matter of course that in *Cecinerim*, *erim* is the present subjunctive of the auxiliary *sum*, and that it is for *esim* the full form of *sim*, which drops the initial *e*, as it was also dropped in *sum* for *esum*." We are quite satisfied with this, and leave the one learned Professor to settle the matter of the chestnut horse with the other. Meanwhile, we beg leave to say that we had neither seen nor heard of Dr. Harkness's opinion upon this matter until our own had been published.

² The statement that the *issem* in *Fuisse* is the same as *essem*, has also been questioned on account of the vowel change; but have we not such a change in *Is*, genitive *eius*, and in *Es*, *ivi*, *ire*? But if *issem* in *fuisse* is not *essem*, what is it? The form is almost identical and the meaning is precisely the same. In this case also we have the advantage of Dr. Harkness's support, though he does not seem to see his way very clearly. He speaks argumentatively rather than positively, and as to the pluperfect subjunctive of *Cano*, balances the claims of *cecini-essem*, *cecini-ssm* and *cecini issem*.

perfect *Fuisse*, "to have been," is made up of *Fu* and *esse*. Here again we repeat that *what takes place in these parts of this verb takes place in the corresponding parts of every verb in the language*.

To this rule there are no exceptions. "IN EVERY LATIN VERB ALL TENSES THAT REPRESENT COMPLETED ACTION (except the present perfect indicative) ARE COMPOSED OF THE PERFECT STEM, AND THE CORRESPONDING PRIMARY TENSES OF ESSE—"to be."

But what is this perfect stem of which we speak, and how is it made? It is an inseparable form, equivalent in meaning to the past participle, and it is formed variously in different verbs. Grammarians in general describe *five* modes of forming it, we make three or four at most. The first is by reduplication, or repeating of the initial sound. This was used in Sanskrit and Greek, as well as other ancient languages to intensify or otherwise modify the sense of the verb. Thus we have in Sanskrit *Babhūva* as perfect of *Bhavamī*, and in Greek *λελυκα* from *λυω*, *τετυφα* from *τυπιω*. In Sanskrit reduplication described action *absolutely past*. In Greek its principle use was to denote completed action, without reference to time. In Latin it served both these purposes for the Latin perfect form is used both for an aorist past and a perfect present tense. Examples of this mode are found in all grammars, for instance *Mordeo*, *Momordi*; *Spondeo*, *Spopondi*; *Cado*, *Cecidi*. *Fū*, as a contract form of *Fūfū*, through *fuv*, has already been spoken of. This seems to point to verbs that are generally described as forming a class by themselves, viz., those in which the perfect stem is made by simply lengthening the vowel of the verb stem, as *Vēnio*, *Vēni*, *Lēgo*, *Lēgi*. We have no evidence of the existence at any time of such perfects as *Vēvēni*, *Lēlēgi*, but it is very probable that they did exist and were contracted into *Vēni* and *Lēgi*.

The second mode of forming the perfect stem is by adding *s* to the verb stem, or rather to what is called the "clipt-stem;" in other words the final vowel of the stem is dropped before the *s* is

The paragraph contains a goodly number of guesses, and even some manifest blunders of "great Germans," but on the whole Prof. Harkness accepts the true view. One great source of difficulty with Bopp, Harrison, Curtius and others, is that they *strive to make compounds with the first person of the perfect in place of the perfect stem*. But how could a person-ending be retained in the middle of a compound word?

added. There can be no reasonable doubt of the fact that this *s* has the same origin, and as nearly as possible the same force as the same letter in the Greek aorist. Compare *ἔγραφα*, "I write," *ἔγραφα*, "I wrote," with *Scribo*, *Scripti*. This *s* was originally a part of the verb "to be." It is certainly *not* "a perfect formed from *Es*, the root of *Sum*,"¹ but it seems to be the remnant of the regular aorist of *ἔμει*.

The third mode of forming the perfect is much more frequently used than the others, and for the student of Latin has special interest, inasmuch as it is peculiar to that language. It is the adding of *Fui* to the verb stem to form the perfect. This includes what most grammarians represent as two different modes, viz., (1) the addition of *v* to the verb stem, as in *Amavi*; (2) the addition of *u*, as *Docui*. But these modes are one and the same. In the former *fui* is added to the stem, making *Amafui*, and in the other the same auxiliary is added to the "clipt stem" *Doc*, making *Docfui*. In both, as in *Potui* for *Potfui*, from *Possum* "I am able," the *f* was dropped. Thus, *AMAFVI*, contracted *AMAVI*, and *DOCFVI*, contracted *DOCVI*. The only difference then between verbs of the classes to which these respectively belong, is that those of the second class appear in all school books and in all modern editions of Latin authors, with a perfect ending in *vi*, and this is merely because we have so far distinguished between the uses of *v* as to represent them by different symbols, and for this purpose have invented a letter (*v*) of which the Romans knew nothing. It is evident then that the two endings are mere modifications of one, and it is, we think, no less evident that one is *fui*. Some grammarians pass over this whole matter without a word as to the meaning or origin of the suffixes that characterize the perfect, and in their numbering and their references to them leave on the student's mind the impression that the *-ui* and *vi* are distinct forms, and that they are no more related to each other than *-vi* and *-si*. Others see more or less of the truth, but there is not one grammar extant (so far as we know) in which the correct view is set forth with the prominence and confidence that it de-

¹Professor Harkness's paper read before American Philological Association, 1874. Also Allen and Greenough's Grammar, p. 57, note.

serves. And yet what a flood of light it throws on all these forms! How it brings them out of the region of mere empiricism, exhibiting their structure, and therefore their history, and teaching us their true meaning! *Aravi* is not a mere symbol, arbitrarily chosen to represent the idea that we express in the phrase "I have ploughed," but resolves itself into *fui*, "I have been," and *Ara*, "ploughing." *Docui* is seen to be made up of *fui*, "I have been," and *Doc* (for *Doce*), "teaching."¹

As we have already stated, the perfect stem cannot stand alone; it is not a word, but a form to be used in composition, and when so used it has the meaning that a perfect participle active would

¹It is hardly necessary to say that the older grammarians give nothing like an analysis of these forms, but why is it that we find none in the most recent works, especially in those which are represented as sufficient guides to the student of the Roman tongue. Dr. Harrison treats the endings *ui* and *vi* as one, but knows nothing of their origin, or rather *denies* it. He speaks of the *u* or the *v* "being inserted before *i*," as a mere expletive or formative letter of no real value! Zumpt has hardly the faintest perception of the truth. His editor, Dr. Schmitz, comes much nearer than he to a knowledge of it, but still falls short. The same remark applies to Dr. Anthon, the American editor. Madvig in a note (page 88) says, "*ui* and *vi* were originally the same," but does not tell *what* they were originally, nor what the meaning is, nor does he otherwise use the fact that he recognizes. Dr. Alexander Allen treats them as two distinct suffixes. In the "Public School Primer" the author appears to see their identity but not their origin. Prof. Key reached the same point but got no further. Dr. Harkness in the very latest edition of his grammar, "embracing important results of recent philological research," does not advance one hair's breadth beyond Key; indeed all from which we might judge that he recognizes the identity of the suffixes is in a foot-note on page 88, in which he says erroneously that *evi* is the full and original form of *ui*. But in his Essay before the American Philological Association, 1874, he assumes the correctness of the doctrine as we have here stated it. Allen and Greenough, in two very brief notes (pp. 61, 63), assume that *-ui* and *-vi* are virtually the same; but their sole attempt to explain them is in the sentence, "*vi* is a perfect of *Bhu*," but *Bubhuva* is the perfect of *Bhu*, and there is no other. Here assuredly there is no proper recognition of *Fui*. Parkhurst of course follows his leaders. In his eyes an analysis of the Latin verb would be nothing if it did not trace to Sanskrit or theoretical Aryan, things that Latin itself is quite competent to explain. Gildersleeve says that the ending *vi* becomes in the 2d conjugation *-ui*, but he gets no farther. Bingham treats them as entirely distinct forms. Bartholomew (page 50) states the full truth, but makes almost no use of it. Great praise is due to McClintock and Crooks, who stated the fact and used it *thirty years ago*. From them the present writer learned it, and he is glad to have the opportunity of giving them the credit they deserve.

have, *e. g.*, *Arav*—having ploughed; *Docu*—having taught; *Scripta*—having written. We are now prepared to complete the conjugation. Any school-boy who has learned the primary tenses of *Esse* can form the compound tenses of all other verbs whose perfect stems are given to him. There is but one method for all. Thus:

PERFECT TENSES, INDICATIVE.				PERFECT TENSES, SUBJUNCTIVE.	
Perfect Stem.	Present.	Past.	Future.	Present.	Past.
Arav	- i	- eram	- ero	- erim	- issem.
Docu					
Audiv					
Scripta					
Momord					
Leg					
Volu					

Or to give the full tense form, for every verb.

INDICATIVE.			SUBJUNCTIVE.	
Present Perf.	Past Perf.	Future Perf.	Present Perf.	Past Perf.
+ - i	+ - eram	+ - ero	+ - erim	+ - issem
- isti	- eras	- eris	- eris	- isses
- it	- erat	- erit	- erit	- isset
- imus	- eramus	- erimus	- erimus	- issemus
- istis	- eratis	- eritis	- eritis	- issetis
- erunt, or ere	- erant	- erint	- erint	- issent

In this we think our readers will recognize a perfectly natural and satisfactory exposition of conjugation. We think its simplicity will be received as presumptive evidence in its favor, and when it is considered that, so far as it goes, it leaves nothing obscure, and that it explains things which no other theory can explain, we believe it will be accepted as unquestionably true. We are glad to know that it has met the approval of many scholars, and we venture to say that the day is not far distant when it will be acknowledged and taught even by the most "scientific" grammarians. Some of them say now that it is "fundamentally wrong," but one can hardly expect them to appreciate a *simple* thing. When they have found themselves out of their course, made observations and taken a new departure, we shall have them by our side. But they must first know the legitimate use of Sanskrit, and Oscan, and Umbrian in the study of Latin. These

are *helps* not *rulers*. When our scholars learn that Latin is really a language having laws of its own, then they will be able to see what other people can see now.

Meanwhile let us look at some other languages to ascertain whether there is anything in their structure that may tend to illustrate and corroborate our theory.

It may surprise some of our students of Comparative Grammar to read that *we can trace in Sanskrit itself the very principle which, on account of their devotion to Sanskrit, they cannot see in Latin*. We have shown that in the Latin substantive verb there are two separate roots, and that the conjugation is made out by adding to one of these the forms of the other. So in Sanskrit there are two substantive verbs, the roots of which are *As* and *Bhu*, which, if not the originals, are at least cognate with the Latin *Es* and *Fu*. These are regarded as independent verbs, we have never heard that they were supposed to be related otherwise than in sense, and yet, if our eyes do not deceive us, the parts of *Asmi* enter as necessary constituents to several of the parts of *Bhavami*. But the reader may judge for himself. We place to the left, the forms of *Asmi*, and opposite them those of *Bhavami* in which they seem to be compounded :

PRESENT.	FUTURE PERIPHRASTIC.	OPTATIVE AND FUTURE.	FUTURE.	CONDITIONAL.
Sing.— <i>Asmi</i>	Bhavit- <i>asmi</i> .	S.— <i>Syam</i>	Bhavi- <i>shyami</i> .	Abhavi- <i>shyam</i> .
<i>Asi</i>	Bhavit- <i>asi</i> .	<i>Syas</i>	Bhavi- <i>shyasi</i> .	Abhavi- <i>shyas</i> .
<i>Ati</i>	Bhavit- <i>a</i> .	<i>Syat</i>	Bhavi- <i>shyati</i> .	Abhavi- <i>shyat</i> .
Dual.— <i>Svas</i>	Bhavit- <i>asvas</i> .	D.— <i>Syava</i>	Bhavi- <i>shyavus</i> .	Abhavi- <i>shyava</i> .
<i>Sthas</i>	Bhavit- <i>asthas</i> .	<i>Syatam</i>	Bhavi- <i>shyathas</i> .	Abhavi- <i>shyatam</i> .
<i>Sias</i>	Bhavit- <i>avau</i> .	<i>Syatam</i>	Bhavi- <i>shyatas</i> .	Abhavi- <i>shyatam</i> .
Plu'l.— <i>Smas</i>	Bhavit- <i>asmas</i> .	P.— <i>Syama</i>	Bhavi- <i>shyamas</i> .	Abhavi- <i>shyama</i> .
<i>Stha</i>	Bhavit- <i>astha</i> .	<i>Syata</i> .	Bhavi- <i>shyatha</i> .	Abhavi- <i>shyata</i> .
<i>Santi</i>	Bhavit- <i>avas</i> .	<i>Syus</i>	Bhavi- <i>shyanti</i> .	Abhavi- <i>shyan</i> .

Some want of correspondence is of course to be expected, but we think that no one can fail to recognize those parts of *Asmi* acting as suffixes in the fuller verb. Even in some cases where there seems to be a difference it is only because the compound preserves in the suffix the full form which has been “abraded” in the independent verb. For instance, the root being *As*, it should appear all through the present tense, but does not. It is seen only in the

singular. But the dual and plural of the future periphrastic give it thus:—*Asvas, asthas, asmas*. The conditional gives *Syam* just as it appears, except in the third plural (which is probably a corrupt form), and the future gives it as it would appear if it had not lost the final vowel of its person endings. It undoubtedly was originally *Syami* (or *Asyami*), *Syasi*, *Syati*. We believe that a fuller examination of Sanskrit verbs would show the principle in general operation, but we are quite content with this incursion into this, to us, *terra incognita*!

Let us now turn to Greek. In it also we find the same principle carried out. The parts of the substantive verb enter into composition with all other verbs to complete their conjugation. But the reader will please to bear in mind two things. 1st. That we do not profess to give a complete analysis of the Greek Verb, but to examine it for the purpose of seeing how far its structure is in accordance with our theory. 2d. That the Greek verb "to be," as it appears in grammatical works has very few parts, and so, even after making allowance for the possible errors of grammarians and lexicographers in giving some of its forms to the other verbs that are so nearly similar,¹ we must conclude that they have perished as words, but may possibly still exist in the shape of endings. It may be found that as *Fuerim* preserves the stem letter *e*, which is lost from *Sim* the subjunctive present of *Esse*, and as *Bhavitasmas* and *Bhavishyami* have preserved in their respective suffixes portions that have been lost from the verb *Asmi*, so some tense endings of the ordinary Greek verb may have preserved parts of *εἰμι* of which, but for them, we would have no knowledge.

It is plain that the conjugation of *εἰμι* as it is given in grammars is not only defective but irregular, in this respect, that some parts of it belong to a theme ending in *ω*, some to what may be called its active voice and some to the middle or passive.

Let us look then at what we have before us. Indicative—Present, *Εἰμι* "I am." Imperfect, *ἦν* "I was." Future (Middle), *ἔσομαι*

¹ Few grammarians agree in their representations of the dialectic forms of the verbs referred to, and more than one prominent philologist has said that the different tenses of these verbs "have been mixed up and confounded until it is hardly possible to separate and distinguish them."

"I shall be." Subjunctive—Present, *ω* "I may be." Optative, *ἔην* "may I be!" or "I might be." Future (middle), *ἔσοιμην* "I might be about to be." Infinitive—Present, *εἶναι* [Present Middle, *ἔσθαι*]. Future Middle, *ἔσεσθαι* "to be going to be." Participles—Present, *ὦν, οὔσα, ὄν*. [Present Middle, *ῥομενος*.] Future (Middle), *ῥομενος*. Some of these are from the simple, but now obsolete verb *ἔω* for which see Damm's Lexicon, and Veitch on Irregular Greek Verbs. From this theme it is easy to supply other forms which do not appear in the paradigms of *εἶμι* though some of them are found in ancient Greek, or among the Dialectic forms. For instance:—Imperfect Indicative *ῥον*. Future *ῥσω*. Aorist *ῥσα* or *ῥσα* with its corresponding participle *ῥσας-ῥασα-ῥσαν*. Perfect, *ῥκα* or *ῥκα ῥα* and *ῥα*. Pluperfect *ῥκειν* or *ῥκειν* or *ῥειν*. Optatives *ῥοίμι* or *ῥοίμι*. Middle Voice, Present *ῥομαι*. Imperfect *ῥομην* or *ῥμην*. From *εἶμι* we have a participle, usually represented as *Æolic* *ῥεις, ῥισα, ῥν*. But we may stop here for these are quite enough, not only to illustrate our theory, but to show the origin (we might venture to say) of every flection-form of the Greek verb.

Now for our comparison. Let us take a short verb of the simplest construction, *λυω* "I loose," stem *λυ*.

INDICATIVE ACTIVE.

Substantive Verb.			λυ—loosing.	Substantive Verb.			λυ—loosing.
Present.	ἔω	"I am."	λυ-ω.	Future.—	ἔσω	"I shall be."	λυ-σω.
	ἔεις	-	λυ-εις.		ἔσεις	-	λυ-σεις.
	ἔει	-	λυ-ει.		ἔσει	-	λυ-σει, &c., &c.
	ἔτον	-	λυ-ετον.	Aorist.—	ἔσα	"I was."	ἔ-λυ-σα.
	ἔτον	-	λυ-ετον.		ἔσας	-	ἔ-λυ-σας.
	ἔομεν	-	λυ-ομεν.		ἔσει	-	ἔ-λυ-σει, &c., &c.
	ἔτε	-	λυ-ετε.	Perfect.—	ἔκα	"I have been."	λε-λυ-κα.
	ἔουσι	-	λυ-ουσι.		ἔκας	-	λε-λυ-κας.
					ἔκε	-	λε-λυ-κε, &c., &c.
				Pluprfct.—	ἔκειν	"I had been."	ἔ-λε-λυ-κειν.
Imperfect.	ἔον	"I was."	ἔ-λυ-ον.		ἔκεις	-	ἔ-λε-λυ-κεις.
	ἔσ	-	ἔ-λυ-ες.		ἔκει	-	ἔ-λε-λυ-κει, &c., &c.
	ἔ	-	ἔ-λυ-ε.	Some verbs have what is called a "Second Aorist," which is not an Aorist, but an imperfect regularly formed from the simple verb stem, and the imperfect of ἔω. Thus τυπτω, true stem, τυπ. Second Aorist so called ἔ-τυπ-ον, inflected precisely as ἔλυνον.			
	ἔτον	-	ἔ-λυ-ετον.				
	ἔτην	-	ἔ-λυ-ετην.				
	ἔομεν	-	ἔ-λυ-ομεν.				
	ἔτε	-	ἔ-λυ-ετε.				
ἔον	-	ἔ-λυ-ον.					

Subjunctive Mood.		Optative.		PARTICIPLES.	
ὦ	λυ-ω	ῥοιμι	λυ-οιμι	Present.	
ῆς	λυ-ῆς	ῥοις	λυ-οις	ὦν, οὔσα, ὄν	λυ-ων, λυ-ουσα, λυ-ον
ῆ	λυ-ῆ	ῥοι	λυ-οι		λυ-σ-ων, λυ-σ-ουσα, λυ-σ-ον
τον	λυ-ητον	ῥοιτον	λυ-οιτον	Aorist.	
ῆτον	λυ-ητον	ῥοιτην	λυ-οιτην	ῥας-ῥασα, ῥαν	λυ-σας, λυ-σασα, λυ-σαν
όμεν	λυ-όμεν	ῥομεν	λυ-οιμεν		
ῆτε	λυ-ῆτε	ῥοιτε	λυ-οιτε	<p>The Infinitive of εἰμι is εἶναι, or in Ionic ἐμεναι, often contracted to ἐμεν. in the same manner, εἶναι shorn of its ending appears in the infinitives, λυ-ειν and λυ-σ-ειν. And in the perfect it takes a form more nearly complete, viz., ἐναι, λε-λυ-κ-εναι.</p>	
ῶσι	λυ-ῶσι	ῥοιεν	λυ-οιεν		
Aorist.—λυ-σ-ω		Future and Perfect inflected in same way.			
	λυ-σ-ῆς				
	λυ-σ-ῆ, &c.				
Perf.—λε-λυ-κ-ω					
	λε-λυ-κ-ῆς				
	λε-λυ-κ-ῆ, &c.				

In the Middle Voice the same law holds good. The parts of the substantive verb are combined with the verb stem. Thus the Indicative Present ἔομαι appears in the Present λύ-ομαι, and in the Future λύσ-ομαι. The Imperfect ἔομην is seen in ἐ-λυ-όμην. The Subjunctive is undoubtedly formed with the corresponding tenses of ῥιμι, and the Optative ῥοίμην appears in λυ-οίμην. The Infinitive Present ἐσθαι in λύ-εσθαι and the Future ἔσεσθαι in λύ-σεσθαι. And the present participle ὁμενος in λυ-όμενος, λυ-σ-όμενος and λε-λύ-μενος.

But the principle is still more beautifully illustrated in the Passive Voice.

In it we have a special stem for future and aorist tenses, formed by adding θ to the verb stem. To construct the future passive add to this stem the corresponding part of ῥιμι, viz., ἔσομαι—λυθ-ήσομαι. And for the Aorist add to the Aorist stem, the imperfect past of ῥιμι—viz., ῆν, and thus we get ἐ-λύθ-ην-ησ-η. For the Subjunctive Aorist add to the stem, the subjunctive present of ῥιμί, and we have λυθ-ῶ λυθ-ῆς-λυθ-ῇ. For the Optative future, the same tense of ῥιμι is to be appended to the same stem, making λυθ-ησοίμην. And for Aorist, ῥιην the Optative of ῥιμι is to be affixed in the same manner—λυθ-είην. There is no difficulty in detecting in the Infinitives λυθ-ήσεσθαι, and λυθ-ῆναι, the parts they owe to the Substantive verb, nor is there any in the case of the participles, λυθ-ησόμενος, λελι-σ-όμενος and λυθ-εις.

Is there any room *now* for doubt of the principle which we maintain. Is it not clearly seen in the construction of every form. Need we fear to affirm that the Greek verb could no more be conjugated without the verb "to be," than words could be printed without letters.

If we turn now to the languages which have been formed on the basis of the Latin, we shall find that our principle has been to a considerable extent observed in the conjugation of their verbs, and that it is illustrated by forms that are not in exact accordance with it. For instance, there are in French two auxiliary verbs, *être*, "to be," and *avoir*, "to have," the latter being much more frequently used than the other. In the passive voice both are used, just as they are in English, *e. g.*, *J'ai été aimé*, "I have been loved." But in active verbs the past and future tenses are formed by adding to the verb stem the proper parts, *not* of *être* but of *avoir*. Custom has taken from this use of the verb "to have" all its strangeness, but when we consider it a little it seems much less natural and suitable than that of the other. It is the verb of possession and it does not seem that it can as correctly convey the sense of a verb in its perfect tenses, as the verb of existence can. For instance, whereas a Roman would say, *Amavi*, that is *Ama-fui*, which means "I am in the condition of one who was loving," the Frenchman says, *J'ai aimé*, which is "I *possess* loved." This is awkward and unnatural yet we all use it when we say "we have loved," "we have written." It used to be much more the custom in English than it is now to employ the substantive verb, with others, chiefly neuters, as "I am come," "he was arrived." For these we have substituted the less correct "I *have* come," "he *has* arrived." The Romans always used the former, and the French prefer the latter, yet many of their verbs are still conjugated with *être*. As *Je suis tombé*, literally "I am fallen." But there is one respect in which the French preference for *avoir* is very markedly shown, *viz.*, that while the Latin use was to incorporate the verb "to be" with the stems of other verbs, the French incorporate *avoir* and not *être*. To make this fact evident it will be necessary to give two tenses of the former verb. The stem is *Av*, which conveys the general idea of possessing.

INDICATIVE PRESENT.

ai, I have *av-ons*, We have.
as, Thou hast *av-es*, Ye have.
a, He has *ont*, They have.

IMPERFECT.

av-ais, I was having *av-ions*, We were, &c.
av-ais, Thou wast having *av-iez*, Ye were &c.
av-ait, He was having *av-aient*, They were, &c.

A close investigation will, we think, convince the reader that as in *Esunt*, *Esunt*, etc., the E of the stem has been lost, so in the present tense of *Avoir* the root syllable has been dropped from some of the parts. It certainly has from the third plural, which ought to be *Avont*, and we see little reason for doubting that it has been lost in all the persons of the singular. Suppose the same thing to have occurred in the Imperfect tense, and the remaining parts are the very endings that are joined to the verb stem to form the imperfect tense of all verbs. For instance, *Je cour-ais*, literally "I was having, or I had, running," or, as we say, "I was running."

<i>Cour-ais</i>	—	<i>Cour-ions</i> .
<i>Cour-ais</i>	—	<i>Cour-iez</i> .
<i>Cour-ait</i>	—	<i>Cour-aient</i> .

Some may prefer to regard the endings as in some way connected with the verb "to be," and certainly we shall not quarrel with them, if they succeed in showing such connection. They may point to the fact that *-ais* is added to the stem *Av*, just as it is to the stem *Cour*, and consequently that it gives to both an additional meaning equivalent to "was" in our idiom, and therefore it would seem more correct to trace it to the substantive verb. But in that verb it has no place as a separate form, it occurs in the imperfect of *etre*, just as in that of *Aimer*, *J'etais* means "I was being," or "I was having being," as *J'aimais* means "I was having loving" or "I was loving." But we can afford to let the imperfect pass, if its ability to illustrate our principle in any way be challenged. There can be no question of the fact that it is shown in the two preterites. The Latin perfect served for two tenses, viz., the perfect present, and the aorist, or absolute past: Thus, *Amavi* meant both "I have loved" and "I loved." In the French there is a tense for each of these senses, and these we shall place side by side.

PRÆTERIT, INDEF.		PRÆTERIT, DEFIN.	
J'ai aimé,	I have loved.	J'aimai,	I loved.
Tu as aimé,	Thou hast loved.	Tu aimas	Thou lovedst.
Il a aimé,	He has loved.	Il aimâ,	He loved.
Nous avons aimé,	We have loved.	Nous aimâmes,	We loved.
Vous avez aimé,	Ye have loved.	Vous aimâtes,	Ye loved.
Ils ont aimé,	They have loved.	Ils aimèrent,	They loved.

Why should any one who looks at these paradigms doubt that the very same part of "avoir" which is used as a separate auxiliary form in one is used as an ending in the other? But we know that it is not only doubted, but denied. Let us look then at the future tense:

J'aimer-ai,	I shall or will love.	Nous aimer-ons,	We shall or will love.
Tu aimer-as,	Thou shalt or wilt love.	Vous aimer-ez,	Ye shall or will love.
Il aimer-a	He shall or will love.	Ils aimer-ont,	They shall or will love.

Is there any room for doubt here? Is it not manifest that *ai* "I have," is joined to *aimer*, the infinitive form of the verb? And if it be objected that this combination indicates necessity quite as much as futurity, we point to the fact that the very same idea is conveyed by the so-called future passive participle in Latin. Those who, in the case of *Aimai*, profess themselves unable to see any incorporation of parts of *Avoir*, will surely not contend that *Aimerai* is a "mere corruption of the Latin" form *Ama-bo*! The Conditional present is *J'aimer-ais*, "I should love," and the corresponding past is *J'aurais aimé*, "I should have loved." In the latter form every one can see the auxiliary *Avoir*, and we think every one might see it in the former also, as if it were *J'ais* (for *Avais*) *Aimer*, "I was having to love." Donaldson [in *New Cratylus*], though opposing the principle we are striving to maintain, confesses that the auxiliary *Avoir* is amalgamated with the verb stem, and gives evidence of it in Provencal phrases (quoted by Bopp, from Sainte-Palaye) "*Compatar vos ai*," for *Je vous compterai*. *Dir vos ai* for *Je vous dirai*. These we think conclusive upon that matter. In the language as it is now, we have evidence furnished to eye and ear, but here we have historic proof, we see how it came to be what it is in this respect.

In Spanish we find the verbs "to have" and "to be" both employed as auxiliaries, and so general is the use of the former in

that way that it has ceased to be used as an independent verb expressing possession. The compound tenses are formed by prefixing the auxiliary as in English, and not by agglutination as in Latin and Greek. Thus, *He*, "I have," *Has*, "thou hast," *Ha*, "he has," *He tocado*, "I have rung," *Ha amado*, "he has loved." But in at least one tense of the Spanish verb we find our theory exemplified. The future of *Haber* is :

Yo habré,	I shall or will have.	Nosotros habremos,	We shall or will have.
Tu habrás,	Thou shalt or wilt have.	Vosotros habréis,	He shall or will have.
El habra,	He shall or will have.	Ellos habran,	They shall or will have.

We presume that the most decided opponent of our theory would not insist upon it that these forms are merely corruptions of *habebo*, *habebis*, *habebit*. What then are the endings, *-ré*, *-rás*, *-rá*, *-remos*, *-réis*, *-rán* that are added to the verb stem, *hab*, and which give it the future sense? The answer will be found when we glance at the verb "to be." The Infinitive is *Ser*. Indicative present, *Soy*=sum, "I am." Imperfect, *Era*=eram, "I was." Perfect, *Fui*, "I was." Future, *Seré*=ero, "I shall or will be." The full form of the tense is *Seré*, *Serás*, *Será*, *Seremos*, *Sereis*, *Seran*. These lose the *Se* as *Esse* loses the *E* before Sum, and the remaining letters are joined to the stems of other verbs to form their futures. The Spanish for "he will love" has nothing in common with *Ama-bi*t but the stem *Ama*. Yet the Spaniards have not taken up a mere arbitrary form. The termination has its meaning, as the verb stem has its. Combined they are *Amará*, "he will be loving."

Precisely similar has been the course pursued in forming the future of Italian verbs. The Italian equivalents for the Spanish *Amaré*, *Amarás*, *Amará*, &c., are as follows :

<i>Amerò</i> ,	I shall or will love.	<i>Amerémo</i> ,	We shall or will love.
<i>Amerás</i>	Thou shalt or wilt love.	<i>Ameréte</i> ,	Ye shall or will love.
<i>Amerà</i> ,	He shall or will love.	<i>Ameranno</i> ,	They shall or will love.

Here assuredly there is no "mere corruption" of *Amabo*. The flexion-forms which are added to the stem, are the endings of the future form of the verb *Essere*, "to be." Just as we have seen in the Spanish future, the *S* is dropped, and the termination is appended to the verb stem. In the case of *Avere*, "to have,"

the *S* and its vowel are both dropped, and so the future is *Avro*, *Avrai*, *Avra*. But if some scientific grammarian should say that even in these forms he can see "abraded" descendants of *Habebo*, *Habebis*, *Habebit*, let him exercise his ingenuity in finding out by what process of *abrasion* the Latin future of the verb *legere* has been *expanded* into the Italian form—thus :

Legam	into	Leggero,	I shall or will read.
Leges	"	Leggerai.	
Leget	"	Leggera.	
Legemus	"	Leggeremo.	
Legetis	"	Leggerete.	
Legent	"	Leggeranno.	

But if there be even the least particle of doubt as to what those future endings are, it will be removed by a glance at the equivalent of *Posse*, viz. *Potere*, "to be able." Here the first syllable means simply "able." It has no verb-meaning whatever, all the verb force then rests in the flection-form. And the future of this word is *Pot-ro*, *Pot-rai*, *Pot-ra*, *Pot-reme*, *Pot-rete*, *Pot-ranno*. This settles the matter, *ro* or *ero* means in modern Italian verbs "I shall be," precisely as it did in the Latin *Amavero*, *Scripsero*. It is in all the same thing—the future indicative of the verb "to be."

This ends all that we have at present to say in illustration of our new Analysis of the Latin Verb. That it should have to be set forth now and called "new," is greatly to the discredit of those whose special business it is to teach everything connected with the structure of the language. That they have not done so is very evident, and our dissatisfaction with them is based on the fact that they have not made a decent attempt to explain to the comprehension of a schoolboy the multitude of changes he has to make, that they give him almost no help in this most important matter, but leave him to view his flection-forms as "a mighty maze and all without a plan." Yet at the same time they ask and receive credit for having done their work thoroughly. We hear of their "clearness, conciseness, fulness," their philosophical method of treatment, and their use of "the most recent results of philological research."

In reference to the title "New Analysis," which we have em-

ployed, we have been told that our "theory is as old as Bopp." So far as several features of it are concerned, that is true; it is as old as Bopp, and older; nevertheless, as it has been put forth by the present writer it deserves to be called "new" for two reasons: (1) It embraces more points that are harmonious and true than any theory or analysis that has yet been published. (2) Even if Bopp had made the whole thing clear long ago, he might as well not have done it, so far as we are concerned, for the persons who undertake to stand between us and men like Bopp and Pott, have not taken the trouble to let us know what they thought or established. The only quotations from Bopp or statement of his views that we remember having seen in any American publication on Latin Grammar was in Dr. Harrison's, and there the theory we hold was opposed with all the author's power!

From Dr. Harrison and others we learn that though Bopp evidently saw the fact that the word *Esse* is worked into some at least of the compound tenses of other verbs, he did not appear to see clearly how the union is formed, and encountered so many difficulties that he seemed at times willing to abandon the theory as more interesting than practically useful. The present writer owes nothing to him. From a single remark made by Dr. Schmitz in his edition of Zumpt, and from about the same amount of matter (not over twenty words in all) by Dr. McClintock in his practical grammar, we were led to the investigation, which resulted in the Analysis recently given to the public. No hint or help came from any other source until the work was done, but the interest it excited was strong enough to make us collect and examine all Latin grammars and other works on such subjects, that could be obtained. In examining these we have often been astonished at the nearness of the author's approach to the full truth without his perceiving it. The writers to whom specially this remark applies are Dr. Harrison, Prof. Key, Mr. Welsford, and even Dr. Donaldson. But neither to Pott nor Bopp belongs the credit of originating even so much of our theory as they perceived and expounded. This fact we know will not be relished by some of our grammarians, who think all true learning and philosophical insight belong almost exclusively to the "great Germans." Yet justice demands that it be made known.

Francis Bopp, born 1791, published at Frankfort-on-Maine in 1816 his Comparative view of conjugations, a work that has never been translated into English and is very little known. His great work, the "Comparative Grammar," was published we believe in 1835, and translated into English by Eastwick in 1860. There may have been an earlier edition, but if so we do not know of it. At least seven or eight years then before the publication of the Comparative Grammar, and probably thirty-one years before it was translated into English, the eminent Dr. John Hunter, principal of the University of St. Andrew's in Scotland, published an edition of Ruddiman's little Latin Grammar, in an appendix to which he gave some remarks on the moods and tenses of the Latin Verb. These remarks are very acute, and though the theory advanced by Dr. H is not likely to be accepted in its integrity, it contains much that is true, and it is stated and supported with much ability; in it incidentally as it were, or as a part of his system, he gives the Analysis of *Scripsero*, and teaches in so many words that in "the Moods and Tenses of the Greek and Latin Verb, the auxiliaries being annexed at the end have come to adhere to the verb, and to be considered merely as changes of termination, and they are with difficulty if at all to be distinguished as having been separate verbs." He says also of his views that "they might be illustrated and confirmed by the usage of every language with which he has any acquaintance, perhaps by that of every language under heaven." Speaking of the only great scholars of his own or previous times who had touched on such subjects, he says what the present writer has had to say of others: "Mr. Dawes in his Miscel. Crit., published 1745, reached the very verge of the Editor's opinion, and Matthiæ, the latest writer on the subject [mark!] in his Copious Grammar, published in 1809, has explained some passages of Greek authors conformably to a general principle found exemplified in the structure of every language, but he does not appear to be aware of the principle and the universality of its application." While for himself he says that the views referred to occurred to him in early life, and had been given annually in his grammatical prelections for more than forty years! To him then unquestionably the credit belongs of being the first in modern times to see the truth and the value of it.

The present writer was fortunate enough to get the grammar in which he found this precious morsel of literary history at a second-hand book store about two years ago.

In his appendix, Dr. Hunter says that Dr. Dunbar (the famous Greek Professor of that day) had controverted his views. We were so happy as to procure quite recently an old copy of Moor's Greek Grammar, edited by Dr. Dunbar, in the preface to which he says, "The terminations of verbs were certainly not arbitrary appendages without meaning—my object has been to trace the roots of the verb, and to discover the process by which its tenses came to be formed." Then after criticising the mere empirical rules or statements of Matthiæ and Buttman, he says, "I have given the inflections of *εἰμι*, "I am," and of *εἶμι*, "I go," before those of *τίπτω*, *because they are used as parts of the inflections of that and every other verb*, and because with their dialectic varieties, *they seem to me to have been subjoined to the radical term to form all its tenses and moods.*" This is dated College of Edinburgh, August 20th, 1834. This eminent scholar then saw and accepted the principle. He was a man past middle age when he wrote this, and so was probably next to Dr. Hunter in point of time. Bopp and Pott deserve great credit, but they neither saw the truth as soon nor as clearly as these "great Scotchmen" did.¹

It is astonishing that the discovery they made should have been allowed to pass out of the minds of almost all scholars, still more

¹ Here again we are obliged to withdraw from the "Great Germans," credit that is commonly given to them, but which belongs to others. The late Prof. Hadley, in his Greek Grammar, which among us takes the lead of all others, says: "In the sections on the verb, the forms of voice, mode and tense are reduced to a small number of groups called tense systems." And he describes this method as having been already adopted by Ahrens and Curtius. His work is in fact, only a revised edition of Curtius', which was published in 1852. In the same year appeared Ahrens' Homeric Grammar, but Dunbar's Grammar bearing date 1834, contains the very same arrangement of verbs in tense systems, and as in the preface to it he speaks of another work of a more general character, a philological treatise on the Greek and Latin languages, "published a few years ago" it is not unlikely that he may have introduced it in this part of his peculiar system, and that the "Great Germans" may have learned it from him. At all events *this* improvement, if it be an improvement, is due to the great Scotchman!

astonishing that when it is now revived, the credit of it should be claimed for a German who was their younger contemporary.

We are perfectly willing to acknowledge whatever in this matter has been done by previous writers, and to give full credit to those whose hints led us to engage in the study of conjugation, nevertheless we can safely assert that we worked out the theory for ourselves. And that what we have made public is not merely the doctrine of the incorporation of *esse* with the stems of Latin and Greek verbs, but a systematic view of the whole subject, of which that is only one feature. In this article we have not been able even to touch upon some of the other points, but lest there should be any questioning of priority, we take the liberty of placing on record the following statement, viz. : That so far as we know, no previous writer has given a complete analysis of *Esse*, with an explanation of its apparent anomalies.

No writer has mentioned in any other way than as a sort of accident, that the imperative mood is the crude form or stem of the verb.

No writer has distinguished the formation of the perfect present in *fui*, *vi* or *ui*, as the normal mode—peculiar to the Latin tongue.

No writer, so far as we know, has shown the formation OF ALL THE COMPOUND TENSES OF ALL LATIN VERBS, *from the perfect stem of the verb and the primary tenses of "ESSE."*

No one has, in opposition to the present fashion, vindicated the right of the third conjugation to be classed with the others as having a vowel characteristic, nor denied that its terminations are fused in with the stem vowel in other conjugations.

No one has pointed out the true consonant conjugation, nor shown that the tenses of the "irregular verbs" are for the most part quite regularly formed. And yet, what we claim is not the credit of having discovered any one or more of these things, but of having been the first to harmonize them into a system based upon a perfectly rational theory, and calculated to make the study of Latin more simple than it has ever been since it ceased to be a spoken language.

JOHN H. DRUMM.

SUNDAY SCHOOL BOOKS.

It is worth while to try to bring before ourselves distinctly the idea of a good child's book. We mean of course by a child one to whom a book may properly be addressed, one old enough to find an interest in literature by himself without explanation or teacher. It is almost inevitable that we should think of something in the form of a story for a separate entertainment of this particular age. Manuals of science may contain interesting facts and experiments which will aid the skilful teacher in developing the young mind. But no outline of abstract truth, however lucid and interesting, can by itself secure and detain the attention of a young person very long. Nothing can do this but a picture of life in the concrete, of men and women, boys and girls, as they have passed through trial and adventure, danger and triumphs, amid the different scenes of nature, hostile men, savage beasts, storms and floods by land and sea. It is not impossible to interweave the peculiar attractiveness of abstract knowledge with such narratives. Still it must even then be always carefully kept somewhat out of sight, as a subordinate element and serving to illustrate with a new interest the main action or the perfections of the leading character. Science will have to be learned from the best boy's story very much as from the outer world itself, as the result, namely, of after-reflections, the action of the maturing mind upon what at first excited merely wonder, curiosity, feeling.

There are three books in our language (and there are not three more which can be ranked with them) which may be taken as types of all successful books for the young: Robinson Crusoe, Gulliver's Travels and The Pilgrim's Progress. The first is a picture of the human spirit battling unaided and alone with the great forces of nature, with solitude, hunger and desolation, and winning its triumphs by ingenuity, by patience, by industry, by watchfulness.

The second gives a new piquancy to human experience by first diminishing and then magnifying the scale of its bodily powers, and then transferring its capacity to a different animal form. The last lends a living interest to the abstractions of religious experience by investing them with flesh and blood and personality. The only other book which can be compared with these three in its permanent power to absorb the youthful mind, the *Arabian Nights*, accomplishes its end by mingling the creations of the imagination, its genii and miracles of magic, with the actual business of life. In all these works we have imagination, the plastic power, combined with fancy, whose characteristic property is to preserve the fixed and definite character of the different parts of its whimsical compounds.

A book for the young will be pleasing, because of qualities which will render it attractive to every age. It will be simple, direct, fresh, full of life and movement; it will have the truth which comes from real knowledge and original observation; and when it seeks to describe human character it will reproduce it with dramatic fidelity and spirit. What cannot from their nature interest the young are the characteristic abstractions of a mature and reflecting mind; the intricacies of legal forms, the details and reiterations of mere business; yet there are certain principles in philosophy, law, government, and even business routine, to which a vigorous and skilful mind can give a permanent interest for the young as for every other age. It is probable that by the age of eight the greater part of our natural philosophy is already acquired. It is certain that many bright and natural children when they are fourteen feel as keen an interest in certain metaphysical puzzles, especially such as involve religious questions like predestination and free will, as they ever attain in mature life. Some of these questions in metaphysics have a peculiar interest for the opening mind. Neither does any new light appear to be shed upon them by what is distinctively called science. We come early to certain limits which bound our efforts in given directions, and after some ineffectual striving we learn to turn our thoughts upon matters within our reach. But courage, enterprise, daring, always elicit the sympathies of the young. The boldest venturer into the field of learning, so long as he keeps an undaunted front, will find youthful followers.

To young enthusiasm nothing seems impossible. Whatever therefore promises results, whether in study or in action, any clear, high principle, carried out in an individual life, or on the field of history; a fruitful theory, holding out solutions of difficulties, old and new; any lucid, eloquent exposition of earnest purpose or doctrine; all or any of these may secure youthful attention and interest, even though many mysteries be unexplained, many obstacles untouched. Hence the charm of that impulse which drives the youth from home to seek adventures over distant lands and seas; which leads him to expect to meet with pygmies and giants and to rejoice in the strangeness of the situation; which finally gives such force and reality to the facts and experiences of religion when clothed in living forms and visible scenes.

But De Foe, Swift, and Bunyan could never have won their place in youthful regard without their downright truth and fidelity to nature, a certain flavor and atmosphere of the outward world, a delicate and close observation which lend to the wildest creations of the imagination and fancy an air almost of sober reality. It is not adventure alone, it is not the invention of marvels, nor is it the solemnity of religion, which have made Robinson Crusoe, Gulliver, the Pilgrim's Progress, household words, but genius of the highest order, with the observance of proportion, the modesty of nature, even amid the strangest improbabilities and temptations to overstep it. No works have oftener received the attestation of Horace's remarks upon all masterpieces, the apparent ease with the real impossibility of imitation. A thousand unsuccessful efforts will occur to our memory in illustration of this. It is notable, moreover, that no one of these memorable works was written with a studied design to address the young. They were each the fruit of a happy, almost unconscious, inspiration. Of all of them nearly the same might be said which Bunyan has confessed of the Pilgrim's Progress :

"When at the first I took my pen in hand
Thus for to write, I did not understand
That I at all should make a little book
In such a mode; nay, I had undertook
To make another."

It is not unlikely that Bunyan thought chiefly of giving some sort of system to the subject of his sermons to his humble congregations

around Bedford, De Foe was trying to make a popular and paying story out of the narrative of Alexander Selkirk's adventures, published by Capt. Rogers a few years before, while Swift was seemingly meditating only a biting satire on that political world which had disappointed his ambition and from which he had been banished. But each having gifts, spoke and wrote better than he knew. They found their audience among those of whom they were not thinking, or whom perchance they undervalued, the children of all succeeding ages, for whom their words possessed a peculiar and irresistible charm. Robinson Crusoe and Gulliver were popular from the day of their first appearance. The Pilgrim's Progress struggled through a century and a half of neglect and oblivion, except among servants and the young. Then it rose into such favor with the general public as to give a temporary notoriety to the author's other writings, which deserve to be forgotten. Swift is the only one of the three who wrote anything else that has a valid claim to be remembered.

Of each and all of these three works doubtless might be said with truth what Goldsmith said of his Vicar of Wakefield: "There are a hundred faults in this thing, and a hundred things might be said to prove them beauties. But it is needless. A book may be amusing with numerous errors, or it may be very dull without a single absurdity." The books of which we have been speaking are amusing in spite of errors and absurdities, and they are never dull. They possess the qualities which will always secure a hearing to human speech, whether spoken or written. They are vivid, picturesque, earnest, full of elemental life and feeling; recording the strangest experiences with simplicity and as matter of fact, and giving an honest expression to the thoughts of average people under the most novel circumstances. Such qualities have procured them the suffrage of the least prejudiced criticism in the world. The young, who will not read at all while they have strength to play, will share even their games with the solitude of Robinson's hut, or the companionship of his goats, his parrot, or his man Friday. The youthful sceptic who cavils at prayer or catechism, will accept the giants of Brobdignag and the dwarfs of Lilliput; or with nearly equal facility, the lessons of Interpreter's house, the warnings of the Dark Valley, and the charms of the House Beauti-

ful. It is said that every form of matter has its key-note: that every log of wood, every kind of rock, and also every house and structure made of either, however massive and firm, can be made to tremble and quiver when its own music vibrates in the air. And thus the human soul, however unformed and heedless, though depraved by passion and unused to sympathy, in young and old alike, can be awakened and stirred when the proper note is struck and the master's voice penetrates all the depths and shallows of our being, calling forth whatever of comprehension and earnestness, faith and exertion, we are capable of.

One is startled on reviewing the prolific issues of the press, to find how few have any claim to be ranked with the three that have been mentioned, the latest of which appeared nearly one hundred and fifty years ago.¹ The really successful children's books may be counted on the fingers. One, the "Swiss Family Robinson," that has come nearest perhaps in success, is a close imitation of the standard favorite, whom its name suggests. The other imitations, whose name is legion, have been cast out of popular remembrance by the inexorable spells of taste and time.

We would gladly offer to those who may possess the gift, an incentive to produce something for the young suitable to the present time, yet worthy of being compared with the great examples. At this moment we can think of nothing more useful than to exhort them, by every consideration of taste and pity, to shun as far as possible the bad examples set them by the various Societies throughout the land, whose professed business is to publish books for the young. The following is the actual experience of a Church clergyman known to us. On being called to a Parish in the West, whose Sunday School library had been replenished by his predecessor with publications from various sources, he set himself to read the books with which he was not familiar, keeping a diary in order to preserve and verify his impressions. The following are some of the results of what he strove to make an impartial examination. It must be confessed that there are books sent forth by our own Sunday School Union liable to criticisms

¹ "Gulliver's Travels" was published in November, 1727.

similar to some of these. But it is to be hoped that as a rule they are comparatively few.

"Fanny Mansfield; or the Adopted Sister." American S. S. Union, 1847. In this book the adopted sister, Ellen (age ten), 'being about to die, says to Fanny, of the same age :

"I think if you were to read the Bible with attention and with prayer for God's grace that you might be enabled to understand and follow its precepts, and then study the character of Jesus Christ, and take him for your pattern and receive him as your only and sufficient Saviour, you would find that to be the best mode of satisfying your conscience." "Is this the way you do, Ellen?" asked Fanny.—pp. 157, 158. [And well she might.]

Fanny is an impulsive child, who seldom perseveres in what she begins. Her reform of this fault is thus described :

Deeply impressed * * * she *sat herself* [sic] to work diligently, studied faithfully while at school, and employed herself actively and usefully when at home.—p. 170. After she had thoroughly conquered her fault, "Fanny made a public profession of her faith in Christ," and "labored zealously as a Sunday School teacher."—p. 180.

In these books we are often taught that the Church is for those who have first succeeded in making a thorough reformation without its aid.

"The Village Boys; or the Sin of Profaneness." American S. S. Union, 1847. Mrs. Lindsley, while gathering flowers by the bank of a stream, overhears two boys quarreling and swearing. On questioning them she learns for the first time not only that her own son Charles, a lad of fourteen, swears, but that he stands at the head of the boys of his class as well in this as in all other things. Thereupon the lady arranges a series of Saturday evening Bible classes for the two bad boys and her own three children, and the subjects of the lessons are, first, what profaneness is; on the next Saturday, what its causes are; next, its tendency and results. After these three weeks the boys formed a Total Abstinence from Swearing Society, and administer the pledge to all their school-mates and friends. At the first Bible class lesson Mrs. L. asks one of the bad boys, John :

Should you think an infidel, or even a Universalist, would fear an oath?

Thereupon her own son Charles, speaks up of his own accord.

I do not see how they can ; for one expects to be saved at last, however much sin he may commit, and the other does not expect anything after death.—p. 59.

This same hopeful Charles in the interval between the second and third lessons brings a false charge of swearing against a pious old black man, who once belonged to the family. After the third lesson Mrs. L. asks the boys if they remember the tendency and results of profaneness. Again her Charles speaks up for the rest in the following glib style :

It takes away the respect of the good—it leads to evil company—it grieves the Spirit from the heart, and makes it more difficult to love God, besides corrupting ourselves and others. "And takes away," said John (*who was intently listening to Charles' reply*), "the fear of God and man ; and when both are gone, what can a man expect but to grow more wicked ?"—pp. 99, 100.

The boys become so interested in their teacher's lessons that their thoughts naturally take the shape of Scripture texts. Thus Mrs. L.'s Frank, a boy of twelve, does not reply directly to an inquiry of his mother, but "Such a person seems to be heaping up wrath against the day of wrath, said Frank, *musingly*." p. 96. At pp. 73-75 a story is told of an irreligious farmer who swore when a thunder storm passed by his parched fields, but is thus reproved by the narrator (who claims to be in the secrets of Providence) :

Did he not know that that very cloud concealed the bolt of death, and that, but for God's merciful care of him, he might have been struck with it, and so perished in his dreadful sins ?

Charles is represented saying after his reformation :

I do not see so great a difficulty in breaking one's self of the habit of swearing. It seems to me as it did to the great and good Washington, that "the foolish practice of profane swearing is so mean and so low, that every person of sense and character would detest and despise it."—p. 118.

Some years afterward he is asked by his sister if he finds the third commandment a hard one to keep, and he answers complacently :

Not at all. There is no temptation that I know of for me to violate it now. It rather seems to me a mark of a coarse, vulgar mind.—p. 141.

Mrs. L.'s Fanny, a child of nine, cuts out of the newspaper a piece which says :

After his marriage John Bunyan fell in eagerly with the forms of the established Church, but he did not throw off the habit of profane swearing.—p. 114.

This book may be compared to a nosegay with three flowers: first, the self-complaisant youthful piety; second, the charitable insinuation that the Church of England is tolerant of profanity; and finally the redolent aspersion on the memory of the author of the Pilgrim's Progress.

"The Circus: a Story for boys," by Mrs. A. S. Anthony. Am. Tract Society. Boston: 1863. Aunt Hetty, the model Christian, says, "No Christian should be found at a circus." Mr. Hammond says to his son Nat: "Your mother went with you once" [to the circus]. "Yes," replies Nat, "but Aunt Hetty says she was not a Christian then." pp. 19-21. Mr. Belden, the pastor, talking to the good boy, Nat (age thirteen), the latter says: "What can I do?" Mr. B. replies, "Nothing. Yield to Christ's love. We cannot wash away sin; we cannot purchase forgiveness; and yet how many souls have gone to perdition from just here, unwilling to receive atoning blood free!" pp. 97, 98. [*Where did Mr. B. learn this sad fact?*]

Elegancies: "Slantindicular," p. 7. "We hain't a cent of money to our name," p. 57. The titles of some obscene books are given, p. 91.

"Five Years in the Alleghanies." Am. Tract Society. New York: 1863. This is in many respects a remarkable book. It is written by such a man as Macauley in his article on Ranke imagines his tinker or coal-heaver to be, who

"Hears a sermon, or falls in with a tract, which alarms him about the state of his soul. * * * He exhorts his neighbors; and if he be a man of strong parts, he often does so with great effect. He pleads as if he were pleading for his life, with tears, and pathetic gestures, and burning words; and he soon finds with delight, not perhaps wholly unmixed with the alloy of human infirmity, that his rude eloquence rouses and melts hearers who sleep very composedly under ordinary preaching.

The author briefly describes his boyhood as that of an orphan, reared up under religious influences of the Scotch Presbyterian type, deeply versed in Flavel and Boston, at the age of ten to thirteen, but declining from youthful piety by degrees, which are characteristically given as follows: "Tobacco-chewing, card playing, profanity, Universalism." A partial reformation ensues upon his marriage (at the age of eighteen), which as a rule (Bunyan's mar-

riage is excepted only for the sake of the fling at the Established Church) is described in these books as the most efficacious of Sacraments.¹ He nerves himself to say grace and to commence family prayer on a Sunday evening. He joins himself to the nearest religious society and commences lending good books. At the age of twenty-three he meets with a friend who determines the future bent and current of his life, by instructing him how to manage Sunday Schools, and to become a colporteur of the American Sunday School Union. The rest of the book describes his labors as a rough preacher from house to house, a distributor of tracts and books—labors which he evidently performed with great zeal and effect; but which are described with such habitual exaggeration and such artless unconsciousness of anything like the Christian graces of humility and modesty, that but for an air of evident honesty, we would pronounce the whole account unworthy of credit. Every one weeps at his preaching. The reiteration of this statement throughout the little volume is curious. One of his first converts was a fiendish giant, clothed in rags and begrimed with coal dust, which had not been washed off for months. His disposition was as bad as his appearance; but at the colporteur's preaching, "the tears ran down his blackened cheeks, *till the coal dust was washed away below his eyes.*" p. 21. Soon after the preacher came to a wicked man, who "ground his teeth with rage and swore he did not want to hear anything on the subject" of religion. But he too "soon *shed tears,*" and begged the favor of frequent visits. pp. 23-24. A penitent Universalist, after reading some books, is brought to his knees, and while the colporteur and two companions pray for him, "*the tears were running down his cheeks;*" and he replies to some question "with a sob," p. 35. So a "surly and sceptical gentleman" is converted by reading "Nelson on Infidelity," and in ten days he converses "*with tears running down his cheeks.*" p. 36.

It is notable that in almost the only text of Scripture attempted to be quoted at length in the book—a combination of St. Mark ix: 38 with St. Luke ix: 26—it is twice given inaccurately, pp. 9, 18.

¹ The preachers, like Goldsmith's Vicar, make "marriage one of their favorite topics," but none, like the Rev. Mr. Primrose, are monogamists.

In his controversies he trusts for victory to a rough and summary retort. He demolishes a Universalist by telling him that his creed justifies murder and suicide, pp. 32, 33. He puts a Roman Catholic prelate to flight by persistently demanding, "Tell us whether you let Washington into heaven or not." The style in which this anecdote is given is the vulgar blemish of the book: "The bishop tore his surplice off in a rage, and *put out of the house*, with one or two priests after him," p. 88. A Swedenborgian challenges him to illustrate the Trinity. "Said I, pointing to the candle, Sir, there is a trinity giving us light. There is tallow, wick and fire, three in one," p. 140. One of the most fearful encounters in the book is with an antinomian preacher, pp. 77-80. The writer's attempt to settle theological questions are such as might be expected in an uneducated man. He quotes the example of the penitent thief to prove that "*sanctification* was completed in a few hours," p. 198.

The effect on the whole of reading the vapid narratives of wonderful conversions, meetings, successes, etc., is too much like that of an advertisement, with certificates of some quack nostrum, only here the nostrum is the Tract Society with its publications. He visited the families of B— county in Virginia. "Every one I talked with seemed moved by the Spirit. I sold more than \$200 worth of books, and a few months after more than one hundred persons were added to the Churches," p. 51.

"The Transformed Village." This is an English work, republished by the American Tract Society. The parson is thoroughly of the Society's style of Christians. The following is an extract:

"Here was a man who had lived a moral and praiseworthy life, socially speaking, who had enjoyed the esteem and respect of his friends and the love of his family, but who had not lived to serve God, and who had never tried to make a friend of his Saviour," p. 85.

"The Boy Patriot."—Am. Tract Society, 1863. This is a boy's book, written with more skill and spirit than the average. The religion only is utterly unnatural.

"Abel Grey."—Am. Tract Society, N. Y. Reprinted from Religious Tract Society, London. A thoroughly good book. The religion of it, however, is often quite unnatural (except in the first part), and has the appearance of something put on, and an excres-

cence, like the references to texts in the midst of children's speeches.

"The Six-penny Glass of Wine."—Am. S. S. Union, 1833. This is one of the most revolting of little books, redolent of prison odors, adapted to put wickedness into young minds. Stupid also, dense and irredeemable.

"Katie Hildreth."—Mass. Sabbath School Society. Beneath criticism.

"The Dumb Boy." "Why should I obey my mother?"—Am. S. S. Union. As literature incredibly bad.

"The Trial of the Pope, &c., for High Treason against the Son of God, on the testimony of the Sovereigns of Europe, &c., before the Right Hon. Divine Revelation, the Hon. Justice Reason, and the Hon. Justice History."—Am. and Foreign Christian Union, N. Y., 1854. A hot, controversial extreme Protestant work, while still a religious burlesque. The most unsuitable reading imaginable for children.

"Charley Kempsey's Farm."—Am. S. S. Union, 1860. It has been said that Jonathan Edwards [born 1703] and Benjamin Franklin [born 1706] represent the two sides of the New England character. This book is redolent of Franklin and poor Richard. The religion seems like plaster ornaments, only stuck on in spots.

"Who would not Pray?"—Am. S. S. Union, 1846. Incredible and unnatural. A clergyman converts a gig-driver by persuading him to repeat over and over a short prayer, "O God, for Christ's sake, give me Thy Holy Spirit."

"The Passing Bell; or He Died Rich," also "Jessie Brown, the Moorland Girl."—Am. S. S. Union. One little girl, Fanny, gives another, Jessie, a Bible as a parting gift after a summer acquaintance. "Take it, dear Jessie," said Fanny, "for it is the best keepsake that I can give you; it tells you that our sins may be blotted out by the blood of Christ; and it teaches us to pray for a new heart, which is given by the Holy Spirit to those that ask it

for Christ's sake," p. 23. These words, containing nothing but what is holy and right in themselves, become almost repulsive from their violent unnaturalness under the circumstances. It is thus that these books degrade religious truth with an air of hypocrisy and cant. The following is a more flagrant instance.

"The Good Indian Missionary."—Am. S. S. Union. This book is a frightful specimen of the incredible stupidity (a little relieved by a dash of malignity) which presides over the manufacture of children's nutriment in the publications of this society. It is simply a fraud to call compositions of this kind children's books. They are the droning Calvinism and dull prejudice of the afternoon lucubrations of a New England Meeting-house; the attempt to pass them off as conversations of parents and children, or to weave them into the elements of a story, is the most atrocious outrage upon probability of which literature is susceptible.

"Mr. Selden—'Can you tell us, my daughter, who the Puritans were?' Julia—'Yes, Sir:—I find that the name was given reproachfully, in the time when Elizabeth was Queen of England, to those pious men who endeavored to copy the simplicity of manners, discipline, doctrine and worship, which is found in the Bible, in a very strict and perfect manner. * * They were much persecuted, and fled to America in order to enjoy freedom of conscience' [and to hang and drown Baptists and Quakers whose conscience did not coincide with theirs]. Mr. S.—'Very well said.'" pp. 8, 9.

"Theology in Romance," by Mrs. M. Leslie and Rev. A. R. Baker, Boston, 1859. This is an attempt to explain and recommend the "Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism," by instruction and stories on each question and answer. The absurdity of the language and sentiments ascribed to little children is inconceivable. Little Lotty's death-bed, p. 26, is a repulsive specimen. The proof of the authenticity of Scripture is compared to that of the authenticity of the Catechism, by the mother's telling her children that she "once saw an old gentleman" whose "father told him that his great-great-grandfather was a member of the Assembly," p. 29. On p. 73 the text I. St. John, v., 7, is quoted as a principal doctrinal proof, without any critical note concerning its genuineness. Such artless prattle as the following is recorded in a lesson about Adam and Eve: "I think it was real mean in them to eat the forbidden fruit, cried Walter indignantly," p. 127.

A most repulsive story, entitled "the family of thieves" is told p. 168-171, to illustrate original sin. All the children of certain bad

parents turn out thieves, not excepting the baby "taken from her mother's arms," and reared by a benevolent lady who

"Began early to teach the little one the difference between mine and thine, and through all the years when the young mind is susceptible to outward influence, endeavored to impress upon her, both by precept and example, that it was sin to appropriate to one's self the property of another; but it was in vain. *The seeds of sin were planted at her birth.*"

She proved as thorough a thief as all the rest!! p. 170. From p. 128 to p. 212 a curious parable is invented to illustrate "the Covenant of Works," "Election," and "Predestination." An uncle puts a box, with a loaded pistol inside, within reach of a boy who is not to touch it, but is to have a great treasure in it if he abstains. The boy opens the box, is nearly killed, and transmits consumption to his posterity! An almost equally absurd allegory in the last chapter is entitled "the Pardoned Rebels." The hideous degradation of taste which ensues upon the fostering of an exclusively sectarian literature is strongly exemplified in this and in the following book.

"Nineteen Beautiful Years; or Sketches of a Girl's Life, written by her sister; with an introduction by Rev. R. S. Foster, D.D."—Harper & Brothers, N. Y., 1868. This is a Methodist publication, gushing with emotion, yet equally execrable in taste with the cast-iron stupidity of the Calvinistic work mentioned above. The Methodist D.D. who introduces it promises that the dead "shall ascend the eternities," p. v.; and with equal impiety and silliness pronounces the dying girl's goody exclamation, "Tell everybody to be good"—"a commission that might have adorned the lips of Jesus in the hour of his agony"!! p. vi. She kept enough of nature to utter an unconscious protest against the distinctive feature of Methodism:

"She never referred to any particular occasion as the scene of her 'conversion' and no marked change was noticed by her friends in a life always strangely pure and true. She spoke but little about her feelings, upon what she sometimes called "The One Subject in all the world," p. 55. See also p. 60.

The poor child is trained by her teachers to say, "the event that *has transpired*," p. 61. She is dragooned into Methodism against her judgment, p. 65, 70. A lady whose prayers please her, but whose face does not, she believes "will be fair and lovely looking when

we see her in heaven," p. 73, 74. She likes to be asked "how she succeeds in trying to be a Christian," if the questioner has "a happy, every day voice;" but she objects to a sudden interrogation like this, coming from a minister "in a constrained and hollow voice": "Well, my young friend, I would like to inquire concerning the present condition of your precious soul," p. 93, 94. What she should have expressed concerning her discoursing of her feelings in the class-meeting, p. 70, that it was "at a sacrifice of natural delicacy," she has been led to say of her Baptism, p. 96. See p. 153. She believes in a future life for horses, p. 184. The writer of the book believes that her sister had a supernatural fulfilment at her death, of the promise in Isaiah xli., 13, p. 233.

This poor young lady reads Emerson and Lewes' Life of Göthe without, however, apparently being infected by their irreligion. What strikes her most in Göthe is the facility with which he passes from one love to another, p. 163.

We have not exhausted one-half of the materials furnished by the note-book of our much enduring Western parson. But this is enough. The Sunday School and Parish nurtured on such *pabulum* are certainly entitled to our warmest sympathies. The clergy need to be everywhere on their guard against the fraudulent volumes labeled "for children." There is something even more baleful than the coldness of Calvinism or the hot excitement of Methodism. It is the base caricature of nature which travesties all that is fresh, and sweet, and graceful in the religious instincts of the young, by imputing to them the unlovely grimaces and most stupid absurdities of adult cant and hypocrisy.

GEORGE W. DEAN.

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY.

1. HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION *of the Eastern District of Massachusetts.* 8vo. BOSTON, 1859. pp. 32.

2. JOURNALS OF THE GENERAL CONVENTION OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: with Illustrative Historical Notes and Appendices, by the Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D.D., LL.D., and the Rev. William Stevens Perry, M.A. Vol. I. (all published), 8vo. PHILA., 1861. pp. 653.

3. BISHOP SEABURY AND BISHOP PROVOOST: an Historical Fragment. Privately printed, 1862. 8vo. pp. 20.

4. DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN SOUTH CAROLINA. Francis L. Hawks and William Stevens Perry, Editors. No. 1 (all published). 8vo. 1862.

5. BISHOP SEABURY AND THE EPISCOPAL RECORDER: a Vindication. Privately printed. 8vo. 1863. pp. 48.

6. THE CONNECTION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND WITH EARLY AMERICAN COLONIZATION. Large 8vo. pp. 7. PORTLAND, ME., 1863.

7. A CENTURY OF EPISCOPACY IN PORTLAND. A sketch of the History of the Episcopal Church in Portland, Me., from the organization of St. Paul's, Falmouth, Nov. 4, 1763, to the present time. 8vo. pp. 16. PORTLAND, ME., 1863.

8. DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA; containing numerous published documents concerning the Church in Connecticut. Francis L. Hawks and William Stevens Perry, Editors. 8vo. Vol. I. NEW YORK, 1863. pp. 323.

9. THE SAME. Vol. II. NEW YORK, 1864. pp. 359.

10. A HISTORY OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER; with a Rationale of its offices; by Francis Proctor, M.A.: with an Introductory Chapter on the History of the American Liturgy; by William Stevens Perry. 8vo. NEW YORK, 1868.
11. THE CHURCHMAN'S YEAR BOOK, 1870. Large 12mo. HARTFORD. pp. 512.
12. THE SAME, FOR 1871. pp. 450.
13. HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIAL CHURCH. Vol. I. VIRGINIA, 1871. pp. 684.
14. THE SAME, VOL. II. PENNSYLVANIA, 1872. pp. 607.
15. THE SAME, VOL. III. MASSACHUSETTS, 1873. pp. 720.
16. A HAND-BOOK OF THE GENERAL CONVENTION OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, giving its History and Constitution, 1785-1874. NEW YORK, 1874. pp. 277.
17. JOURNALS OF THE GENERAL CONVENTIONS OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH; Edited, with notes, by William Stevens Perry, D.D. 3 Vols. 1874.

A few months since an editorial in one of our leading Church papers uttered this sad complaint:

"A Church with the traditions of our own, it is well to think of it, has scarce a dozen names known in literature, and only awaits the calling home of a few grey-haired men to be without a first-class scholar among its priests or bishops, in either secular or sacred learning."¹

Allowing that there is overstatement here, it must be confessed that the pens of American clergymen are not producing, to anything like the extent that might fairly be expected, either works powerful in immediate results for good, or valuable as permanent contributions to the Church's literature. How is this condition of things to be explained? Two reasons are commonly alleged: one, that our clergy have little encouragement to devote themselves to hard study or literary work of any kind; the other that they have no time for such, their days and nights being of

¹ Church Journal, January 14, 1875.

necessity quite taken up with the immediate duties of their calling.

As to the former, if appreciation be what is desired, for any really good work we shall doubtless have in the long run, from our fellow men, if not so much credit as we may think we should have, at least as much as we deserve. It is to be trusted, however, that God's ambassadors, while duly valuing man's favor when it may fairly be had, seek for, and are content with, His approval, and are glad to use the talents He has given them for His honor and man's good. And as to the latter; the fruits of special study can often be made directly useful in the ordinary round of a clergyman's duties; whilst indirectly such studies, if pursued with moderation, can hardly fail to be of use, in toning up the mind, or by giving, through change of object, needed relaxation.

Instead, then, of looking for, or accepting, when made for them, excuses for allowing God-given talents to lie dormant, it becomes the clergy of the American Church to use, as best they can, in the positions in which God has placed them, the powers He has bestowed. If we are inclined at times to envy the learned leisure of some of our English brethren, and to think what we could do with like advantages, let us remember that much of the best thinking and writing in the Church of England is done by her busiest men, that, as a rule, work is not done best by those who have least to do, but by those who "whatsoever their hands find to do, do it with their might."

At the head of this paper stand the names of seventeen works, large and small, connected with the History of the American Church, from the pen of its accomplished Historiographer. Are they the result of long years of labor on the part of a recluse devoted only to such employ? By no means.

Carefulness and research are evidenced in everything that Dr. Perry writes. So diligent have been his studies in this special direction to which his tastes and circumstances have led him, that it has been said with scarcely an exaggeration, that he "has absolute mastery of the historical materials of the American Church." And yet, all has been done by one in the full prime of life, and one of the most hard working, even apart from his historical studies, of our clergy. The Church of which he has charge is, indeed, in a country vil-

lage, but this Church, with nearly 500 communicants, with three full services on Sunday during the greater part of the year, and more frequent services during the week than are held in many city Churches, with its three successful missions, one to the colored people of Geneva, and two in neighboring hamlets, gives its rector little leisure; through God's blessing on his faithful administration of it, Trinity Church, Geneva, is one of the most flourishing and important parishes in the diocese. In these days when so much of dissatisfaction is felt with the practical working of the Sunday School system, his are model Sunday Schools. Few clergymen have been so diligent as he in training the youth committed to their care; few, indeed, have been so successful in this important work. In addition to abundant parochial cares, Dr. Perry has been, since 1868, the efficient Secretary of the Lower House of General Convention. The amount of labor involved in the faithful discharge of the duties of this office, not only during General Convention, but also in the years intervening between the sessions, in conducting an immense correspondence, and supervising the publication of the Journal, is far beyond what most would conceive.

How then has so much been done? By habits of systematic industry, and by finding rest in change of work, rather than in cessation from labor.

Dr. Perry has written also on other topics than American Church History, and written well, but those writings we do not now propose to consider.

Several of the works we have mentioned treat, as will be seen, of matters of local interest. It is much to be regretted that our clergy have not done more in this direction. Few of them but know, or might easily learn, facts connected with their own parishes which, put on record in such way as to be preserved, even if not published, would be of great value to the future historian.

But matters connected with the history of dioceses and of the American Church in general, have been the chief subjects of Dr. Perry's pen.

"BISHOP SEABURY AND BISHOP PROVOOST; an Historical Fragment," was first published in the CHURCH REVIEW, July, 1862. This attracted at the time great attention, and set forth in a clear

light, facts deserving to be known, but which had been too generally misunderstood. Several of its statements having been disputed in one of our Church papers, another most able article from the same pen, entitled, "BISHOP SEABURY AND THE EPISCOPAL RE-CORDER: A VINDICATION," appeared in the CHURCH REVIEW, April, 1863, which more than justified the former essay. These were both privately printed subsequently in separate form.

PROCTOR'S "History of the Book of Common Prayer," is a work which needs no praise. As it first appeared, however, there was lacking, to make it complete, an adequate reference to the Prayer Book of the American Church, a *lacuna* which, with the hearty sanction of the learned author, Dr. Perry admirably filled.

"The Connection of the Church of England with early American Colonization," and the articles now appearing in the *Spirit of Missions*, on "Church Missions in America," remind us how the Church of England, despite the hindrances often put in her way by the State, showed herself to be indeed a loving mother.

For many years fruitless efforts were made to secure the republication of the Journals of General Convention. The duty of the Church to make generally accessible the annals of its legislation, "both for the guidance of its law makers and for the information of students of its history," was acknowledged by general consent, and even by formal vote of General Convention. But year after year, this duty and the need were talked of, yet nothing effectual done to supply the want.

At length there appeared in 1862, "Journals of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, with Illustrative Historical Notes and Appendices, by the Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D.D., LL.D., and the Rev. Wm. Stevens Perry, M. A., Vol. I." This volume included the Journals from 1785 to 1808. Dealing with matters of the greatest importance, the earlier Journals especially, were so concise as to need, for their full understanding, to be largely annotated. The bankruptcy of the printer and the general disturbance in business relations caused by the war, prevented the going on with this republication. During the past year there have been issued in three volumes, "Journals of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, 1785-1835;

published by authority of General Convention. Edited by Wm. Stevens Perry, D.D." The third of these volumes consists entirely of historical notes and documents illustrating the organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country, a full analytical index, etc. The substance of the volume printed in 1862, so far as it went, is incorporated in the later issue. It may not be amiss here to state that the careful editing of the text, and preparation of the notes of the republished journals, has been, from the first, so entirely the work of Dr. Perry, that but three lines, a foot-note to page 430 of the earlier edition, reproduced Vol. III. p. 60, of the later, and signed by Dr. Hawks, were from any other hand than his. Much more extended notices were prepared, treating of many points connected with the history of the first half-century of our Church's separate existence. But the difficulty of obtaining subscriptions sufficient to defray the necessary expenses of printing, made it impracticable to publish at this time more than has been given us. It is to be hoped that the Church may, at no distant day, be furnished with the remainder.

Three of Dr. Perry's works have been more especially intended to popularize a knowledge of the history of the American Church. These are "The Churchman's Year Book," for 1870 and 1871, and "a Hand-Book of the General Convention," published last fall. Upon the calendar, its editor spent, without remuneration, no little time and labor. Unfortunately, its publishers were obliged to discontinue, after its second issue, so valuable a repository of facts of the greatest interest and value.

In changing the name, after the first edition, of the "Hand-Book to the General Convention," to the more ambitious title, a "History of the General Conventions," its publisher gave, perhaps, occasion of misunderstanding to persons disposed to think rather of what it did not contain than of what it did. Many a deputy to the late General Convention, and many a thoughtful reader of its proceedings, found the information this hand-book contained to be just what he needed. Those who wish to know more than this brief summary can teach them, know also where to find further information.

We come now to what may be considered Dr. Perry's great work, the editing and taking measures for the publication, of a

most valuable collection of MSS., relating to the early history of the American Church, preserved in the archives of the General Convention. In 1835, the Rev. Francis Lister Hawks, D.D., LL.D., addressed a communication to General Convention, announcing his purpose to give the Convention a number of books and documents illustrative of the history of our Church, stating also, that to his knowledge, there existed in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, and elsewhere in England, "a large mass of materials for our Colonial Church History." By resolution of General Convention warm thanks were given for the generous offer, and Bishop White and Dr. Hawks were requested to apply, in the name of the Convention, to such persons or societies in Europe as had in their possession or charge, documents of the character described, and to solicit the same, or copies thereof, for the use of the Church in this country. In March, 1836, furnished by the venerable Presiding Bishop with proper credentials, and specially recommended for the purposes of his mission to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, Dr. Hawks sailed for England. He received from the prelates named, and from others, much attention, and was granted every facility for examining all such manuscripts at Lambeth and Fulham as had any bearing on America, with full permission to have such copies made as he might desire.

In the records of the venerable "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," was contained the entire correspondence of the Missionaries sent to this country from the foundation of the Society in 1701 to the American Revolution, comprised in about fifty bound volumes, beside a mass of unbound MSS., all of which were carefully read, and transcripts made of what was most interesting in their contents. Dr. Hawks brought home with him from England, eighteen large folio volumes of MSS. of the greatest value.

Of these the late historiographer made considerable use in his various writings. But it was felt that documents of such importance should not be left in manuscript, liable to injury or total loss. They have indeed already narrowly escaped destruction by fire, and were damaged by water. As a beginning, Part 1st of "A Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in

South Carolina, Francis L. Hawks and Wm. Stevens Perry, Editors," was published in 1862. The reader will understand that the times were very unpropitious for such a work. The 32 pages first issued are all that has yet appeared concerning the Church in South Carolina. In the next two years, however, were published in two volumes, with the same editors, "Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America," containing numerous hitherto unpublished documents concerning the Church in Connecticut.

The Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D. D., died September 26, 1866. At a special meeting of the House of Bishops, convened February 5th, 1868, for the purpose of electing a successor to Bishop Scott, of Oregon, the following preamble and resolution were adopted:

Whereas, the publication of the MSS. transcribed from the papers of the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, from the records at Fulham, and the Library at Lambeth, undertaken by the late Rev. Dr. Hawks and the Rev. Wm. S. Perry as joint editors, has been necessarily interrupted by the death of the Rev. Dr. Hawks, Historiographer of the American Church, and, whereas, the two volumes of the Annals of the Church in Connecticut, and the initial chapters of the Annals of the Church in South Carolina, attest the value and importance of this work, therefore,

Resolved, That the surviving editor be authorized, under the authority of this House, to continue this publication, in the manner and on the principles observed in the portion of the work already issued; there being no pecuniary obligation assumed by this House or by the General Convention, and the restriction as to the use of these papers on which their transcription was originally permitted in England being still observed, and that, in the prosecution of this work, this House would recommend that, if possible, the volumes of this series be privately printed, by the subscription of those interested in this subject, instead of being published for promiscuous sale.

At the General Convention of 1868, the vacancy in the office of **H**istoriographer of the American Church, occasioned by the death of the Rev. Dr. Hawks, was filled by the appointment to the same of the Rev. Dr. Perry.

In 1870 appeared "Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church, Vol. 1. Virginia," a noble quarto volume of 614 pages. In 1872 was issued a similar volume, of nearly the same size, treating of Pennsylvania; in 1873 a third, considerably larger than the others, giving the annals of Massachusetts. Vol. IV., Historical Collections of Maryland and Delaware, was, the greater part of it, in print, when the disastrous fire at Messrs. Mallory's printing office a few months since, destroyed the printed

sheets. It will, however, ere long be reprinted. The New York volume is to follow, then New Jersey, then Rhode Island and the northern tier of New England dioceses, then North Carolina, then South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. Vol. X. will be a revised and enlarged edition of the *Annals of Connecticut* in style to correspond with the rest.

The subjects of the three volumes which have already appeared have been well chosen, presenting, as they do, the Church under the most diverse conditions, in Virginia as an establishment, in Pennsylvania enjoying a fair measure of toleration, even at the first, with many influences in its favor at a later day, in Massachusetts, subjected to very much that was unfriendly, and at times even to illegal oppression.

We find, however, that great as might be the differences in condition, one want was universally felt, that of the Episcopate. In the Pennsylvania Volume of these Historical Collections (p. 37), is given a letter from the Rev. Evan Evans, Rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, dated 18, 7bris, 1707, in which he says :

The want of a Bp. amongst us cannot be past over in Silence; 'tis a dismal thing to consider how much the want of one has retarded the Progress of the true Religion in America. * * * I take it for granted that the ends of the Mission can never be rightly answered without establishing the Discipline, as well as the Doctrine, of the Church of England in these parts; For the One is a Fortress and Bullwark of Defence to the other, as once the Outworks of Religion come to be slighted and dismantled, it is easy to foresee, without y^e spirit of Prophecy, w^t y^e consequence will be, 1st As to a Ready and constant Supply of Ministers or Missionaries (w^{ch} is of y^e last consequence to the well Being of the American Churches,) this can never be hoped for without a resident Bishop among 'em * * * Nor can the true state of Ecclesiastical things or Persons be ever so well known as by A Bishop who lives upon ye Spott. 2^{ly} A Bishop is absolutely necessary to Preside over the American Clergy and to oblige them to doe their Duty, and to live at Peace and Unity one with another. * * * I will only, in the third place, mention ye Disadvantages the Laity lie under for want of a Bishop.

An address of the New England clergy (Cutler, Honeyman Johnson and others) to the Bishop of London, July 21st, 1725, given in the Massachusetts volume (pp. 175-6), while acknowledging gratefully the exertions of the Bishop of London in their behalf, speaks of the great necessity of having a Bishop resident in the country. A letter from the same, and of the same date, to the Secretary of the S. P. G. (p. 178 of the volume mentioned), says :

Not only those who profess themselves Christians long and pray for this great blessing of a worthy Bishop with us, but also multitudes of those who are well wishers to us, but are kept concealed for want hereof. If once this happiness were granted, this would supply us with many useful ministers from among ourselves, whom the hazards of the seas, and sickness, and the charges of travel, discourage from the service of the Church, and tempt them to enlist themselves as ministers of dissenting congregations.

In the same volume (p. 264), is given a letter from Dr. Cutler, in which he says :

It will appear melancholy to any good Christian who reflects upon it, that when the French on the North, and the Spaniards on the South of us, have their Bishops, the English America is without any, and no man need question, what is certain fact, the discouragements arising from the seas, danger of sickness, and disappointments, that deprive the Church here of her brightest youths, and incline them to Dissenting Interests; whereas, on the other hand, few men of superior merit will be disposed to settle abroad, when all preferments are at home; besides, that neither minister nor people can be well look't after at this distance, nor can we now obtain confirmation, and many other episcopal blessings.

A Memorial of the Clergy of Boston, June 17, 1767 (Mass. Vol. p. 531), says most truly :

Since the first settlement of Christianity, so large a Continent as this was never known without a resident Bishop. We flattered ourselves that such an extensive territory as was heretofore possessed, and hath since been added to the British dominions by the last war, would certainly have been followed by some provision of this kind, but especially the late popular tumults in these colonies we imagined would have strongly pointed out the necessity of such a step, towards the uniting and attaching the colonies to the mother country, and have silenced every objection that could be raised against it.

Some of the ill-effects from the want of a resident Bishop were not felt so soon in Virginia as in other colonies. For the Church had there some advantages in being an establishment. And for many years (i. e. from 1689 to 1743) the Bishop of London was represented in Virginia by a commissary of singular zeal and efficiency, the Rev. Dr. Blair, President of William and Mary College, who managed the affairs of the Church as well as could have been done by any one not possessed of Episcopal authority. And yet a commissary could at best do but a small part of what a Bishop might, and, in point of fact, the righteous soul of commissary Blair was often vexed by hindrances in the discharge of the duties laid upon him—of godless colonial governors, legisla-

tors and magistrates. Even by such men a Bishop would have been treated with more respect. With commissary Blair's successors in office, the case was even worse. Inferior to him in personal qualifications, the most of them were also inferior in their status, having, as President Nelson wrote to Lord Hillsborough (Virginia Hist. Col. p. 533):

No other appointment than by letters from the Bishop of London, which they have not thought a sufficient authority for them to enter into the discussion of ecclesiastical matters.

The question of the appointment of Bishops for America was frequently enough agitated. In the Notes to the Virginia volume Dr. Perry reprints a draft of a charter made out in the reign of Charles II. for establishing a Bishopric in America. A copy of the original of this draft, which is in the Library of All Souls' College, Oxford, was obtained by the Bishop of Tennessee when in England at the time of the Lambeth Conference. Lord Clarendon is said to have prevailed on Charles II. to promise to appoint such a Bishop, but the draft of the patent was made out by Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Clarendon's successor in the office of Keeper of the Great Seal. Dr. Alexander Murray was to have been made, under this patent, the first Bishop of Virginia. But in some way the whole scheme came to nought. James II. and William III., and their advisers, were not inclined to favor anything of the sort. But Queen Anne was of a different mind from these, and under her, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, then newly established, heartily engaged in a matter upon which, as its records most truly state, "the interest of religion and the success of the designs of the Society do greatly depend." Preparations were made for sending to the British possessions in North America four Bishops. Funds were subscribed toward the endowment of the new sees, and even a residence was purchased at Burlington, New Jersey, for one of the Bishops. But when all seemed most promising, good Queen Anne died, and the House of Hanover "cared for none of these things." In spite, however, of discouragements, the friends of the Church in America continued their exertions. They felt, as Bishop Sherlock so well expressed it in a letter to Dr. Doddridge, May 11, 1751 (Virginia Hist. Col. p. 373), that "the care of the Church of

England abroad * * * was improperly lodged" in the Bishop of London; "for a Bishop to live at one end of the world, and his church at the other, must needs make the office very uncomfortable to the Bishop, and in a great measure useless to the people." Berkeley, "that mitred saint of Cloyne," had the matter most deeply at heart. We hear of the Bishop of London, in 1738,¹ "laboring much, but in vain, with the court and the ministry, and endeavoring to induce the Archbishop, who had credit with both, to join him in trying what could be done to get a Bishop sent into the plantations." There even seemed, that year, some prospect that the Bishop of London would be "appointed Archbishop of the New World, the Continent of America, and the adjacent islands, and invested with authority and fulness of power to send Bishops among them." Archbishop Secker clearly saw the great importance of having an Episcopate in America, wrote much and used all his influence in favor of such a scheme. In 1745 he wrote to Dr. Johnson of Stratford, Connecticut:

Everything looks very discouraging here, ecclesiastical, civil, domestic, and foreign. God arrest the judgments we have deserved. * * * We have been greatly blameable, amongst many other things toward you, particularly in giving you no bishops.

Among Bishop White's papers there is a copy, in that Bishop's handwriting, of an "Extract of a letter from Dr. Sherlock, Bishop of London, to the Lords Commissioners of Trades and Plantations, Feb. 19, 1759," in which he says:

Shortly after I was made Bishop of London [in 1748], I went to wait upon the King, and laid before him the State of Religion in the plantations, and the necessity there was of settling a Bishop in those Parts. His Majesty heard me very graciously, upon which I asked him whether I might apply to his ministers. He consented to it, but I never could have an opportunity of meeting with the ministers. After frequent delays, and no hopes of success, I waited upon the King again, and had his leave to acquaint the ministers that it was his majesty's pleasure they should take into consideration * * * [Here there is a blank in the MS.]. This produced a meeting at Newcastle House. The meeting produced nothing. The last effort I made was by desiring the King's consent that I might lay what I had to propose to his majesty in council, which accordingly was done 6 or 7 years ago, and I have heard nothing of it since.

¹Contemporary MS., quoted by Wilberforce, History of the American Church, p. 159.

In the letter of Bishop Sherlock to Dr. Doddridge, above quoted, the Bishop thus speaks of the opposition to the setting up of an Episcopate in America :

I thought there could be no reasonable objection to it, not even from the Dissenters, as the Bishops proposed were to have no jurisdiction but over the clergy of their own Church, and no more over them than should enable them to see the pastoral office duly performed. And as to New England, where the Dissenters were so numerous, it never was proposed to settle a Bishop in that country. You probably are no stranger to the manner in which the news of this proposal was received in New England, if you are, I will only say that they used all their influence to obstruct the settling of Bishops in the Episcopal Church of England. Was this consistent even with a spirit of toleration? Would they think themselves tolerated if they were debarred the right of appointing ministers among themselves, and were obliged to send all their candidates to Geneva or Scotland for Orders?

The English government should have realized that without interfering with any just claims on the part of others, it was quite possible to allow Churchmen to have their rights, and that it was its duty to secure these to them. Alas! that government was for many years, as regards the Colonies, without intelligent and deep convictions of duty, and guided rather by considerations of "policy" than of the rights of others. The "policy" of politicians is often strangely impolitic. Denials of rights to the Colonies chilled the feelings of affection with which the mother country was long regarded, and precipitated the separation from her. In regard especially to the right of Churchmen to have the divine organization of the Church is its integrity, did the Archbishop of York write in 1765 to the Rev. Dr. Peters of Philadelphia, these remarkable words :

What signify the endeavors of the best friends of that country, and consequently of this, except there is alacrity and foresight in those who are to execute whatever is planned? I ought not to despair, but I cannot help having many unhappy thoughts upon that great Empire which will moulder away with regard to the mother country, if it is not properly nourished and supported.

Many other topics worthy of remark are suggested by these volumes of Historical Collections, and by all that Dr. Perry has written to bring American Churchmen of the past vividly before us as they were, but our limits forbid our entering upon these now. The story is told impartially, and therefore we hear of faults as

¹ MSS. Archives of General Convention.

well as of virtues. And yet the impression left on the mind of one who reads these records, is that, with very few exceptions, the men of whom they tell were men whose memories should be cherished, and their examples emulated, by the Church in our day. They stood their ground manfully against opposition, labored on faithfully amidst difficulties, and under disadvantages which it is hard for us to realize, sowing, albeit with tears, the good seed of which other generations are now reaping the fruit, and generations yet unborn shall gather abundant harvests. Their faith and patience should put us to shame, if we are inclined to yield to discouragement because many things are not as we would have them, or as they should be. Their true-hearted courage should arouse in us a determination, with God's help, to quit us like men and be strong.

Dr. Perry's historical labors have been very highly appreciated by those best qualified to judge in such matters. Their value will, we are sure, obtain yet fuller recognition as time rolls on. We regret to know, however, that some of the works he has published, and more especially the Historical Collections, have entailed upon him very considerable expense. The subscription lists for these noble volumes, lists which are all too short, are not made up largely of the names of those whom Providence has put in a position to be patrons of literature, wealthy laymen, or clergymen with salaries adequate to their due support, but rather of persons glad to deny themselves in order to co-operate in work which they deem it most important for the Church should be done.

May the time soon come when there shall be more encouragement than now for our clergy to devote themselves to special studies. The Church owes it to herself that such should be the case.

But, meantime, let the example of Dr. Perry and of men like him, be followed, men who, discharging faithfully the more immediate duties of their calling, try to make all the talents God has given them subservient to His glory and the good of His Church.

Those who work in such spirit, can wait until it comes for man's appreciation, or do without it. The consciousness of duty performed and good rendered will be to such, abundant recompense for all their toil.

CHARLES R. HALE.

THE JOURNAL OF THE GENERAL CONVENTION OF 1874.

We have received a copy of the Journal of the General Convention of 1874; and propose to place before our readers some account of what it did, and did not do; together with certain reflections suggested by an examination of the ponderous volume.

I. In the first place, the Journal is very suggestive as to the growth of the Church and the country. The Journal proper, recording the proceedings of the two Houses, covers 388 pages; the "appendices" swell the number to 587, not including the "Digest," which requires 162 additional pages, making the whole number 794, forming thus a larger volume than that of Hawks and Perry, which gives the nine Journals, from 1785 to 1803, with all the "historical notes and documents."

A comparison of some of the older Journals with the present one will be found suggestive. Thus, the first convention of the present century held in New York in 1801, or just seventy-three years ago, covers 28 pages, of which 10 are in the appendix, four Bishops were present, and deputies from seven Dioceses or States.

We find that the increase has been from four Bishops present and seven Dioceses represented in 1801 to forty-eight Bishops entitled to seats, and forty-one Dioceses actually represented, with four Missionary Jurisdictions.¹

Looking over the list of Dioceses we are struck with the evidence it gives of the growth of our country as well as Church. In 1813-14 the first steps were taken for Church extension, and although then it was thought a great progress, the limits were the region immediately beyond the Alleghany Mountains. In 1819 Philander Chase was consecrated. Not until 1832 was there a Bishop of Kentucky. And in 1835 or forty years ago Kemper was made Bishop of the North West, i. e., the regions East of the Mississippi River. Now, the list of Dioceses extends from Maine to Texas, from the old Atlantic States to California and Oregon on the Pacific. In fact it is necessary for us older men to procure new atlases that we may find out whence many of the Bishops take their names. It seems like a romance to read of men from Oregon and Washington Territory, and Utah and New Mexico, coming a few thousand miles to take part in a Church Council.

¹ Since the Convention 10 Bishops have been consecrated (not counting the one for Haiti), making the total 58, and 3 new Dioceses have been organized, making 44 Dioceses.

II. The Convention lasted from Oct. 7th to Nov. 3rd, or nearly a month, the actual sessions were twenty-four days (24). It appears that 170 clerical and 146 Lay deputies, or in all 316 representatives were present, from all parts of the United States. What did they do in all that time?

1. If we judge of the actual results by the legislative action alone, we shall be compelled to say, not much was done. In appendix xiv., pp 569-575. *i. e.*, 6 pages, we have the whole of the laws passed by this great triennial council of the Church.

2. We do not propose to take up the question of the force of *joint resolutions* passed by the two Houses, but give below the one that was passed "in relation to using the services separately" (Message No. 99, p. 361.)¹

3. In the House of Deputies out of the whole session of twenty-four days, parts of six days were occupied by the case of the Bishop-elect of Illinois, and more or less of thirteen days by the Canon on Ritual.

III. We think it of more importance to call attention to some matters before the Convention which did not become law.

1. *Suffragan Bishops*.—This subject was brought up in the House of Bishops by a memorial from the Diocese of Texas, asking for the appointment of such a Bishop "for the supervision of the colored people" in said Diocese (p. 255).

The Committee on Canons proposed a Canon "of Suffragan Bishops" which will be found on p. 283, allowing, under certain restrictions, any Diocese to establish two "Suffragan Bishoprics," without right to a seat in the House of Bishops. To this the Bishop of Maryland offered as a substitute a Canon providing for a special Missionary Bishop of tongues or races, to be limited to certain congregations or races to be specified and to terminate with the natural life of said individual Bishop (p. 362). Finally, on motion of the Bishop of Pennsylvania, the several propositions "in reference to Suffragan Bishops and Bishops for tongues, and others that may be submitted, were referred to a committee of five

¹ It is the sense of this Convention that nothing in the present order of Common Prayer prohibits the separation, when desirable, of the Morning Prayer, the Litany, and the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, into distinct services, which may be used independently of each other, and either of them without the others. *Provided* that, when used together, they be used in the same order as that in which they have commonly been used, and in which they stand in the Book of Common Prayer.

Bishops," who are to report in printing, but privately, to each Bishop three months before the session of the next General Convention.

The committee to whom this important subject is thus referred are the Bishops of North Carolina, Connecticut, Texas, Pennsylvania and Kansas.

2. *Provincial Synods and a Provincial System.*—In the House of Bishops a committee appointed at the previous General Convention "to consider and report on the Organization of *Provincial Synods*," reported "that they did not recommend any immediate action on the subject." The committee were continued and two members, the Bishops of Pennsylvania and Nebraska, added to their number (p. 263).

In the House of Deputies, the committee on Canons "on account of the late period of the session," reported a resolution that they be "discharged from the consideration of the proposed Canon, *Authorizing the Formation of Synods of Dioceses*" (p. 133). Which was adopted (p. 211). Afterwards, on motion of the Rev. Dr. Kidney, of Minnesota, a motion was adopted appointing a Joint Commission of both Houses to consider and report a Canon on "the formation of Synods of Dioceses, or some kind of ecclesiastical union of Dioceses within the same State" (p. 213). But the House of Bishops did not concur, owing to the "late date of the session" (pp. 216, 368.)

In the House of Deputies, the Rev. Dr. Hall, chairman of "the committee on Amendments to the Constitution," to which the question of "*a Provincial System for the Church*" was referred, presented a long report adverse to the establishing of a "Provincial System" with a Resolution to that effect (p. 150), and finally the whole subject was laid on the table (p. 197). And so this important question was given the go-by. But in the nature of things it must come up again.

Deaconesses.—The Joint Committee on "Deaconesses," reported a Canon for the establishment of such an order (pp. 64, 65); which Canon was by both Houses referred to another "Joint Committee, to report to the next general Convention" (pp. 180 and viii). So this subject also was put off.

Divorce.—The House of Bishops passed a Canon of Divorce, not only forbidding a Minister of this Church to perform marriage when one of the party is a divorced person, as the Canon now is, but also forbidding "Confirmation, or administration of the Holy Sacraments" to a divorced person marrying again, etc. (pp. 265, 266). But by the House of Deputies "the whole subject was referred to the next General Convention." (p. 212).

Court of Appeals.—The House of Bishops passed an amendment to

Article 6 of the Constitution, "Appeal from the judgment of a Diocesan Court may be provided for by the General Convention" (pp. 261, 287).

But the Deputies laid the whole matter on the table (p. 195).

The Lectionary.—The Joint Committee appointed at the last General Convention reported in both Houses "A Table of Lessons for the Week-days of Lent" (p. 276), with resolutions allowing their use under certain restrictions; which were adopted by the House of Bishops (p. 331). But the Deputies refused to concur, and finally both Houses agreed in proposing an amendment to Article 8 of the Constitution, giving the General Convention "power from time to time, to amend the Lectionary," by a vote of a majority of all the Bishops entitled to seats and all the Dioceses entitled to representation; under the Constitution this must lay over to another Convention (p. 208). So we are left without present redress in this matter of proper lessons for Lent, with some hope, however, for the future.

Rubrical Revision.—A resolution was reported by the Committee on Canons, to appoint a Joint Commission on Rubrical Revision, to report to the next Convention, a much needed measure, but it was lost—ayes 57, nays 66 (p. 205.)

There were other matters of interest brought before the Convention and not acted upon, but we have not space for more.

In examining the Journal, one cannot fail to be impressed with the amount of business brought before the Convention, and the utter impossibility of a body so constituted giving to all subjects the consideration due to their relative importance. Constantly we find that matters of temporary, but popular interest are allowed to take precedence of those more important. And the Church is actually suffering for relief by the relaxation of laws, good perhaps for their time, but now needing revision to suit changed circumstances; which relief is, through want of time for a proper consideration of the safest way of affording it, put off from Convention to Convention. There is but one remedy, and that will be found in some kind of Provincial System, by means of which proposed measures may be fully discussed and prepared in the smaller Synods, and then brought before the General Convention. It must at last come to this. The growth of the Church makes it a necessity.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF NATURAL THEOLOGY. *An Essay in Confutation of the Scepticism of the Present Day.* By the Rev. William Jackson. NEW YORK: A. D. F. RANDOLPH & Co. 8vo. pp. 420. 1875.

The Christian evidences of Paley have become, in the advance of science and in the attaining to more exact metaphysics, practically obsolete and historical. Not by such defenders is natural theology to be commended to doubters and sceptics. A new method is demanded which shall include the contributions of modern thought and follow the order of the intuitional philosophy. The most which physical science can do is to discover law in the method of creation. The reaching up to the Conception of a First Cause, does not come within its range.

The advance in the philosophy of natural theology must be chiefly from the closer study of the human mind, since this is the only instrument given to us for this purpose. It is the starting point in arguing up to Theism. Mr. Jackson has adopted the new method, and has produced a most important contribution to this neglected subject. He is not a master of the forms for the graceful expression of thought, and his work is open to severe literary criticism, but he has carefully worked out his subject and bridged over the difficulties in the argument from design.

The defect in that argument is that it is a comparison between things dissimilar, between art and nature. We know nothing of the process of nature and impart into its methods the ideas which have no existence out of our own minds. This is the weakness of Paley's argument. It wants a connecting link. It is the step between causation and law. The late Prof. Baden Powell supplied the missing link. He says that "order implies what by analogy we call intelligence; subserviency to an observed end implies intelligence foreseeing, which by analogy we call design." This is his addition to Paley's argument. There are different inferences to be drawn from the observed manifestations of order and foresight. From the first we infer intelligence; from the second, design. The inference of design, intention, forethought, is much higher than the bare fact of order and arrangement. This intelligent agency gives the idea of moral causation, and we thus see the necessity of a moral cause or personality as distinguished from physical antecedent in our study of nature. Nature says nothing of a moral cause. We find it in our own moral nature, in our essential humanity and self-ness, in the first truths of our reason; and by analogy we infer it in the Great Originator of all things as traced in the works of nature. This explanation of moral causation furnishes the step by which we ascend to the truth of the existence of God.

After giving much space to this supplement to Paley's argument and furnishing the side-light contributed by recent scientific and philosophical writers, Mr. Jackson goes on to show what are the conditions of human knowledge in a parallel between the difficulties alleged to be fatal to Theism, and the difficulties attaching to very various departments of human knowledge. The inference is plain that whoever accepts the truths witnessed to by human reason, in face of difficulties, must accept the fact of Theism, though it may be beset by similar difficulties. Our author declares that—

There are really no special difficulties in the way of Theism. It argues from the known to the unknown; so do all the inductive sciences. It accepts more than it can explain; so do we, each and all, in accepting the truth of our own individuality and personal identity of the world outside us and the mind within, which scrutinizes that world. The more thoroughly questions relating to our first sources of knowledge are debated, the more surely shall we perceive how safe is the starting point of natural theology.

Mr. Jackson next proceeds to investigate the nature and validity of the beliefs of reason, among which is included our primary belief in Theism. The chief fact in these human beliefs is the universal persuasion in men of their own existence as beings distinct from, but related to, an external world around them. The rise from this to the first belief in the supernatural as distinct from the natural is by introducing the element of will. The natural is bound by antecedent and consequent; the supernatural allows the originating power of will. Nature originates nothing, but human nature wills for right or wrong, introduces an originating element into moral acts, and leads up to the belief that the supernatural power is a personality. In short, it is the common work-day belief of mankind that the originating will-element in human actions leads to the conception of a pure and sublime Theism as the only sufficient account of the world, ourselves, and our destinies.

In the chapter upon law and production he meets some difficulties, felt in the order of design. In nature there is the simple fact or general law of force, and next the co-related fact of production, but when nature acts there must be an efficient cause, putting in movement the productive law. This efficient cause is a will, an act of mind. Thus design, as the operation of mind, is traced in nature as well as in the human consciousness. We can no more deny mind in nature than in ourselves. Thus we get the idea of a sovereign reason manifest in universal law. In treating of causation as a factor in the philosophy of design, Mr. Jackson marks the difference between a true cause and the invariable antecedent of an invar-

iable consequent. Causation goes behind antecedent, as one of the necessary factors of responsibility, and is, like mind, a truth, which, if inexplicable, is unquestionably real. We have the power to change the order of nature by an act of volition. We cannot deny this power to the Volitional cause of the whole universe. Thus we trace the chain of natural sequence up to a Personal First Cause. The final chapter shows that the universally enforced maxim of responsibility unites in itself two factors, the power of causation and the moral distinction of right and wrong. Thus the moral consciousness of right and wrong leads up to Theism.* This is the briefest possible statement of the ground covered by this interesting volume. Its several lines of investigation all converge to the belief in Theism, and the basis of every argument is the ineradicable beliefs of the human mind.

Mr. Jackson has built anew upon an unchangeable foundation the structure of natural theology. He leads the mind and heart by a certain method up to "the border country where natural theology melts into spiritual religion and where the true offspring of God learn the lineaments of their Father's divine love." This work meets a very real want in theological study. It brings the discussion up to the present day. Its lines of thought are thoroughly worked out. It anticipates many of the objections raised by Mr. Mill in his essay on Theism. It leaves no stone unturned in modern thought. It is a wise, clear, strong contribution to the most pressing question of religion, and the most fundamental. What are the first starting-points in ourselves in reaching out to God and in accepting His revelation to mankind!

THE NEW DAY; *a Poem in Songs and Sonnets.* By Richard Watson Gilder. NEW YORK: SCRIBNER, ARMSTRONG & Co. 16mo. pp. 112. 1875.

Mr. Gilder has acquired some literary reputation as the working editor of *Scribner's Monthly*, and as a writer of exquisitely finished and delicate poetry. "The New Day" is the outcome of his poetical studies. It is the stringing together of poems and sonnets, after the Italian manner, upon the all-absorbing story of a man's love in its higher moods; and is the nearest approach to saying nothing, in language simple, clear and polished, which we have ever seen. Mr. Gilder wanders too exclusively among the conceits of his art, and has produced a book which poets like

for its smoothness and beauty of expression, but which ordinary people, however much they enjoy sentiment, cannot appreciate. Mr. Gilder, if he will come down from his higher flights, can win a rare place among our poets. The following lines show favorably the quality of his verse:

"Oh, love is not a summer mood,
Nor flying phantom of the brain,
Nor youthful fever in the blood,
Nor dream, nor fate, nor circumstance,
Love is not born of blinded chance,
Nor bred in simple ignorance.

But love hath winter in her blood,
And love is fruit of holy pain,
And perfect flower of maidenhood.
True love is steadfast as the skies,
And once alight she never flies,
And love is strong, and still, and wise."

IMPRESSIONS OF LONDON SOCIAL LIFE, with other papers suggested by an English Residence. By E. S. Nadal. NEW YORK: SCRIBNER, ARMSTRONG & Co. 16mo. pp. 233. 1875.

Mr. Nadal has attempted to do what other men with better opportunities have done much better. When Hawthorne and Emerson and Langel and Taine have written about England, there is little left for anybody else to say, and Mr. Nadal's position as Secretary of Legation was not more fruitful than the residence of other gentlemen in a harvest of striking observations. There are two papers which contribute something fresh and new—"Two Visits to Oxford," "English and American Newspaper Writing." The others are sketchy, thin, trifling. The name of the book is too big for its contents. Mr. Nadal can write well, but he has not freighted his experiences with enough original thought to make a permanent impression upon the reading public.

TALKS OF THE ARGONAUTS, and other sketches. By Bret Harte. BOSTON. JAMES R. OSGOOD & Co. 16mo. pp. 283. 1875.

If any man among us now stands forth as the coming American novelist, it is Bret Harte. In these short stories there is the same wonderful grasp of circumstances and strong vivid imagination which first called attention to this author, and now that he is attempting what so

many have essayed to accomplish—the representative American novel—all eyes are upon him to watch the result. Nothing can be finer than the touches of Bret Harte's pen. His style is entirely free from any effort at good writing, and is the natural expression of the man; he paints his pictures so that the reader can see them; he writes with the easy hand of a master—there is always just that difference between his writing and other writing which there is between genius and talent. The volume before us illustrates all we have said. "The Rose of Tuolomne," for instance, is the simplest of stories. It covers but little time; the incidents are commonplace; there is nothing more in it than there is in a hundred other stories of the same kind; yet Mr. Harte has put such individuality into the characters, touched with such delicacy and instinct the passionate bursts of feeling, so said the things which other men cannot or dare not say, so kept the ideal in company with the actual, that his little sketch hangs a picture of human life before the eye and gives a new heroine to the memory. No American author has quite Mr. Harte's power of illuminating a fact with his imagination, and bringing out the devil or the saint which is latent in every man, and whatever he writes, interesting as it is for its own sake, has a yet further value to every one who cares to find out the secret of great literary success and feel the thrill of the divine power of genius.

SERMONS. *By the Rev. Frederick Brooks. With Portrait.* BOSTON: J. R. OSGOOD & Co. 12mo. pp. 299. 1876

SONGS OF THE CENTURIES. *Edited by John Greenleaf Whittier.* BOSTON: THE SAME. 12mo. pp. 380.

THE MASQUE OF PANDORA AND OTHER POEMS. *By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.* 16mo. pp. 150. BOSTON: THE SAME.

Every autumn witnesses the publication of several books by Messrs. J. R. Osgood & Co., which all good readers look forward to with great interest, which have substantial value, and which become a permanent part of our literature. The volume of sermons by Mr. Brooks, whose death occurred just as he was crossing the threshold of early professional success, has the marks of greater power than the discourses, published as they were written, actually possess. There is freedom from the conventional sermon ruts, considerable power in stating the truths of moral

character, some freshness in word-pictures, warm, sympathetic treatment of his subject, real evangelical power, but not always that clear logical statement and culmination of power which distinguish the inspired preacher from the clerical essayist. He had in him all the fruitful elements of the great preacher, and his brother, the Rev. Phillips Brooks, has done well to publish these sermons, both as a memorial of the dead and for their very considerable value. Out of the sixteen discourses, those on "The Song of Moses and of the Lamb," on "The Mastery of Life," on "Epicureans and Stoics," and on "Personal Conviction," have specially interested us, and all are fresh and suggestive.

Mr. Whittier has collected in the "Songs of the Centuries," with the ripe and cultured instinct of a true poet, the minor and lyrical poems which have most pleased him, and seem to him best worth preservation. Mr. Bryant and Mr. Emerson have already given us their selection, and Mr. Emerson's was as characteristic as any of his own writings, but Mr. Whittier has taken a different range and collected chiefly those distinctly modern poems which have sung themselves into people's minds and hearts. It is a rare anthology and is chiefly remarkable for the fact that it contains so little which is beyond the range of ordinary people, or which any reader would like to have omitted, while it brings forward many pieces which are new to the general reader. The book is not expensive and so has a good chance of being popular; and though selections of poetry are now all the rage, Mr. Whittier's volume is one which cannot be overlooked.

Mr. Longfellow's latest poems are really his best, and the present volume contains some of his most finished poems. Everyone is familiar with the characteristics of his style, its simplicity, its fidelity to common life, its freedom from all affectation, its hints of culture, but in this collection of latest poems you not only have this but that finer flavor which comes from ripened age in the man himself. It is Mr. Longfellow's self which speaks out in "Morituri salutamus," in his sonnets, in his reminiscences of Mr. Sumner, in his "Hanging of the Crane;" and still you are only conscious that a master at the lyre is breathing forth in song what all men instinctively feel to be their own best thought. "The Masque of Pandora" is taken from ancient legend, but even here you have touches of the modern spirit. If Mr. Longfellow can give us yearly such volumes as this, it will be many a day yet before we can willingly lose his genial presence among us.

ANNALS OF A FORTRESS, by *E. Viollet-le-Duc*. Translated by *Benjamin Bucknall, Architect*. BOSTON: JAMES R. OSGOOD & Co., 1876.

It may seem strange that a book of this kind, of siege and defence, should be so interesting, so fascinating we might say, for we have found it difficult to lay it aside. Is it that there is in the human mind a natural instinct for battle, a love for scenes of conflict, suffering and bloodshed? Perhaps there is something of this, there is a tragic element in our nature; though we think it is the sympathy felt for the heroism manifested, for the patient endurance, the courage, the undeserved suffering, which excites our interest rather than any love of seeing our fellow beings suffer. The interest created by the Book before us is, however, in a great measure due, apart from the information it contains, to the descriptions of the ingenuity shown in the various attacks and defences of the fortress. It is like a succession of games of Chess. We are able to follow each move on both sides, and a master player is letting us into the secrets of each move, as it is made; and yet so skilfully is this done, that we cannot tell until the end of each "annal" which party will be successful.

The author presents to us the annals of an ideal "Fortress; its supposed situation is on the Cousin, an affluent of the Saône." In seven imaginary sieges and defences, he describes the manner of fortifying and attacking a succession of Fortresses supposed to have been built on this same spot, from the age before the time when Cæsar entered Gaul, down to the fall of the first Napoleon. We thus have vividly placed before us the military engineering of the Gauls, the Romans, the Franks, the Burgundians, of the Feudal times, and of the various periods of improvements in "Fire Artillery." A great light is thus thrown upon the history of sieges, and the engravings and plans make all so clear, that after studying them, one almost feels equal to conduct a defence. The book is a beautiful specimen of typography and the plans and engravings are admirably executed. The reader will thank us for calling his attention to this work.

GOLDEN TRUTHS. *A course of Sermons for the Christian Year, etc., by John N. Norton, D.D.* NEW YORK: T. WHITTAKER, No. 2 Bible House. 1875.

The title of this book is sufficient to describe its design, and the well-known name of its author is sufficient to certify to its excellence. We think there should be a great demand for these sermons for the use of lay-readers. They are just the thing they need.

THE CHURCH ALMANAC, for the Year of our Lord, 1876. Edited by Wm. G. Farrington, D. D. NEW YORK: POTT, YOUNG & Co., Cooper Union.

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL ALMANAC AND DIRECTORY, for the Year of our Lord, 1876. NEW YORK: T. WHITTAKER, No. 2 Bible House.

These Church Almanacs are simply indispensable to all Church people, and it is unnecessary that we should say anything in their favor to the readers of this Review. Where both are so good it would be invidious for us to attempt to discriminate. Each has its peculiar features and advantages.

The former gives us the limits of Dioceses not coterminous with the States. The Necrology is very full, and the extracts from Episcopal Addresses in the calendar pages are admirably selected. The clergy list is prepared with that accuracy for which its editor is noted.

Special features of the other Almanac (Whittaker's) are a list of "the Clergy of British North America," and a full account and statistics of the "Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the P. E. Church in the U. S.," both very useful additions.

Mr. Whittaker has also published an edition of his almanac bound and interleaved. The Bishops and clergy will find this very useful in many ways, and we take pleasure in calling their attention to it.

THE CHURCH CONGRESS.

The Second Annual Meeting of the Church Congress was held in the City of Philadelphia, Nov. 9-12, 1875. We do not propose to give any account of these meetings, because they have already been so fully reported in the various papers, and the speeches will be printed in full in the "Annual Report." We desire only to put down here a few thoughts suggested by the proceedings.

1. The directors deserve great praise for their exertions. The subjects selected for discussion were all of general interest; the different opinions held in the Church were on the whole well represented. A great deal of fairness and ability was shown in the discussions, and the arrangements were excellent. Much of the success of such meetings depends upon this last, and the Local Committee showed a good judgment. They secured a large hall, well lighted, and easy to speak in. The music was a special feature, it was eminently congregational. The committee were wise in

not attempting to obtain artistic music. Well known tunes were selected, in which all could and did join, and the effect was grand.

2. It was to be noticed, how men differing widely in theories, would agree in practical conclusions. For instance, in the discussion on "The Nature and Extent of Episcopal Authority;" the speakers differed widely as to the origin of such authority, but agreed in the main as to the right and necessity of limiting it by law.

3. We could not but observe how every allusion to "free churches" and "free preaching" was applauded, though we think there was no clear idea in either speaker or audience of what is meant by "free preaching." Many seemed to believe that Free Churches, meaning thereby Churches without pew rents, would constitute the panacea for all the ills to which we are subject. We cannot but think there is a fallacy here. The evil is not so much in the mere raising of money by the renting of pews, as it is in the false principles abroad of which the pew system is the result. Rented pews may keep some people from Church; but making those pews free will not of itself bring them in. The fact is, people do not come to Church, *because they do not want to come.* We must make them want to come; and the problem is how to do it? Free pews may be one of the means; but it is not the only one, nor we believe the chief. However, we must not allow ourselves to be led off here into a discussion of this difficult question.

4. This Congress gives evidence of that, which indeed is manifested in other ways, viz., of the breaking up of party trammels. This is a good thing if it be not the result of a tendency to indifferentism as regards doctrine. There is cause to fear that to some extent there is such a tendency growing up among us. We would earnestly warn the Church against it, as quite as much to be deprecated as is party spirit.

5. A very encouraging thing is the manifest desire to look about for new ways of work. To a reasonable extent the attempt to fit the Church for the altered state of things, for the growth of the country in intelligence and population, is to be greatly commended. And it is very important that we should learn to distinguish between those things which are of the essence of the Church, and therefore unchangeable, and those which are merely means of human device, therefore to be altered as may be found necessary. We hope that the settling of these points may be one good resulting from these Congresses.

II. And now if it be asked what after all has this Congress *done*? We answer, in one sense—*nothing*. And we think this to be its great value, that it attempts to do nothing—no resolutions are offered—no votes taken.

But in another sense it has done, and we hope may in future do much.

1. There has been a fair interchange of views on practical questions; a freedom on all sides, without angry debate, for expressing opinions and discussing matters of general interest, on which we are not yet ready to legislate. This cannot but do good, suggestions were thrown out which cannot fail to produce results.

2. There has been a very deep interest shown in the Church, and an earnest desire manifested on all sides to fit her for her work. We think that every person present must have gone away with a stronger faith in the stability of the Church, and in her ability to fulfill her mission, and with a warmer desire to aid in carrying on her great work.

3. Not the least good done by this Congress is the bringing together, both in the public meetings and in social intercourse, men who have hitherto felt somewhat suspicious of each other's views; thus prejudices have been removed and kindly feelings engendered. One half the differences in the Church arise from a want of just such a friendly intercourse.

III. But withal there suggest themselves to us certain points, not so favorable, connected with these Congresses, which we deem it a duty frankly to state, believing that with proper care they may be avoided in the future.

1. There appears to have been a difficulty in getting laymen to speak, this was not the case in England, nor should it be so with us. We know that the Committee were disappointed in the absence of some eminent gentlemen who were expected to speak. Our Laity ought to take a deep interest in these meetings; they are able, and it is their duty, to make valuable practical suggestions.

2. And perhaps for this reason, there was a deficiency in this very matter of practical suggestions. A great many evils were pointed out, but the remedies were not prescribed. For instance, in the question of the "Church of the Working Classes;" all were ready enough to proclaim that the Church has failed in her duty; but we do not remember that it was clearly and practically pointed out how she was to perform her duty, nor even exactly what that duty is.

3. We think more subjects were taken up, than in the time allowed to the Congress could properly be discussed. Thoroughness was thus sacrificed to a desire to have variety. We are not in favor of long speeches, but we think it would be better to allow the writers thirty and the chosen speakers twenty minutes, and make it a point of honor with both to stop

when their time expires. And also, if possible, the speakers ought to be required to *peak*, not to *read*.

4. A great danger to which the Congress is exposed and which, unless some preventive can be found, will surely destroy its usefulness, is the tendency, for the sake of applause, to say smart or witty, rather than true things. A little wit now and then is well enough to relieve the tedium of a long session; an occasional anecdote gives point to and enlivens an argument—but there may be too much of even a good thing, especially of this kind, and judicious men will not care to take pains to think and write upon an important subject, be at some expense of time and money to attend these meetings, and then find their careful suggestions and reasonings unwillingly listened to, because the audience have had their ears tickled by some smart speaker who has kept them on a grin. In short, it must be clearly impressed upon those who attend, that instruction and profit, not amusement, is the object to be kept in view.

But these are difficulties easily avoided, and we wish and predict for the Church Congress a long career of usefulness.

THE CHURCH IN MEXICO.

The Rt. Rev. the Bishop of Delaware has kindly written an account of the action of the House of Bishops, in regard to the Church in Mexico, as a supplement to his former interesting article on "the Reformation in Mexico."

Since the publication in the CHURCH REVIEW, October, 1875, of the article entitled "The Reformation in Mexico," a new shape has been given thereto, so far as the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States is concerned, by the proceedings of the Mexican Commission above mentioned, and the action of the Bishops assembled in the city of New York, Oct. 29, 1875. The Commission, after very full and earnest consideration of the report made by the visiting Bishop and of the accompanying documents, accepted and approved his report.

Among the resolutions adopted were the following:

Whereas, in the opinion of this Commission there is sufficient evidence of the existence in Mexico of Presbyters and brethren who are Mexican Citizens, owing no allegiance to the Government of these United States, but recognizing the Episcopate of this Church and seeking further organization under its nursing care.

Resolved, That the Record of Synodical action and other documents laid before us indicate the provisional organization of a Church in Mexico which justifies our recognition of such Church under Article X of our Constitution.

Resolved, That we recognize the fact that said Church has certified to us the election

of two Presbyters as Missionary Bishops of said Church, by Synodical action; but finding the testimonials furnished in evidence of said election in some respects less than a full equivalent of the formulated testimonials under which the Episcopate was imparted to our own Church, we hereby respectfully suggest that such testimonials as shall be equivalent thereto be further supplied by the aforesaid Church in Mexico, according to historical forms to be by us sent for their consideration.

The Commission also resolved to lay before the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, a formal Covenant, or Articles of Agreement, between the Bishops and "The Mexican Branch of the Catholic Church of our Lord Jesus Christ militant upon earth," (the title assumed by said Church at its Synodical meeting in August, 1875), in further and definite settlement of relations with said Church in Mexico.

After hearing and discussion of this report the following action was taken, *nemine contradicente*.

Resolved, That the Bishops in Council learn with deep gratitude to Almighty God the facts presented in the Report of their Commission, and heartily desire to render fraternal aid in the full settlement of "The Mexican Branch of the Catholic Church of our Lord Jesus Christ militant upon earth," in its possession of scriptural truth and apostolic order.

Resolved, That the Bishops in Council by their Commission to be appointed with full authority to represent them (the Bishops) in conclusive action, agree to the ratification of Articles of Agreement with the Mexican Church aforesaid, duly represented by its regularly constituted Synodical Authority—and the Commission to be appointed for that purpose is hereby empowered to correspond with the representatives of the said Mexican Church in order to the final ratification of the aforesaid Articles of Agreement.

Further resolutions empower the Commission, when the said ratification shall have taken place, to examine and report to the Presiding Bishop upon the evidence of election and testimonials of qualification of the person or persons presented for Ordination to the Episcopate—and also request and empower the Presiding Bishop, when he shall have received such report from the Commission, to take order for the consecration of persons to him recommended by the Commission.

Subsequently to the adoption of these resolutions the former Commission (consisting of the Bishops of Maryland, Delaware, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Western New York, Pittsburgh and Long Island), was reappointed.

The action of the Bishops was not only in itself most satisfactory to the friends of this infant Church, but eminently gratifying in its cordial unanimity. This important movement has now the avowed sympathy of our Episcopate. While the work is opening wonderfully in Mexico, its advocates here are placed in a new and highly favorable position. What is now needed is such material aid as will ensure the carrying forward of

its operations and relieve those at its head from harassing pecuniary anxieties. The native laborers have manifested eminent self-denial and are content with the scantiest support. Even this has been of late uncertain, and fears have been entertained lest it might be necessary to disband some of the workers, and narrow the field of operations, when the Providence of God seems to point so clearly to enlargement. Seldom is such an opportunity given to a Church as that which now invites us. Earnest generous embrace of this great opening will tell upon the future of pure Christianity upon the Continent in a way that we can scarcely limit. The regeneration of Spanish America may in God's marvellous Providence grow out of this germ of true Evangelical faith. Let our Church respond with one heart to a call so unwonted and so urgent.

ORDINATIONS.

DEACONS.

July 29, 1875, John Graham, M. A. and Francis M. S. Taylor, Trinity Church, Pittsburg, by the Bishop of Pittsburg.

Oct. 13, 1875, Josiah B. Perry, Charleston, S. C., by the Bishop of S. C.

Nov. 9, 1875, Frank Hunt Smith, Trinity Church, Toledo, Ohio.

PRIESTS.

Sept. 30, 1875, Rev. Alfred Todhunter, at Memphis, Tenn., by the Bishop of Ark.

Oct. 10, 1875, Rev. Charles Holmes, Grace Church, Topeka, by the Bishop of Kan.

Oct. 12, 1875, Rev. James Ferdinand Taunt, Christ Church, Greenwich Conn., by the Bishop of Conn.

Oct. 24, 1875, Rev. John Haughton, in the Cathedral, by the Bishop of Albany.

Nov. 14, 1875, Rev. J. A. D. Hughes, St. Andrew's, Phila., by the Bishop of Penn.

Dec. 5, 1875, Rev. Charles H. Marshall and Rev. R. H. Kline, by the Missionary Bishop of Nevada.

Dec. 19, 1875, Rev. Amos Turner Ashton, Rev. A. E. Johnson, Rev. Spencer S. Roche, Rev. Joseph H. Young, Rev. Edward H. VanWinkle, St. Chrysostom's, N. Y. by the Bishop of New York.

BISHOPS.

Dec. 8, 1875, Rev. William Edward McLaren, S. T. D., to be Bishop of Illinois, in the Cathedral, Chicago, by Bishops McCoskry, Clarkson, Whipple, Bedell, Talbot, Welles, Spaulding, and Gillespie.

Dec. 15, 1875, the Rev. J. H. Hobart Brown, D. D., to be Bishop of Fond du Lac, in St. John's, Cohoes, by Bishops Potter, Paddock, Doane, Bissell, Niles, Welles, and Scarborough.

The Rev. Mr. Penniman, who two years ago perverted to Rome, has returned to the Church.

The Rev. P. J. Valentini, D. D., late a Romish Priest, was recently received into the Communion of our Church by the Bishop of N. Y. He is to be connected with the Italian Mission in New York.

AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW.

VOL. XXVIII.—APRIL, 1876.

THESES ON THE UNION TO THE LAST ADAM.

I. The Incarnation of the Son of God is the most fundamental fact in the history of the world. "The entire history of the world, moral and spiritual, revolves around two persons, Adam and Christ." (Trench.) The race began in Adam; but, Adam himself, in common with his descendants, must find his true centre in Christ, in order to the attainment of the perfect manhood.

II. We must distinguish between the life of our Lord in the flesh, and His life in the spirit. The terms flesh and spirit do not necessarily contrast His human and Divine natures. They designate rather, the one the ground, element, and mode of His earthly life, the other the same principles of His glorified life. His life in the flesh covered the period from the Immaculate Conception to His descent into Hades. That life was liable to all the infirmities, disabilities, and limitations of our mortal state. The curse spent itself upon Him. He "was in all points tempted (put to the proof, tried) like as we are, yet without sin;" only, the

supernatural powers hidden within Him would manifest themselves upon occasion, and give foretokens of the coming perfected state. His life in the spirit showed itself freely in His Resurrection. This was not a return out of death to the life He had before. It was arising into the imperishable life. It unfolded, by His Ascension and Glorification at the right hand of the Father, into the Absolute Manhood. A prevision of that life was afforded to the three disciples on Mt. Tabor when Jesus was transfigured before them. His life in the spirit transcends forever His life in the flesh: "being put to death indeed in the flesh, but made alive in the spirit."¹ "Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more; death hath dominion over Him no more."² Henceforth know we Christ after the flesh no more.³

III. Jesus Christ is the Archetypal Man. Marriage, at its original institution, prefigured the union of the human race to Christ; implying, that, if sin had not entered, the Incarnation would nevertheless have found place; and every child of Adam, in the due course of his own personal history, would have been taken up into the Christ-life, and transformed into the absolute manhood, through the Christ. Sin was allowed to enter the world. Redemption became necessary to the ultimate fulfilment of the Divine plan. Therefore, the Incarnate Word, while moving forward towards the life in the spirit, carried in that movement a redeeming process, perfecting His human nature at every stage of the progress; fulfilling all righteousness; victorious in the whole circle of human temptations; exhausting the curse; satisfying for the sin of the world by the one Offering of Himself once for all; and, through death, destroying death and Hades and him that had the power of death, that is, the devil. Thus the problem sin brought in found its perfect solution in Christ; and, now, men can be fashioned after the Archetypal Man into the image of God. All that is potential in our nature in its normal state has become eternally actual in the glorified life of Christ, and is the glory to be revealed in His people.

IV. Men obtain the absolute manhood through the Human Nature of our Lord. In His pre-existent Divine Person was life;

¹ I St. Pet. iii. 18. Gr.

² Rom. ii. 9. Gr.

³ 2 Cor. v. 16.

"and the life was the light of men." "And the Word was made flesh; * * * And of His fulness have all we received, and grace for grace." The repository of grace is His Human Nature. We cannot have direct relation to the Divine Nature. It can be mediate only, through Christ's humanity. "The bread that I will give is My flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." Independent of all primary conditions belonging to our race if sinless, it is enough for us to know that sin has begotten certain necessities. The nature that rebelled must make reconciliation; the nature that fell under the curse must drain it of its contents; the nature that yielded to Satan must overmaster him; the nature that faltered in the probationary trial for the absolute manhood must regain its uprightness, "bring in everlasting righteousness," and win the reward. That nature has accomplished all these demands. One man's nature has done all, in the person of Jesus Christ, and He is now, for us men, the fountal source of redemption, and of the eternal life. "And so it is written, The first man, Adam, was made a living soul, the last Adam a life-giving spirit."¹ The seed of the woman has bruised the serpent's head.

V. Men are in union with the first Adam. They must needs come into union with the last Adam. To be men human nature must be derived to them from the first Adam, by ordinary generation. The redeemed and new humanity must be derived to them from the last Adam, by a supernatural genesis effecting a direct union with His Human Nature. "He that hath the Son hath life; he that hath not the Son of God hath not life."

The absolute necessity of this union is taught by our Lord Himself under the figure of eating food. "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you."² Material food must be eaten, digested, assimilated, and incorporated into the body to sustain its life. Analogically, if we are to come to the perfected manhood, the Flesh and Blood, *i. e.*, the very substance, the essence of our Lord's Humanity, must be taken into us, assimilated, and incorporated into our whole being, body, soul, and spirit. "As the living Father hath sent Me, and I live

¹ I Cor. xv. 45. Gr.

² St. John vi. 53, *et seq.*

by reason of the Father : even so, he that eateth Me, he also shall live by reason of Me.”¹

Not a few suppose that men are saved by a direct hypostatical union with the Divine Nature of our Lord, irrespective of His Humanity. They think this was assumed for no other purposes but that He might be able to sympathize with us, attemper the Divine Glory to our eyes, suffer and die for us. These are grave errors. Having accomplished these purposes, will He lay aside His human nature ? Is the Incarnation repeated in the case of every man brought into union with Christ ? There is but the one Incarnation. It endures forever. And the redeemed and glorified Humanity of Jesus Christ must become ours, as the food we take becomes our flesh and blood. Thus only can we come into relation to His Divine Nature. “ He that eateth My flesh, and drinketh My blood, dwelleth in Me, and I in him.”

VI. Such a union is not contrary to the nature of things. The general is before the particular, gives being and form to it. The universal comes to its expression in the individual. There is a generic humanity. The first Adam bore it in his person. Hence Eve, to be human, must be taken from Adam. Hence the name given him, Adam ; which name signifies the generic man, collective humanity having its oneness in him. The Human Nature of the last Adam is impersonal, and, therefore, must be conceived of as purely generic, Humanity in its wholeness. The Son of God did not join Himself to a human person known among men by the name, Jesus. There are not two personalities in Christ. The Son of God took our nature of the substance of the Blessed Virgin, and gave it subsistence in His Divine Person. There are in Him the two Natures, the Divine and the human ; and these inhere in the One Eternal Person. “ And the Word became flesh.”² No other phrase could better express the universalness of His Manhood.

The generic Manhood of the last Adam can come to personal human expression in individual men by the conveying of His Humanity to them. And men find in Him the absolute ground of their own highest personality.

¹ St. John vi. 57. Alford.

² St. John i. 14.

Nota, in passing, that herein is the solution of that disturbing problem in soteriology, whether redemption is particular, or general. If Christ bears our nature in its wholeness, then is His redemption catholic. He is the propitiation for the sins of the whole world. He taketh away the sin of the world. He tasted death for every man. Yet, they to whom the new humanity is derived from Him, and they only, partake of the benefits of His redemption.

VII. The union described above does exist. "In Christ," "In the Lord," "In Jesus," are New Testament phrases that mark the distinction between christians and all other men. Such terms point to the fact of this union with Christ. To apprehend its nature more fully we should study the similitudes wherewith the New Testament sets it forth.

1. "I am the vine, ye are the branches," is a simile used by our Lord.

2. The head and the body with its members, is a figure occurring frequently in the writings of St. Paul. "Now ye are the body of Christ, and severally members thereof." "And gave Him to be head over all things to the Church, which is His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all things in all." "Which is the head even Christ: From Whom the whole body being fitly framed together and compacted by means of every joint of the supply, according to the working in the measure of each several part, maketh the growth of the body unto the building up itself in love."

3. Another favorite comparison, applied by St. Paul, is marriage, with evident allusion to the origin of it in Eden. Eve, made of the rib taken from Adam, was brought unto him; and he said, "This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of man." So the Church is of the substance of the last Adam, "because we are members of His body, being of His flesh, and of His bones."

Plainly, this union is something more than that which obtains

¹ I. Cor. xii. 27. Gr.

² Eph. i. 22, 23 Gr.

³ Eph. iv. 15, 16. Alford.

⁴ Gen. ii. 23.

⁵ Eph. v. 30. Gr.

between Christ and men because He is of the same race with them, descended from Adam. It is more than a moral union, as of friend with friend, teacher and pupil, a philosopher and his school, the founder of a religion and his disciples. It is more than a legal union, in virtue whereof the merits of a federal head are imputed to his people. Men cannot have forensically the benefits of the righteousness of Christ, if they are not already His by some real bond. It is more than corporate, as of a commander and his army, a king and his subjects. The union between the last Adam and His people includes all these, and underlies them; but, it is not defined by them. The vine and its branches, the head and the body, the marriage of Eve to Adam, set forth a union vital with a common life; most real and true, not imaginary and figurative; substantive, not metaphysical; organic, not mechanical and artificial. It is wont to be called mystical because supernatural, incomprehensible to the understanding, a mystery for faith. "This mystery is a great one: but I say it in regard to Christ and the Church."¹

In this union there is no loss of personality: rather a standing upon the absolute ground of personality, the Eternal Person of the Son of God.

There is no loss of identity; no transmuting, interchange, nor confusion of natures; no "being godded in God," as some have wildly said; no taking of responsibility off from ourselves and putting it upon Christ, alleging that our actions are His in such sense that, however sinful in other men, they are pure in us! A gross and fanatical Antinomian perversion of this most precious doctrine. Vine and branches, head and body, Adam and Eve preserve their distinctive identity, personality, and responsibility, intact.

It should be said by way of caution, that the union to the last Adam is spiritual, not physical. The Holy Ghost is the medium of union to Christ: for, He is the Spirit of Christ, proceeding through and by Him from the Father. "He that is joined to the Lord is one Spirit."

¹ Eph. v. 32. Alford.

VIII. It becomes a matter of the last importance to know how men may come into union with the last Adam. By subjective processes, generated and maintained in a man's own thought? These can lay hold of nothing beyond himself. By objective arrangements devised by human societies? These belong to the region of nature. Nature cannot of herself rise into the supernatural. Whatever intercourse existed originally between Nature and the Supernatural was broken off by the coming in of sin. Hence the need of a redeeming mediation. The Supernatural has responded to this need by entering into the bosom of Nature in the Incarnation of the Son of God. Forth from Him as the last Adam, the life-giving Spirit, proceeds a new creation, a renewed race, "the Church, which is His Body." Membership in His Body is union to Himself. The Church is the concrete expression of the life of her Lord, "the fulness of Him that filleth all things in all." To be in the Church is to be comprehended in that life.

Men are introduced into the Church by Holy Baptism. Here is the significance of Baptism. This engrafts men into the Vine, incorporates them into the Body, plants in them the great communion life. This makes them members of Christ, children of God, inheritors of the kingdom of heaven.¹

"Except any one be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."²

The outward sign is joined sacramentally and indissolubly to the inward grace, as the means of conveying that grace. "For ye are all sons of God through the faith in Christ Jesus. For all ye who were baptized into Christ did put on Christ."³

"For in one Spirit also we were all baptised into one body; * * and were all made to drink of one Spirit."⁴

Men can be in union with Adam only as they belong to his race. So, they can be one with the last Adam only by entrance into His Church. Is it objected that this puts the Church between the believing soul and his Saviour? It does; but, it is only as the trunk of a tree is between the root and the branches,

¹ Church-catechism.

² St. John iii., 5. Gr.

³ Gal. iii., 26, 27. Alford.

⁴ I. Cor. xii., 13. Alford.

as the body is between the head and the members, as the race lies between us and the first Adam.

Baptism translates its subject from the old order of fallen nature into the new-economy of the Supernatural. It begins a process whose normal ending will be the full entrance upon the life in the spirit at the resurrection of the just. Baptism implants that life in its subject germinally, and initiates a separation from the old life in the flesh. It brings into conjunction all the conditions of a new genesis. What marvel then that the Church has ever called baptism, regeneration? "According to His mercy He saved us, through the font of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost."¹

Regeneration constitutes sonship in the family of God. Some insist that regeneration goes before a man's receiving of Christ as cause and effect. This metaphysical speculation has been exalted to the dignity of a dogma essential to the purity of the Faith. St. John disposes of it by reversing the order. To as many as received the Incarnate Word gave He power, authority, right, privilege, to become the sons of God. First the receiving, the believing; then the sonship.² That sonship is constituted in baptism.

IX. Baptism begins a process. What shall conduct it to completion? Baptism plants the new life in its subject. What shall nourish and unfold it to the full? "Abide in Me, and I in you" is the answer of Him who calls Himself the Vine. A double abiding. The branch may abide in the vine; but this does not suffice. It may become gnarled, covered with fungi, eaten with worms; life cannot flow in fulness into it from the vine; it decays, and its fruit is not worth the gathering. The hand abides in the body; but, if paralyzed, the free play of the life-forces from the body into the palsied member is hindered, and it withers away. Men abide in Adam; but, if diseased in body or mind, the grandeur of Adam,

"Goodliest of all his sons, save One,"

cannot come to any proper measure of expression, and they fail to

¹ Titus iii., 5. Alford.

² St. John i., 12, 13.

answer the nobler ends of their creation. "He that abideth in Me, and I in him, the same beareth much fruit; for apart (separate) from Me, ye can do nothing."¹

We must abide in the old historic Church, the new race proceeding from the last Adam; but, if gnarled, cross-grained by self-will; if eaten by pride, unbelief, covetousness; if palsied by heresy; if enervated by sensualities; if diseased through wilful violations of the laws of the supernatural economy: the inflow of the life of Christ into us, in its fulness of power, is obstructed; we droop, shrivel, become unfruitful, and are cast away. Resisting all hindrances, keeping our whole being open to communication with the Vine, we bring forth "fruit unto perfection."

As there is a sacrament of the beginning of this life; so, also, there is a sacrament of nutrition and growth. "For My flesh is meat indeed, and My blood is drink indeed." Twelve months after these words were spoken, when our Lord blessed and brake the bread, and said, "Take, eat, this is My Body;" then took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to His disciples, saying, "This is My Blood of the covenant, drink ye all of it;" could the disciples fail to recall the mysterious utterances at Capernaum? Could they fail to perceive that the Master constituted, then and there, a sacramental union between His own Humanity and the consecrated bread and wine? Coming to the Holy Communion with loving, believing preparation, we feed upon the Body and Blood of the Lord. "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the participation of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the participation of the body of Christ?"² In baptism we are made members of the last Adam. In the Holy Communion the substance, the essence of His Humanity is received by us. "He that eateth Me, even he shall live by Me."

The Humanity of Christ is the matter of this sacrament. "This is My Body." "This cup is the New Testament in My Blood." Not that His Humanity is eaten by oral manducation. Not that the material Body and Blood are received into our bodies. To this crass, carnal misconception of His words our Lord made answer, "Doth this offend you? What then if ye

¹ St. John xv., 5. Gr.

² I. Cor. x., 16. Alford.

should behold the Son of Man ascending up where He was before? It is the Spirit that giveth life; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I have spoken unto you are spirit, and are life."¹ The eating belongs to the life in the spirit. To eat the material Body of the Lord, were this possible, would advantage our fleshly life only, would profit us nothing as to the needs of our life in the spirit.

As to His visible Humanity, Christ is at the right hand of the Father. He appears in the presence of God for us, "ever living to make intercession for us." "And I beheld in the midst of the throne, and of the four living creatures, and in the midst of the presbyters, a Lamb standing as if slain."² To be there, and upon all the altars of the Church at one and the same time, in the same physically local sense, is contrary to the very nature of His Body. Change of the substance of the bread and wine into the material Body and Blood of Christ would destroy the nature of the sacrament. The Humanity of our Lord is continually present in His Church, in His Ministry, and in His Sacraments. They are His organs and media of working in the world. The sacraments have it for their special function to put us into communion with His Humanity, to convey to us the substance thereof. But a physical juncture with Christ's Body is not necessary. The root of a tree needs not to be in contact mechanically with branches, leaves and fruit. It is in them by its organic law. Adam is removed from us by centuries of time. He is not in us by material presence, but by the law of his life. So the Humanity of the last Adam has Its Presence in the Church, in the Ministry, and in the Sacraments not corporeally, but by the law of the Spirit of Its life. He must needs go away that He might be present among men effectively for innermost touch through the medium of the Holy Ghost. "It is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send Him unto you." "The Holy Ghost was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified." "Touch Me not: for I am not yet ascended to My Father." "Whom the heaven must receive, until the times of restitution of all things." But His departure and remaining in

¹ St. John vi., 61-63. Alford.

² Rev. v., 6, *et seq.* Gr.

the heaven do not take Him from us. "I will not leave you comfortless; I will come to you." "For where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them." "I am with you all the days, even unto the end of the age."¹

Many define the mode of the Real Presence in the Holy Eucharist in such terms as conclude the duty of peculiar acts of adoration towards the elements and the altar. Why the Eucharist should be singled out for this eminence does not appear. The Real Presence is in the Church, in the Ministry, in Baptism, in all the means of grace as well; and, by parity of reasoning, these all should be signalized in like manner.

The Real Presence of our Lord is that of His Humanity directly, of His Divinity indirectly. The two Natures are not disjoined in the Real Presence; but, the Divine is not present in such special sense and for such use as is the Human Nature. The Humanity is present for particular ends, and the putting ourselves into such attitude as is answerable to these ends involves in itself all the worship becoming the occasion. Loyal demeanor towards the Church as the Body of Christ is the appropriate mode of rendering worship to our Lord in that relation. All suitable waiting upon the official acts of the Ministry is worshipful recognition of the Presence of the Lord in His Ministry. In Baptism, we are not to bow before the font and the consecrated water in extraordinary homage. The whole Baptismal service is worshipful in itself, and recognizes the Real Presence of our Lord's Humanity by the medium of the Holy Ghost. So, the entire order for the administration of the Holy Communion discerns the Lord's Body in the Sacrament, and is itself the fitting worship. The importing into it of peculiar manipulations and posturings mar the integrity of the service, separate the Humanity from the Person of our Lord, are out of harmony with the intent of the Real Presence in the Sacrament, and distract the communicant from both the meaning of the Sacrament and the worshipful use of it. The end of the Sacrament is the participating of the Body and of the Blood. "Take, eat." "All ye drink of it." It is the feasting upon the Sacrifice: Sacrifice finished on Calvary once for all, un-

¹ St. Matt. xxviii., 20. Gr.

repeated, complete, perpetually offered in heaven before God by the Great High Priest as the one all-sufficient plea: Sacrifice present upon our altars as His memorial, celebrated and made before the Divine Majesty in union with the Intercessional offering of our High Priest before the throne. "This is My Body, which is broken for you." "This cup is the New Testament in My Blood:" "this do for My memorial."¹

Some seek to reduce the dogma of the continual Presence of Christ on the earth within the terms of natural law. They find it a vain task, and think they must reject what they cannot formulate as they would a mathematical problem. They forget that the Real Presence belongs to the realm of the Supernatural. It is not a proposition for the reason. It does not contradict it. It is above it. It is a mystery for faith.

O. P. JENNINGS. Pr.

¹I. Cor. xi., 24, 25. Gr.

L A T I N H Y M N O D Y .

No. II.

EARLY MEDIÆVAL PERIOD.

J. RAMBACH—*Anthologie christl. Gesänge aus allen Jahrh. der christl. kirche.* ALTONA, 1817–33.

EDELESTAND DU MERIL—*Poésies populaires latines antérieures au douzième siècle.* PARIS, 1843.

C. FORTLAGE—*Gesänge der christl. Vorzeit.* BERLIN, 1844.

E. E. KOCH—*Geschichte des Kirchenlieds u. Kirchen Gesangs der christl. Kirche*, 3d ed. STUTTGART, 7 vols. (i. 10–30.)

BASSLER—*Auswahl alt-christ. Lieder vom 15ten Jah.* BERLIN, 1858.

Other collections cited in the previous article.

Among the hymns which stand on the boundary between ancient and mediæval times, none is greater, or more illustrious, than the Pentecostal hymn,

VENI CREATOR SPIRITUS.

Its authorship is uncertain. It has often been ascribed to the pen of the licentious and tyrannical Charlemagne; but the best critics believe it to be the work of S. GREGORY THE GREAT. It has always been honored with especial dignity by the Western Church, being used at “the coronation of kings, the celebration of synods, the creation of popes, and the translation of relics.” It is the only metrical hymn which the Church of England has

officially sanctioned, since it is used in the Ordinal in BISHOP COSIN's well-known version,¹

Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire,
And, lighten with celestial fire.

This translation is not in the metre of the original.

Veni, creator Spiritus,
Mentes tuorum visita,
Imple superna gratia
Quæ tu creasti pectora.

Qui paraclitus diceris,
Donum Dei altissimi,
Fons vivus, ignis, caritas,
Et spiritalis unctio.

Tu septiformis munere,
Dextræ Dei tu digitus,
Tu rite promissum Patris
Sermone ditans guttura.

Accende lumen sensibus,
Infunde amorem cordibus,
Infirma nostri corporis,
Virtute firmans perpetim.

Hostem repellas longius,
Pacemque dones protinus,
Ductores sic te prævio
Vitemus omne noxium.

Da gaudiorum præmia,
Da gratiarum munera,
Dissolve litis vincula,
Adstringe pacis fœdera.

Per te sciamus, da, Patrem,
Noscamus atque Filium,
Te utriusque Spiritum
Credamus omni tempore.

Sit laus Patri cum Filio,
Sancto simul Paraclito,
Nobisque mittat Filius
Charisma sancti Spiritus.

Come Holy Ghost, Creator blest
Visit these earthly souls of Thine,
Fill with Thy grace, Thou heavenly Guest,
Hearts Thou hast formed by Power Divine.

Thou art the Paraclete, the Dove,
The precious Gift of God most high,
The living Fount, the Fire of Love,
The sacred Unction from the sky.

Thou, with Thy sevenfold gifts of grace,
Art Finger of the Lord's right hand,
The Promise of the Father's face,
Spreading His truth to every land.

Kindle our senses with Thy flame,
Fill our cold hearts with holy Love,
Strengthen the weakness of our frame,
With constant courage from above.

Drive far from us the dreaded foe,
Grant us the gift of perfect peace;
Fearless, with Thee our Guide, we go,
For Thou wilt bid all dangers cease.

Give us rewards of joy and life,
Give us Thy grace forever free,
Dissolve the hateful bands of strife,
And bind our hearts in peace to Thee.

Teach us to know the Father blest,
And own the sole-begotten Son,
Of both the Holy Ghost, confessed
In every age, God Three in One.

Praise to the Father with the Son,
Praise to the Holy Paraclete;
And may the work, by Christ begun,
His Holy Spirit make complete.*

¹ Prof. March, by a singular error, ascribes this translation to Mrs. Charles!

Other translations (besides the two in the Ordinal) are the celebrated version by DRYDEN, (abridged in Hymnal, 129),

Creator Spirit, by whose aid ;

NAHUM TATE, (?) in Hymnal 127,

Come, Holy Ghost, Creator, come ;

and WILLIAM HAMMOND, in Palmer's Book of Praise, p. 108,

Holy Spirit, gently come.

BIRD, in his "Songs of the Spirit," gives nine translations.

APPAREBIT REPENTINA.

The author of this grand Judgment hymn is unknown ; though it is certainly as old as the seventh century. It has the peculiarity of beginning its verses with successive letters of the alphabet, like Psalm cxix, and some of the Lamentations of Jeremiab. This peculiarity has not been preserved in other English versions, known to me.¹ Dr. Neale speaks of the hymn as "rugged and grand." Daniel, Neale and Trench compare it to the "Dies Iræ." On account of its length, I give here only the first stanza of the original.

*Apparebit repentina dies magna Domini,
Fur obscura velut nocte improvisos occupans.*

The whole hymn may be found in Bässler, 196, Daniel 1, 194, Königsfeld, ii, 94, March, p. 71, and Trench, p. 290.

At the call of God a sudden, dreadful Day of Doom shall rise,
As a thief in deepest midnight seeks th' unguarded to surprise.

Brief indeed will seem the glory of the world's short, fleeting day,
When that world, grown old and hoary, shall forever pass away.

Clearly then the sounding trumpet all earth's distant lands shall greet,
Calling both the dead and living to Christ's awful Judgment Seat.

Down from Heaven the Judge descending, shining in His majesty,
With His white-robed choirs of angels all the universe shall see.

¹ Dr. Coles, of Newark, gives an Alphabetical version, but not in the metre of the original.

As a thief in the night, when none waketh to ward.

Earth's fair moon like blood shall redden, e'en the sun shall hide his face,
Stars grow pale and fall in weakness, while earth trembles to its base.

Flames of fire before the Presence of that righteous Judge shall gleam;
Skies and lands, deep waves of ocean—all shall perish in that stream.

Glorious on His Throne of grandeur Heaven's great King shall sit in state,
While the trembling¹ ranks of angels stand around, His will t' await.

Hither swiftly shall be gathered all th' elect to God's right hand;
While, like filthy goats, the wicked on His left in fear shall stand.

'Into Heaven's blest Kingdom coming,' to the good the King shall say,
'Take the realm my Father's love prepared for your abode alway.

Kindness most fraternal shown Me, when ye saw Me sick and poor,
Now shall yield reward of kindness with a riches ever sure.'

'LORD,' the just with joy shall answer, 'when saw we Thy bitter need,
When, Thou mighty King of Glory, could we give Thee help indeed?'

'Merciful,' the Judge shall answer, 'were ye unto men distressed;
When ye gave them bread, house, clothing, in My servants Me ye blest.'

Nor the sentence of the wicked shall that righteous Judge delay;
'Into hell's devouring flames depart, ye cursed souls, away!

Often have ye heard Me crying, still I cried to you in vain—
Naked gave ye Me no raiment, while ye scorned Me in My pain.'

Proudly shall the sinners answer, 'Christ, when have we seen Thee poor?
When, Thou mighty King of Glory, have we spurned Thee from our door?'

Quickly then the Judge shall answer: 'When your succor ye delayed
To the needy vainly crying, ye refused your Monarch aid.'

Rushing down to fires perpetual then in woe th' unjust shall fly,
Where their worm shall never perish, where the flame shall never die.

Satan there and evil angels lie in prison gloom and chains,
Where are weeping, wailing, gnashing, cruel torments, bitter pains.

Then the faithful rise with rapture to the skies, their fatherland,
There they seek and find their kingdom, 'mid the angels' glorious band.

Up to fair Jerusalem's city come they, clad in bright array,
Where the light of Truth and Peace is shining in perpetual day.

Xrist the King their eyes shall gladden with His Father's holy light,
While the choirs of saints and angels gaze, and worship at the sight.

¹ Mrs. Charles translates "*tremebunda*" as "*radiani*!"

Yield not therefore to the serpent's frauds, but shun him ; aid the weak,
Gold despise and flee vain splendor, if to reach the stars you seek.

Zones of chastity all-gleaming 'round your loins like girdles fling,
Take your lamps all brightly beaming, and go forth to meet your King.

This hymn has been translated by Mrs. CHARLES, Voice of Christian Life in Song, p. 142.

*Suddenly to all appearing the great day of God shall come,
As a thief at darkest midnight on an unsuspecting home ;*

and Dr. NEALE, Mediæval Hymns and Sequences, p. 9.

*That great day of wrath and terror,
That last day of woe and doom,
Like a thief that comes at midnight,
On the sons of men shall come.*

There is still another version by E. E. BENEDIOT ; and I have seen in MS. a good one by Bishop WILLIAMS of Connecticut.

BÄSSLER, (a Lutheran minister of Neustadt-Magdeburg, who gives a German translation of this hymn,) speaks of the original as " the predecessor of the *Dies Iræ*, in the ancient ecclesiastical form of the rhymeless trochaic Tetrameter, unadorned, epic throughout, holding itself in strict accordance with the biblical narration, without any lyric element, and only at the close didactic in words of earnest admonition." (p. 70.)

I subjoin, for the first half of the hymn, an

ALLITERATIVE PARAPHRASE.

At the Almighty's call a tearful,	Down from heaven the Judge descending,
Awful Day of Doom shall rise ;	Dazzling in His majesty,
As a thief at midnight, fearful,	Draws his white-robed choirs attending—
Anxious, seeks a sure surprise.	Darkened worlds their dread doom see.
Brief indeed will be earth's glory,	
Born but one bright, beauteous day ;	Earth's fair moon like blood shall redden,
Burned that ball of brilliant story,	E'en the sun shall hide his face,
Blazes brightly, breaks away.	Each bright star grow pale and deaden,
	Earth still echoing to its base.
Clearly then the clarion sounding,	Flames of fire in fierce commotion,
Comes earth's crowded coasts to greet,	Flash forth from that Judge most good ;
Calling quick and dead, surrounding	Forests, fields, free-foaming ocean,
Christ's celestial Judgment-Seat.	Flaming in that fiery flood.

Grand and good, in golden beauty,
 Great I AM shall sit in state;
 Glorious angels, guides in duty,
 Guards of glory, GOD await.
 Here th' elect in hope are standing,
 Holy ones on His right hand;
 Huddling close, like vile goats banding,
 Horrid, hideous sinners stand.
 'Into heaven's high halls now going,
 Just ones,' so the Judge shall say,
 'Join joy's jubilee, still showing
 Joyful love to God alway:

Kindness, free from earthly blindness,
 Kept ye for Me, sick and poor;
 Kingdoms shall reward that kindness,
 Knowledge, riches ever sure.
 Listening to Love's wondrous story,
 'Lord,' the loved ones cry with joy,
 'Let us learn, light's Lord of glory,
 Lessons how our love t' employ.'
 'Merciful,' the mighty Master
 Makes response, 'My might ye bless,
 Making men free from disaster,
 Ministering to meek distress.'

SANCTI, VENITE.

There is another anonymous hymn, which dates back to remote antiquity, and is certainly not later than the seventh century. Clear, earnest, full of Faith and Love, it is very valuable on two accounts: (1) as testifying to early Eucharistic doctrine, and (2) to the Communion in *both* species.

Sancti, venite,
 Christi corpus sumite,
 Sanctum bibentes,
 Quo redempti, sanguinem.

Salvati Christi
 Corpore et sanguine,
 A quo refecti
 Laudes dicamus Deo.

Hoc sacramento
 Corporis et sanguinis
 Omnes exuti
 Ab inferni faucibus.

Dator salutis,
 Christus filius Deo
 Mundum servavit
 Per crucem et sanguinem.

Pro universis
 Immolatus dominus,
 Ipse sacerdos
 Exstitit et hostia.

Come, holy Christians,
 Take Christ's Body, living Food;
 Drink the redeeming
 Chalice of His sacred Blood.

Saved by the Body
 And the Blood of Christ, our King,
 Filled with refreshment,
 Joyful praise to God we sing.

By the blest Token
 Of the Body and the Blood,
 Hell's snares are broken,
 And we taste the healing flood.¹

He Who gives safety,
 Christ, the Son, for God, our Lord,
 Earth hath delivered
 By His Cross and Blood outpoured.

Offered for all men,
 He the Lord of all shall reign,
 Standing forever
 Our High Priest and Victim slain.

¹ This admirable stanza is omitted by Daniel, and by Neale's translation.

Lege præceptum, Immolari hostias, Qua adumbrantur Divina mysteria.	Taught by commandment, Once the Jewish victim's bled; There, dimly shadowed Heavenly mysteries were read.
Lucis indultor Et salvator omnium Præclaram sanctis Largitus est gratiam.	But our Light-giver, Saviour of our fallen race, Grants to the faithful Richest treasures of His grace.
Accedant omnes Pura mente creduli, Sumant æternam Salutis custodiam.	Come, all believers, With pure hearts and souls draw nigh, Take the eternal Safeguard, given from the sky.
Sanctorum custos Rector quoque dominus Vitam perennem Largitur credentibus.	He, who the holy Keepeth as their Lord and King, Shall Life Eternal To His faithful people bring.
Coelestem panem Dat esurientibus, De fonte vivo Præbet sitientibus.	True Bread of Heaven Gives He to the hungry here, Grants to the thirsty Streams from living fountains clear.
Alpha et Omega Ipse Christus dominus, Venit venturus Judicare homines.	Alpha, Omëga, Christ, the Church's Lord and Head, Comes now in mercy :— Soon to judge the quick and dead!

I know of no other English translation, except the excellent one by NEALE, (Hymns An. and Mod. No. 348),

*Draw nigh and take the Body of the Lord,
And drink the holy Blood for you outpoured.*

There is a very poor German one by Bässler, on page 71 of his book.

EUGENIUS,

who died in A.D. 657, was for twelve years Archbishop of Toledo, in Spain, and presided in the ninth and tenth Councils of Toledo. He has left behind what can hardly be called a *hymn*, but one of the most matchless Christian poems in existence. It is in hexameters, and begins,

Reo Deus, immensi quo constat machina mundi.

The original can be found in Bässler, 195, Daniel i, 190, Königsfeld, ii, 90, and March, 69. The following is, I believe, the only translation ever made of it into the English language.

Lord God, by Whose great power subsists this earthly frame,
Grant now my humble prayer, through Christ's most holy Name.

Give me a watchful heart, thou King and Lord of all,
And on my mind and soul let truth's blest radiance fall.

Give me a holy Faith, from fatal error free,
A pure and steadfast life devoted, Lord, to Thee.

Let me be loving, true, humble, and prudent still,
Quiet in speech, and blest with lips that speak no ill.

Give me a comrade true, a firm and faithful friend,
A servant chaste and kind, sober, not swift to spend.

Let poverty not pinch, nor pain my form distort;
But health and needful food dispel each anxious thought,

Riches I ask not, Lord, nor pomp, nor pride, nor strife,
Envy, nor luxury, with gluttony's foul life.

Let me not mischief do, nor harm to me be done;
But make my will so pure, that evil I may shun.

Let me not wish to do, or ever speak the wrong:
Be Thou my heart's desire in action, speech and song.

Father of Heaven, I pray with showers of bitter tears,
That I may seek to wash away the guilt of years.

Oh! grant me aid, I ask, to conquer in the strife,
And run with even course the race that leads to life.

And when in awful power the Judge of man comes down,
Forgive the sin, that else would rob me of my crown.

Maker of heaven and earth, all glory be to Thee,
Who as the Triune God dost reign in Majesty.

The metre of this translation is the same as that of Hymn 7, in the Hymnal, "*Thy Kingdom come, O God.*" German translations of the Prayer of Eugenius can be found in Bässler, p. 68, and (better) in Königsfeld, ii, 91.

BEDA VENERABILIS.

The memory of this "burning and shining light" of the early Anglican Church should be especially dear to every member of

our communion; and indeed to all who are of Anglo-Saxon descent. He was born A.D. 673 at Durham, in England, entered a Benedictine cloister at the age of seven, and spent nearly the whole of a long life of useful labor in the famous monastery of Yarrow; where he died May 26, 735. I have selected two of his hymns for translation. The first has the peculiarity, (imitated by nearly all its translators,) that each stanza begins and ends with the same line. It is for

THE HOLY INNOCENTS' DAY.

Hymnum canentes martyrum,
Dicamus innocentium,
Quos terra fientes perdidit,
Gaudens sed æthra suscipit,
Vultum patris per sæcula
Quorum tuentur angeli,
Ejusque laudant gratiam,
Hymnum canentes' martyrum.

Original in Bässler, p. 198, Königsfeld, ii, 112, and March, 79.

Singing the martyred infant host,
Tell of the babes now passed away,
Whom weeping earth forever lost,
But joyful heaven received to day.
Whose angels on the Father gaze
Forever, in sweet rapture lost,
And yield Him ceaseless songs of praise,
Singing the martyred infant host.

Slain by an impious monarch's might,
Their kind Creator gave them rest,
And placed them in perpetual light,
To reign with saints forever blest.
He gave to each a mansion fair
In His own home, that knows no night;
Those seats of ceaseless joy they share,
Slain by an impious monarch's might.

A voice in Rama loudly cried
A deep lament of bitter woe;
For Rachel wept her sons who died,
With many a tear her griefs o'erflow.
But now with endless triumph crowned,
Victorious over pain they ride,
For whose sad fate, with mournful sound,
A voice in Rama loudly cried.

Fear not, ye little flock so blest,
The treach'rous lion's teeth and power;
Your gentle Shepherd gives you rest
In fields where blooms each heavenly flower.

Ye follow, clothed in purest white,
 The Lamb of God by you confest;
 The impious robber's power and spita,
 Fear not, ye little flock so blest.

And every tear is wiped away
 By God the Father from your face;
 Death comes no more to bring dismay
 To those within the walls of grace.
 For they, who sow with many a tear,
 Shall reap reward in endless day:
 When God their Saviour shall appear,
 And every tear is wiped away.

Oh! how illustrious is the town
 In which our blest Redeemer came,
 Where babes first won the martyr's crown,
 First bore for Christ the martyr's name.
 Call it no more a feeble place
 Amid earth's cities of renown,
 Where our new Leader came with grace,
 Oh! how illustrious is the town!

They stand, all clad in bright array,
 Around the Throne of God in light;
 The Lamb has washed their sins away,
 His Blood has made their clothing white:
 Once weeping for earth's cruel wrong,
 They breathed their infant life away;
 Now praising God with ceaseless song
 They stand, all clad in bright array.

There is another English version by NEALE, (Hymns An. and Mod., 53, and People's Hymnal 283).

The hymn for conquering martyrs raise.

He omits, however, the last beautiful stanza.

Mrs. CHARLES (Christian Life in Song, p. 142) translates only the first verse, given by Daniel,

A hymn of martyrs let us sing ;

evidently supposing that to be the entire hymn. There are German translations by Bässler, p. 73, and Königsfeld, ii, 113.

The other selected hymn of Bede's is for

ASCENSION DAY.

Hymnum canamus gloriæ,
 Hymni novi nunc personent,
 Christus novo cum tramite
 Ad Patris ascendit thronum.

The original can be found in Beda's works, ed. Giles, 1, 88 ; Daniel 1, 206 ; Königsfeld, 1, 84 ; March, p. 81.

Sing we a glorious hymn of joy,
New hymns let thankful tongues employ ;
Christ, by a road before unknown,
Mounts upward to the Father's Throne.

He passes in triumphal state
Through highest Heaven's eternal gate ;
Who by His Death took death away,
While scorned by men of mortal clay.

Attending His majestic way,
Celestial hosts in bright array—
Angelic guards with rapture come
To bear the King of Glory home.

Th' Apostles, in that mystic land,
Upon the Mount of Olives stand,
And with the Virgin Mother gaze
On Jesus, bright with glory's rays.

Passing in radiant course on high
The summits of the glittering sky,
He sits upon the Father's right,
The Son of co-eternal might :

And thence shall come in glory dread
To meet the living and the dead,
With power to judge all actions past,
And give a just reward at last.

We pray Thee, at that last award,
Jesus, our sole redeeming Lord,
Amid Thy faithful flock on high,
Sweet Saviour, call us to the sky.

There let Thy Spirit dwell within
Our hearts, made pure from guilt and sin ;
Show us the Father, Vision blest,
And that shall give us endless rest.

There are other translations by Mrs. CHARLES, (*Christian Life in Song*, p. 141.)

A hymn of glory let us sing ;

and in *Day-Hours of the Church of England*, p. 108,

Sing we triumphant hymns of praise ;

both evidently from a different Latin text, from that which I have used. There is still another by Miss HILLHOUSE ; and a weak German version by Königsfeld.

PAULUS DIACONUS,

called also Warnefried, was borne at Friuli, in Lombardy, A.D., 730. He retired from the court of the Lombard kings into a monastery, and died about the close of the eighth century. He left to the world a hymn in honor of Saint John Baptist; the first verse of which is very famous, since it afforded to *Guido Aretinus*, the musical scale, *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si*.

UT queant laxis
RE-sonare fibris
MI-ra gestorum
FA-muli tuorum;
SOL-ve polluti
LA-bii reatum,
S-ancte I-ohannes!

*That on my harp-strings with their praise resounding,
I may extol Thy servants' deeds astounding,
Cleanse my frail lips, with sin and guilt abounding,
Saint John the Baptist!*

Or

UT-ter, O harp-strings,
RE-ady praise resounding,
MI-ghty disciples'
FA-mous acts astounding;—
SOL-emnly cleanse lips,
LA-te with sin abounding,
S-aint I-ohn the Baptist.

There is a similar German translation in Königsfeld, i, p. 87.

I think the hymn, as a whole, hardly worth translating. Those who desire to see an English version of it, can find a good one in the Day-Hours of the Church of England, p. 260,

*Greatest of Prophets, Messenger appointed
Paths for thy Lord and Saviour to prepare,
Oh! for a tongue unsoiled, Thy praise and wonders
Meet to declare!*

There is also a German translation by Bässler, p. 74.

THEODULPH,

of Gothic descent, was born in Italy, and died, Bishop of Orleans in France, A.D., 821. It is related that, for some real or fancied offence, he was confined in prison at Metz, (or Angers) by the Emperor Louis the Pious. There he composed this beautiful hymn, and it was sung with such fine effect, as the Emperor was passing to the Cathedral on Palm Sunday, that he ordered the release of the imprisoned Bishop. It is sung in the Latin Church on Palm Sunday, when the procession enters the church.

Gloria, laus et honor tibi sit, rex Christe redemptor,
Cui puerile decus promsit Hosanna pium.
Israel tu rex, Davidis et incluta proles,
Nomine qui in Domini, rex benedicte, venis.
Coetus in excelsis te laudat cœlicus omnis
Et mortalis homo, cuncta creata simul,
Plebs Hebræa tibi cum palmis obvia venit:
Cum prece, voto, hymnis adsumus ecce tibi.
Hi tibi passuro solvebant munia laudis,
Nos tibi regnanti pangimus ecce melos.
Hi placuere tibi; placeat devotio nostra,
Rex pie, rex clemens, cui bona cuncta placent.
Gloria, laus et honor tibi sit, rex Christe redemptor,
Cui puerile decus promsit Hosanna pium.

(1)

Glory, laud, honor and praise be to Thee, O King, lost man redeeming,
Christ, Whom the noblest of youth with glad Hosannas confest.
Israel's King and illustrious Offspring of David bright gleaming,
Who in the name of the Lord comest, our King ever blest,
Heavenly singers in accents of worship Thy Name still are praising,
While mortal man with the voice of glad creation replies.
To Thee the Hebrews, Thy people, came forth their green palm-branches raising,
To Thee with prayer, vow and hymns of joyful praise we arise.

To Thee, for them soon to suffer, their melody's river is streaming;
To Thee, now reigning on high, be our loud anthems address,
They pleased Thee with their praise; smile on our worship with love ever beaming,
King of grace, merciful King, by Whom all good deeds are blest.
Glory, laud, honor and praise be to Thee, O King, lost man redeeming,
Christ, Whom the fairest of youth with loud Hosannas confest.

(2)

Praise, glory, royal honor to Thee, Christ, Saviour, King,
 To Whom the children's chorus their blest Hosannas bring.
 Thou art the King of Israel, of David's glorious race,
 Who in the Lord's name comest, Thou blessed King of grace.
 On high celestial singers their blissful anthems raise,
 While mortal man and all things created join their praise.
 The Hebrew nation met Thee in triumph with their palms.
 We bow before Thy Presence with prayer, and vow, and psalms.
 To Thee about to suffer they raised their duteous songs,
 To Thee in glory reigning our melody belongs.
 They pleased Thee with their voices; teach us to sing aright,
 O King of grace and mercy, Whom all good things delight.
 Praise, glory, laud and honor to Thee, Christ, Saviour, King,
 To Whom the youth in beauty their pious praises bring.

There are two English translations of this hymn by Dr. NEALE, one in (*unrhymed*) hexameters and pentameters, *Mediæval Hymns and Sequences*, p. 23,

*Glory, and honour, and laud be to Thee, King Christ the Redeemer!
 Children before Whose steps raised their Hosannas of praise :*

and the other the well-known Palm Sunday hymn in our Hymnal, No. 72,

All glory, laud and honour.

There are German translations in Bässler, p. 79, and in Königsfeld, i, 93.

NOTKER,

the Elder, was born at Heiligau, in Switzerland, A.D., 850, of noble race; became a Benedictine monk of S. Gall; died April 6, 912, and was canonized in 1514. He was the originator of hymns called *Sequences*, sung between the Epistle and Gospel. His most celebrated hymn was composed at the sight of some men in imminent peril of their lives; some say, samphire-gatherers, hanging by a single rope over a lofty cliff; others, workmen constructing a dangerous bridge over a mountain torrent. The hymn is peculiarly Anglican, since it is constantly used in our Burial Service, but has ceased to be used in the Roman ritual.

Mediâ vitâ
In morte sumus ;
Quem, querimus adiutorem,
Nisi te, Domine,
Qui pro peccatis nostris
Juste irascaris !
Sancte Deus, sancte fortis,
Sancte et misericors Salvator,
Amare morti
Ne tradas nos !

(1)

In the midst of life
We are in death ;
Whose aid shall we seek with dying breath,
but Thine, O Lord,
Who, with our sins, in strife
Dost justly give us wrath's reward,
O holy God, strong in Thy grace,
Holy and merciful Saviour of our race,
Suffer us not to sink in gloom
To death's dark doom !

(2)

In the midst of life's short day
Comes death's swift disaster ;
Where for succor shall we pray,
But to Thee, our Master ;
Who, for sins that stain the soul,
Waves of wrath dost o'er us roll !

Holy God, Immortal Power,
Saviour and Life-giver,
Doom us not at life last hour
To dark death forever ;
Nor when ends earth's fleeting day,
Let us fall from Thee away !

At the time the *first* version was written (September, 1875), I had not seen any English metrical translation of the *Mediâ vitâ*. I have since seen one in three stanzas, by Rev. H. HOUSMAN in *Church Bells*. The first stanza is as follows :

*As in the midst of life we stand,
Death lurks unseen on either hand,
Ah ! whither shall we fly ?*

*O Lord most holy, God most just,
Let not the souls that in Thee trust
Be lost eternally !*

I know of no other ; but there are German versions by Bäsler, p. 89, and Königsfeld, ii, 129.

KING ROBERT OF FRANCE,

was the son of Hugh Capet, and reigned after the death of his father, from A.D. 998 to 1031. His Sequence of the Holy Ghost ranks as one of the "Seven great Hymns of the Mediæval Church," and is used in the Latin Church on the Feast of Pentecost, or Whitsunday.

Veni, Sancte Spiritus,
Et emitte coelitus
Lucis tuæ radium,
Veni, pater pauperum,
Veni, dator munerum,
Veni, lumen cordium.

Consolator optime,
Dulcis hospes animæ,
Dulce refrigerium :
In labore requies,
In æstu temperies,
In fletu solatium,

O lux beatissima,
Reple cordis intima
Tuorum fidelium !
Sine tuo numine
Nihil est in homine,
Nihil est innoxium.

Lava quod est sordidum,
Riga quod est aridum,
Sana quod est saucium ;
Flecte quod est rigidum,
Fove quod est frigidum,
Rege quod est devium !

¹ Come, O Holy Spirit, come,
And from Thy celestial home
Rays of Thine own radiance dart.
Come, Thou Father of the poor,
Giver of all blessings sure,
Come, Thou Light of each true heart.

Comforter of all most kind, ,
Dwelling in each lowly mind,
Sweet refreshment of the soul ;
In our labor giving rest,
In our heat a soothing blest,
Coming mourners to console.

O, Thou ever blessed Light,
Fill with all Thy fulness bright
Faithful hearts that seek Thy grace !
For without Thy fostering aid
Nothing good in man is made,
Nothing harmless in our race.

Wash out what is stained by sin,
Moisten what is parched within,
Heal the wounded with Thy rays ;
Bend the stubborn to Thy will,
Quicken what is cold and still,
Guide the erring in Thy way !

¹ First printed in N. Y. Evening Post, March 25, 1875.

Da tuis fidelibus	To the faithful every hour,
In te contentibus	As they own Thy saving power,
Sacrum septenarium ;	Holy sevenfold gifts impart ;
Da virtutis meritum,	Give to virtue, virtue's prize,
Da salutis exitum,	Give Thy peace to closing eyes,
Da perenne gaudium !	Endless joy give each true heart !

There are many translations of this admirable hymn. In English by Mrs. CHARLES, (Christian Life in Song, p. 186,)

Holy Spirit, come we pray ;

Dr. NEALE, (People's Hymnal, No. 154,)

Come, Thou Holy Paraclete ;

GERARD MOULTRE, free but beautiful, (People's Hymnal, No. 157,)

Come, Thou, O come ;

CATHERINE WINKWORTH, (from a German translation,)

O Holy Ghost ! Thou fire divine !

Hymns of the Ages, i, p. 51,

Holy Spirit ! Lord of light !

and Hymns Ancient and Modern, No. 128,

Come, Thou Holy Spirit, come.

and a recent one by Dean Stanley.

There are also German translations by Schlosser, in Büssler, p. 94 ; and by Königsfeld, i, 105.

CARDINAL DAMIAN.

Pietro Damiani was born A.D. 1002, one of a very poor and numerous family in Ravenna. His parents regarded his birth as a misfortune, and his mother determined to starve him to death. She was dissuaded from this wicked act by a pious woman, who was the wife of a priest. Strange to say, the child, who owed his life to the benevolence of a priest's wife, was a most active instrument in enforcing the celibacy of the clergy ! He became Bishop of Ostia and a Cardinal. He was an intimate friend of Hildebrand, Pope Gregory VII ; whom, nevertheless, he called *Sanctus Sathanas*, for endeavoring to call him from religious retirement into active life. He was a very devout man, and did a noble act in preventing the dissipated Emperor Henry IV from

divorcing his virtuous wife. Damian died at Faenza, in the year 1072. He has written many beautiful hymns, among others,

Gravi me terrore pulsas vitæ dies ultima ;

a translation of which I have commenced. The following hymn, which begins with the verse,

Ad perennis vitæ fontem mens sitiivit arida ;

Claustra carnis præsto frangi clausa quærit anima :

Gliscit, ambit, eluctatur exul frui patria ;

has often been ascribed to S. Augustine, but is in all probability from the pen of Damian. The original can be found in Augustini Opera, Bened. ed., vi, 117 (Appendix) ; Bässler, 212 ; Daniel's Thesaurus, i, 116 ; Königsfeld, i, 22 ; March, 45 ; Mone, i, 422 ; and Trench, Sacred Latin Poetry, p. 315.

For Life's Fount, forever flowing, fainting thirsting spirits pine ;
While the soul in fleshly bondage yearns to burst her mortal shrine ;
Striving, struggling panting exile, to enjoy her home divine. ¹

While she groans her griefs and anguish, coming in a cruel host,
Musing, on fair Eden's glory, vanished to her bitter cost,
Present ill augments the memory of the good, her sin hath lost.

Who can tell how great the gladness of the peace that rules the skies ?
Where of living pearls the mansions in celestial order rise,
Lofty houses shine all-golden—radiant couches charm all eyes.

Built of gems alone, most precious, this fair structure brightly gleams ;
Pure gold shines like glass resplendent, light from every pathway streams ;
No confusion, no pollution, no defilement dims its beams.

Winter horrid, summer torrid, never here their terrors bring ;
Never-ending bloom of roses makes a never-fading spring ;
Lilies lighten, crocus crimsons, balsams far their fragrance fling.

Bowers are blooming, plants perfuming, streams of honey ever flow ;
Balmy breezes bearing sweetest aromatic odors blow ;
Fair fruits never failing, falling ; golden groves in glory glow.

¹ Or,

For the Fount of Life perennial thirsted hath the parchèd mind,
And th' imprisoned soul is seeking all the bonds of flesh t' unbind :
Seeks, and strives, and struggles, as an exile, her true home to find.

Or,

At the Fount of Life eternal parchèd minds in thirst must stand ;
While the soul in fleshly bondage, longs to burst her weary band ;
Striving, struggling, as an exile, to enjoy her Fatherland.

There the moon no longer changes, sun ne'er sets, nor fades a star;
But the Lamb of that blest city is the Light that streams afar;
Night and time are ever absent, ceaseless day no shadows mar.

For the saints, as suns all radiant, in eternal beauty shine;
There with crowns of triumph honored, all their mutual joys combine,
O'er the prostrate foe victorious, they the wreath of victory twine.

Now made clear from every blemish, carnal strifes are all forgot;
Body, spirit, soul united, join to praise their happy lot,
Perfect peace forever tasting, ever free from scandal's blot.

Stripped of all their changing garments, here they seek their origin,
Here behold their Lord, the present Form of Truth, unstained by sin,
Hence the vital sweetness of the living Fountain drinking in.

Thence they draw a power of being, measured not by Time's short scroll;
Clear and vivid, joyous ever, they are free from harm's control;
Sickness shuns the ever-healthy; feeble age the youthful soul.

Here they have an endless being, since the passing passed away;
Here they bloom, they grow, they flourish; since corruption saw decay,
And the strength of Life immortal brought to naught Death's mortal sway.

What can they, who know the Knower of all things, now fail to know?
For the bosom's hidden secrets each to each will ever show;
What they seek or shun is mutual—in Love's unity they glow.

Diverse the reward of merit, seeking which in toil each strove;
But love makes its own the pleasures, which its dear companions love;
So the joy of every spirit common joy of all shall prove.

Where the Body is, by right the gathered eagles waiting stand;
Thus have holy souls refreshment with the angels' glorious band;
Citizens together; eating one Bread in one Fatherland.

Ever full, yet ever longing, holy souls have all they need;
Never vexed by surfeit's loathing, never pained by famine's greed:
Eating still they never hunger, hungering still with joy they feed.

Ever with melodious voices Heaven's new harmonies they sing;
On the ravished ear ecstatic strains from harps all-golden ring;
To the King, Who made them victors, worthy songs of praise they sing.

Happy soul, who sees Heaven's Monarch, seated in majestic state,
While beneath His Lofty Throne the rolling worlds attendant wait;
Sun, and moon, and stars, and planets—giant guards of glory's gate!

Christ, the Palm of valiant warriors, lead me to Thy blest abode,
When I lay aside war's girdle;—when I quit this weary road,
Make me sharer in the portion on Thy citizens bestowed.

Grant Thy strength to one now laboring in the yet unended fight,
Nor refuse, when strife is over, quiet as the conqueror's right,
Let me merit to possess Thee as my Prize in endless light.

Other English versions are by Mrs. CHARLES, (*Voice of Christian Life in Song*, p. 191),

In the fount of life perennial the parched heart its thirst, etc.

CENTO, (*People's Hymnal*, No. 484) part of the hymn,
For the Fount of Life Eternal;

WACKERBARTH, (*Med. Hymns*, 2d Edition, London),
There nor waxing moon, nor waning.

There is also a translation by Sylvester, p. 1114; and German versions by Königsfeld, i, 23; and Simrock, in *Bäsaler*, p. 97.

I venture to add¹ a few lines of my own, suggested by a well-known hymn of PRUDENTIUS.

Cease, mourners, your sad lamentation,
And wipe every tear-drop away;
For Death is our Life's renovation,
The dawn of Eternity's day.

Not long will this weary life linger,
Not long shall we smart 'neath the rod;
We feel soon the touch of Death's finger,
That points to the mansions of God.

Why then should we tremble and shiver,
When near us that dark current streams?
Far, far o'er that dark rolling river
The Light of Eternity beams.

O earth, that as mother once bore us,
In peace on thy breast let us lie;
For thou in thy love must restore us
To answer the call from on high.

LORD, grant us a Rest that's eternal,
And let ceaseless Light on us shine;
Till in Thy blest Kingdom supernal
We gaze on the Vision Divine.

Then, then like the fond child returning,
O FATHER of Light and of Grace,
The soul, for Thy love ever yearning,
Shall spring to Thine endless embrace.

So cease every mournful complaining,
And dry every sorrowful tear;
For Death is but Eden, regaining
The spring of Eternity's year.

JOHN ANKETELL.

¹ In memory of a dear little girl, recently departed this life.

THE SUPERScription ;

THE STUDY OF IT AN AID IN PREACHING CHRIST CRUCIFIED.

I propose to consider the Superscription over the cross written in these three languages, Greek, Latin and Hebrew, in connection with the preaching of the Gospel.¹

There are to be found in the Bible only a few passages, and in the Old Testament these are of a Messianic character, that are printed in Capital Letters. The most striking part of the Superscription over the cross, having the nearest relation to the office of Christ, is one of them.

Before the discovery of the art of printing, books were either the product of the pen, carefully written on parchment ; or of the stylus, from which, as we know, our word *style* is derived, sometimes graven on wax tablets, and hardened by some process, so that they could be used for reading or study.

That the eye might readily catch the words, and the *event* or *truth* be impressed upon the mind, certain texts of Scripture were adorned with highly ornamental letters called Illuminated, the words, "This is the King of the Jews," received finer and more exquisite touches. For a like reason, after the discovery of printing, these were printed, as may be noticed in our Bibles, in large leaded Capitals.

These marks of more than ordinary care in the way of illumination, and which appeared afterwards in the use of large type,

¹ And a Superscription also was written over Him, in letters of Greek and Latin and Hebrew, THIS IS THE KING OF THE JEWS. St. Luke xxiii, 38.

We preach Christ crucified. I. Cor. i. 23.

show how the Divinity of Christ, which more clearly appears at the Crucifixion, than in any other part of the Bible, has ever been held in pious, reverential regard by the Church of God.

The keenest and most direct insult was intended by the Superscription which was written and placed over our blessed Lord in mockery. That it might be general; that the people of the nations which frequented Jerusalem might all, and alike, share in derision, it was written in the letters of the most widely diffused languages of the day, Greek, Latin and Hebrew. Though thus intended as an insult it lost all its effect as directed against the dying Saviour. He had never denied the truth conveyed in the words. Only a few hours before, Pilate asked Him, "Art thou the King of the Jews?" and He answered and said, *thou sayest*—a phrase, or idiom, which in the original implies a truth or a fact previously affirmed. When the greatest of scenes which earth has ever witnessed was over, the mocking title, an intended insult, through the wrangling of those who stood beneath the suffering One, was changed to an honor which prophecy had bestowed upon Him: "Then said the Chief Priests of the Jews to Pilate, Write not The King of the Jews; but that He said, I am King of the Jews. Pilate answered, What I have written I have written."

While it may be suspected that Pilate intended to punish or humble the Jews who had driven him to act contrary to his better convictions, it is our privilege reverently to believe that it was Divinely ordered, that our Lord's real character and office were thus to be recognized by the heathen ruler, and presented to the world in such a way, that then and ever after He should be proclaimed, as holding His rightful kingdom.

Let us examine, in connection with what we have said in regard to the Superscription, the relation of these three languages to the word of God. A stronger plea, we think, cannot be offered for a thorough classical preparation on the part of those who are looking forward to the Ministry.

There is undoubtedly an affinity between the Greek and Latin languages striking enough to show that they have common origin. In the period of the world's history when first used, these were more distinctly separate than all other dialects of the Indo-European tongues. There was as much individualism in the

Greek and Latin, though of the same stock, as in the Hebrew, the branch of another, and an earlier stock. They cannot be confused: like Pilate's Superscription it was Greek, Latin, Hebrew, each language separate, and distinct from the other.

Why was the Superscription written over Him in letters of Greek?

Three great epochs mark the progress of the Greek language. The impetuosity and glowing imagination of its youth are shown in the poetry of Homer, and the prose of Herodotus. Attic elegance with a purity of diction which it was almost impossible to corrupt was in its prime when the earlier Greek tragedies were written, and the prose of Thucydides, Xenophon and Plato was carefully studied. Then came the decline. The Macedonian had conquered all before him, and war, ever a corrupter, as peace is a promoter, of purity of language in a people, brought about, as we learn from history, other changes. A little later, we read of the Roman eagles flying everywhere, and what was once a country, one in language, manners, customs, was broken up, as the price of conquest, into petty independent states. There was a commingling of armies of soldiers, a gathering, levied from every quarter, then, as a consequence new colonies were formed, large cities were peopled from every part of Greece. An influx also from foreign lands brought about changes in the dialects of different communities, and of necessity these changes were reflected in their books. After these epochs another dialect came in the place of the Attic, which was still comparatively pure. A migratory spirit, a part of the patriarchal nomadism which had been for years at rest, sprang up among the Jews. Jealous in everything which concerned their own history, when they became acquainted with the Greek language, they spoke, as foreigners speak another tongue, as Hebrews. It was impossible for a son of Abraham to use the Greek without introducing peculiarities of his own venerable Hebrew language. The same thing may be now observed in our own country, especially in our larger cities. Germans just arrived, if educated and of the higher classes, give you the pure language of their country. After a residence of a few years they imperceptibly introduce many English phrases and words, so that to some extent a new dialect exists among them, different in many

respects from that which was spoken in the Fatherland. In almost a similar manner the Jews came in contact with the Greek, and were conversant with his language in its later form. New subjects in religion were introduced. Foreigners of the Hebrew stock were required to treat of sacred topics upon which the mind of the native Greek had never before been employed. The Old Testament, written only in Hebrew, was a new teaching to them. In the whole range of Greek literature there was nothing like the Old Testament. In this way, almost miraculously there sprung up, like the Americo-Germanic, the Jewish-Greek, to which the name of Hellenistic was given. The first product of this idiom was the Septuagint, the version of the Seventy of the Old Testament Scriptures, commenced at Alexandria, and completed during the centuries preceding the Christian era. Remembering now that Greece had become accustomed to all these changes, that Greek in its various forms, for all of them were still in use, was absolutely the language of the world, and also, that large numbers who spoke it were constantly visiting Jerusalem, it will readily be seen how appropriately "This is the King of the Jews" should be written in Hellenistic Greek.

Why was the Superscription written in Latin?

At the time of the Advent of our Lord the obscure city which between six and seven hundred years before had been founded on the banks of the Tiber had become, under the first Emperor Augustus, the mistress of the world.

In the course of Roman conquest Greece became subject to Rome, yet as it were in compensation for this degradation and consequent loss of political power, the Greek mind triumphantly asserted and maintained its supremacy in the realm of pure thought. Athens became Rome's Mecca, to which the best and wisest of her sons devoutly turned their steps. Her best epic poet, one of the noblest that ever wooed the Muses, drank deeply at the fountain of her poetry, for the Bard of Mantua found a model in Homer, as also did Cicero in Demosthenes. The Latin therefore, in one respect, stood *lower*, even if in another *higher*, than the Greek. Lower in the abstract pursuit of Philosophy and pure Science, in which the greatest maturity of mental power is demanded, and in which the Roman never became distinguished.

The Greek, which like the cimeter of the Turk was of such exquisite temper that it could sever the floating gossamer, was the language to analyze and define, especially in the field of metaphysical speculation. The little corner whence this language arose was the school of the world, as Cicero terms it.

But there were other points in which the Latin tongue stood higher. The dark mazes of speculative philosophy bewildered the mind as to the future. In them the wearied, troubled votary found neither rest nor peace. To deal with the human mind in this respect, the Latin was higher than the Greek. Higher, in that a Divine Revelation having taken the place of speculation, it exposed by the comparative simplicity of its parts of speech, the folly of the Cynic and Epicurean alike, and exhibited in a popular style the one true object of life.

Moreover, in no other nation was the influence of language more marked than among the Romans. With the progress of their arms, the use of the Latin tongue was more widely extended. It was universally the language used, "*de jure naturæ et gentium*." Country after country was more or less influenced by the teachings and sentiments of Rome. Italy then, as Paris now, gave fashions, while her dignity and standing in letters, led to the establishment of laws, which in a greater or less degree retain a pre-eminence in all the technical books on Jurisprudence that have since been published. *Quid sint Entia moralia; quæ eorum causa, qui finis? Modus eadem producendi? Eorundem operatio et unde?* were legal questions fully and thoroughly discussed in Latin early in the history of Rome.

Pilate acknowledged the claims of the Greek, as the current language of the day. He asserted the dignity of the Latin as the official language, which was exclusively and inflexibly maintained and used in the administration of civil and military government.

There was no clashing between these languages, both were suitable for the Superscription; for the former was still the vehicle of wisdom—"the Greeks seek after wisdom"—the natural idiom of the scientists of those days; the latter was the legal language which was used in all civil transactions. No other was so well adapted to show that "the fullness of the time was come." The

general peace within the limits of the Roman Empire was due to its spread. As the exponent of law, by its simplicity it showed the nullity of the worn out superstitions of heathenism, substituting a series of words and phrases and idioms, every way suitable for a simple, calm and rational faith. The use of the Latin as an ally in converting the world was shown when the Roman read at Calvary in his own dialect, "*Hic est Rex ille Judæorum.*" Then the power of God was seen and felt by a nation which, though civilized, had never before known of the Messiah; for those words thus written indelibly in the three leading languages of the day, which Pilate himself could never efface from the annals of the world, were to awaken in the soul of man, and for all time, a new sense of religious life and duty by a Redemption, through the death of the Victim over Whom in intended mockery they were placed.

Why was the Superscription written in Hebrew?

Two objects the inspired writers of the Old Testament keep continually in view. First, and specially, by the gradual development of the scheme of Prophecy, with regular and constant declarations of the law, to direct attention to a future Messiah; and second, to hold this Messiah up as a beacon of trust and hope in such a way as to turn men from idolatry with all its forms of vice and error.

Sunk in idolatry neither Jew nor Gentile could have any pure elevating conception of the Messiah. The etymology and derivation of such a phrase as Messiah in its entire history implied purity, *a consecration by unction*, and was in itself a protest against idolatry.

Was the Hebrew language fitted for these purposes? In the forms of its words, and inflections of its parts of speech, it is the most natural and regular of all languages. The words and their grammatical structure show an intimate relation between it and other Semitic languages. All of them are simple and easily learned. Not subtle like the Greek, not technical like the Latin, it is better than either of them for didactic instruction. In the original Hebrew there is an emphasis in the expression of the Ten commandments that is lacking in every other into which they have ever been translated. It is the language of command, en-

treaty, warning and encouragement. It brings out fully the energy, beauty and grandeur of each author's conception and style. The parts of the Old Testament not Chaldaic are simple and easily translated. Jeremiah, in construction, is no more difficult than the Pentateuch. Let the primary signification of the few Hebrew verbs be gained, with the now common use of the accents, all the other parts of speech are easily mastered, and by the meaning of the verb, the position of the accents, and the number of letters contained in the word. The Chinese in the Eastern and the Welsh in the Western group of languages are hardest to learn, owing to the lack of uniform vowel sounds, which in the Hebrew is now amply supplied by the Masoretic notes, and the constant blended use of the most difficult consonants. The Hebrew language is grandly heroic, and the cadence of its parallelisms falls gently upon the ear like harmony in music, and gives, in turn, every variety of Poetry. Its forms of verse, unlike either the Latin or Greek, are really a combination of both, giving the essence of the purest lyric poetry which is thus the offspring of inspiration and true elevation of thought. In the poetical Hebrew books there is hardly a line but may be combined with the music of the harp, and the antiphonal singing of the choirs of Priests and Levites.

In Hebrew verse, more than in prose, the Jehovah is somehow mysteriously blended with the Messiah. Christ in His Incarnation, Christ before and after His Resurrection, Christ in His Divine and Human nature, Christ as a Prophet, Priest and King, Christ conquered by death and His conquest over death and the grave. Messiah is the word used in connection with Jehovah, but Messiah and Christ are synonymous terms. The Hebrew MESSIAH in the Old Testament, without the New Testament CHRIST, is simply a mythical being. He becomes a living power in the history of the race when He is made known to us in the birth, life, and death of Immanuel, Jehovah our Lord.

Each Evangelist is very careful to give the whole of the title, while St. John and St. Luke tell us in what languages it was written. St. John reverses the order, naming the Hebrew first. "This title, therefore," he says, "read many of the Jews, *i. e.*, a large number of the Jews, for that is the meaning here, and he

gives a reason, because the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city, and it was written in Hebrew, Greek and Latin."

Our Heavenly Father wisely arranged that the scheme of man's redemption should be declared to the world under the forms of Jewish and Christian dispensations, not by the variable media of oral tradition or instruction, but by the written languages of the most ancient peoples of the world. The dealing of God towards His creatures made known to the world by a written revelation, so that it could be read by all, as it concerned the eternal welfare of all, is not cut up into separate and distinct parts. The Church in Eden, and the Church in the world now, is, and ever has been the *one* Church of God. He who created man in His own image has no distinct different methods in effecting his salvation, otherwise there would be no unity of purpose, whereby man could regain the Divine image which he had lost by sin. The first part, therefore, of this *one* scheme, which is called Redemption, and in the Old Testament is written in Hebrew or Chaldaic, is an exponent of Gospel truth, gemmed as it is with the precious jewels of Messianic predictions throughout, even as the Gospels and Epistles written in Greek are the completed embodiment of Christian doctrine.

The Law and the Prophets were as the dawn before the sun-rising, for the dawn is a part of the day equally with the meridian glory of the sun. They gave the heathen world a superior religious knowledge, and awakened peculiar hopes of a deliverer. In proportion as this knowledge was spread by the Old Testament, the Jews were able through these writings, and by personal intercourse, to bear witness to the very highest moral standard, and to the purest type of worship.

These three languages thus conjoined serve to illustrate admirably a principle in the Gospel narrative, their joint use at the Crucifixion giving the only possible solution to what has sorely perplexed the minds of learned men. The principle is this: There is an agreement in the narrative portions of the Gospels which appears first at the Baptism of John, and then as if anticipating what would be written over the cross, and the effect of the Crucifixion upon the world, reaches its highest, grandest point in the account of the passion and death of our Lord. The ratio of

agreement is in exact proportion to the nearness of events relating to the Crucifixion of Christ. After this also, as if in honor of the triple title, very few coincidences appear in the account of His burial, resurrection and ascension. Quotations from the Old Testament, especially those having reference to the sufferings and death of our Saviour, are not only taken from the Hebrew language in its purity, but there is seen in them a remarkable verbal agreement also, differing only a little from the Hebrew and Septuagint. Writers have noticed this agreement and have been unable to solve the reason. May it not be that they have wandered from the cross and lost sight of the full meaning of the Superscription which Pilate placed over our Redeemer?

We may not agree fully with the early writers of the Church in their estimate of the three languages over the Cross. With them we may safely declare, however, that used as these were for the Superscription, they serve to explain the unity of the Apostles' preaching, which did not have a beginning in fullness of power until Pentecost. A unity which boldness and zeal for Christ and Him crucified made firmer. Not tame nor fearful, nor of a kind which through cowardice was necessarily quiet and peaceful, but a unity begotten at the Cross which would in time destroy every ancient system of error and advance Christianity in power and blessing. They had been the witnesses of a life and death alike wonderful, and were only concerned how "every nation every coast" might share in the ransom which should redeem them unto God.

These languages were an early recognized symbol of the Trinity in Unity. *Three* to meet the cry of divers nations to bring them to the *One* household of Faith.

The Scripture appointed for the Epistle on Whitsun-day should convince every churchman that the great marvel of Pentecost is the Gift of Tongues. We should bear in mind that the nations mentioned in the Epistle were near kinsmen to the Greek, and Roman and Hebrew.

In the calendar of the world forty days had passed since the disciples read the title put up by Pilate. They waited ten more of the coming of the Holy Spirits. In their spiritual history this was no wearisome gap, for the time was spent in a ceaseless ecstasy of worship.

With fearful hearts the disciples read the Superscription on the Cross, but when they were filled with the Holy Ghost they could not but speak boldly and with other tongues of the event at Calvary.

Through some immediate, divine impulse the Apostles and disciples were *standing together*, waiting with eager hearts for that power from on high, direct from the third person of the ever Blessed Trinity, imparting a miraculous gift of utterance. It is ranked by St. Paul with wisdom, prophecy, helps, governments, the *gifts of the Spirit*. A Revelation of the Divine Will swept down from Calvary, for Jesus was never a moment out of mind, and a sound as of a rushing mighty wind became the outward and visible sign of a spiritual creative power which would restore all that was lost in Eden, and harmonize the confusion of tongues at Babel and thus become the witness of a restored unity of speech. The Divine Glory, most probably the Hebrew Shekinah, reverently translated *majestas Dei*, *præsentia Dei*, *Spiritus Sanctus*, appeared in tongues like as of fire, and these were διαμεριζόμεναι γλῶσσαι distributed tongues, not here and there upon a person, but upon every one of them. Contrasting Babel with Pentecost, Grotius aptly says: "Pœna linguarum dispersit homines, donum linguarum dispersos in unum populum collegit." Whether we believe with St. Augustine that each disciple spoke all languages, or with St. Chrysostom that each had his special language, to indicate the country which he should evangelize, we may reverently conclude with both, that the special object of Pentecost was that Christ should be preached among all the nations of the world.

When St. Paul commended his calling to the Romans; when he declared himself a debtor both to the Greeks and barbarians; when he preached Christ crucified both to the Jews and Greeks, when he said that from Jerusalem and round about unto Illyricum he had fully preached the Gospel of Christ, we have a tacit acknowledgement that he must have known, to accomplish this work effectually, many dialects of the three languages of the Cross.

Among the early writers of the Church there are many allusions to the languages of the Superscription in almost every treatise and discourse, upon the Pentecostal gift of tongues.

It has been the design thus far to give the reasons why the words of the Title, "This is the King of the Jews," were written in three languages, and we think we have also fully shown that as redemption would have been incomplete without the Holy Comforter, so the gift of tongues at Pentecost came in as a help to secure this inestimable blessing for man.

Strictly speaking, a classical education comprises only a knowledge of Latin and Greek. It is thus limited in this country. In Europe, however, the Hebrew language is included, with a fair attainment of all the branches usually taught in the Universities.

Theology or Divinity includes all that may be comprised in the word *Science*. In revealed Theology we have from revelation alone, a scientific statement of the existence, character and attributes of God. Our duties both to Him and man are represented not on the same exact basis as these, but as flowing from them, and therefore are considered a part of Theology. Now what is the *source* of our knowledge in Theology? As Ministers of His Word, which word is the only *source* of divine truth, is it presumable that all study ends when we are admitted to Holy Orders? That our time must be taken up with parochial duties, the paramount one being preparing and delivering sermons? The very titles of respect from the lowest "Reverend" to the "Most Reverend" in England, and "Right Reverend" in this country, imply more or less attainment in the Sacred Science of Theology. Those who enjoy such eminence are, or should be, in every sense of the word, *Scholars*. We certainly need every aid that learning can give that we may be "able Ministers of the New Testament." After Ordination we are to show most fully the greatness of man's need in the means employed by Divine Wisdom for his salvation, Nothing so brings home to each heart the exceeding greatness of the Love of God towards us as the contemplation of the Divine tenderness and compassion of Him who came to be our Peace.

Manifestly a critical knowledge of the three leading languages of the Bible can never be out of place. A critical examination of every Messianic prediction in the original will be an incalculable aid in preaching. Everywhere and to all of every language, the Death of Christ, and His connection with the history of God's chosen people must be set forth. He must be preached as the pro-

pitiation for sin, the ground of all our hopes of pardon and peace. Calvary is not a single isolated spot in the world's history. The Cross cast its shadow upon the world past, in the offering of Isaac, as it saves and blesses man in the world now, and will secure his eternal happiness in the world to come. It is only through the ancient and venerable Hebrew language that we have been taught that man was created upright and in a state of probation; that he sinned and fell. There are mines of wisdom still unexplored in that language which may show more clearly than we have ever yet known, the fulness of His Vicarious Sacrifice. From the Scripture in the original tongues we have learned that the merit of His coming sacrifice began to be pleaded in heaven by the one unchanging High Priest, and that bloody sacrifices were appointed on earth to typify the one meritorious sacrifice to be offered in God's good time, and to keep alive amongst men, faith and hope in the promise of a Deliverer. In that old language we have been taught that faith in a coming Saviour, manifested in the rite of sacrifice, was the ground of acceptance with God through all the ages which preceded the actual advent of our Lord in the flesh. The Hebrew language alone teaches us the grand truth that the promised Saviour was the object of the faith, the hope, the longing of Patriarch and Prophet, and "all the holy and humble men of heart," during the centuries of expectation in which the gracious designs of the Most High were being accomplished.

The Hebrew language gives us these central facts of man's redemption. May we not also speak as warmly of the Greek language?

There is given to us in the New Testament, in the very language in which it was written, the pure, unfalsified doctrine of Jesus Christ. Through His Person, Offices, and above all His Merits, we learn the exact state into which man is brought by the Redemption. We receive our knowledge of the works of Christ, and may quaff the waters of life in their purity at the fountain-head of Inspiration, or obtain all we know of every Divine Institution for our restoration to Spiritual Life through streams that have not been corrupted by errors and false translations.

Which of the many translations of the New Testament extant is correct? No man is able to give a proper answer to this ques-

tion, unless he is able to read and translate correctly the Scriptures in the original languages. Besides the many translations which have been given to the world, none equal to the one prepared "By his Majestie's Speciall commandment," we shall be called upon to judge of the correctness of the work "The Bible Revision" which is now approaching completion.¹

Early in 1556 there appeared at Geneva a work entitled "Novum Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Interprete Theodoro Beza." The lectures connected with this work were based on the Epistles and came directly in conflict with the *Latin Vulgate*. Ought we not to be able, using the Scriptures constantly in our ministry, daily comparing spiritual things with spiritual, to judge whether Beza's or the *Vulgate* is nearest the original.

We have said nothing of the aid which the constant study of the languages gives, in gaining a knowledge of those more modern. It makes the way easy for such studies, and as we believe, gives the clergyman greater power among "all people." We have in mind the lamented Keith, a critical and exact scholar, a loving and retiring spirit, the best part of whose ministry was spent in preparing a translation of the Scriptures; and with us there can be no better "recommendation" for the new Bishop Elect of China, S. I. J. Schereschewsky, D.D., than that he has already translated the whole of the Scriptures into Chinese, making it easier work for himself and missionary co-workers to preach Christ and Him Crucified to the heathen world. Three nations among us—the German, French and Welsh—are, especially in matters of religion, more or less clannish. And though they are in a transition state, and in the nature of things each succeeding generation makes nearer approaches to the English language, and gradually loses the facility of speaking their own correctly, they need meanwhile services in their own tongues. There are only a few clergymen born in this country who can read the Service and

¹ It never will, it never can take the place of the Authorized Version. The American Church, on the score of scholarship, ought to have taken a prominent part in the work of Translation. We have a number of silent, "unknown," scholars who could have helped on the work right well.

preach in French and German. Only *one* to my knowledge, and he was brought into the Church, and educated by Bishop DeLancey, who can read and preach in the Welsh language. There are fields almost everywhere among these people "white to the harvest," yet we are compelled to neglect them, as the farmer leaves the weeds, briars and thorns in corners of the fences which he cannot reach, because we are unable to put in the sickle; or what is equivalent, preach to them in their own language, and garner them up for Christ.

The Hebrew language, as a language, was never studied less, or was never more corrupt than in the time of Christ. This enabled the bigoted and corrupt sect of the Pharisees to teach that over and above the law as made known to Moses, and by him committed to writing, there were other communications made in unwritten traditions, and both were to be taken together. The *unwritten traditions* were studied and remembered far more than the *written word*. In St. Mark vii, we have this attempt of the Pharisees exposed and condemned by our Saviour. God commanded one thing, the Jewish Rabbi another, and a man might choose the latter though his own Father and Mother starved in consequence. Neglect of the Greek and Hebrew, and the almost idolatrous and superstitious exaltation of the Latin tongue was the foundation of the Trentine doctrine of *Tradition*, of the whole system of Papal indulgences, and of the senseless modern advertisement on the doors of their Churches, "To-day you can bring souls out of Purgatory." When the Scriptures are only half read, and the Latin Vulgate alone recommended, when public Prayer is said and the Sacraments are ministered in a "tongue not understood of the people," errors will arise and be promulgated, *ad infinitum*. As with the Pharisees, portions only of the Ancient Scriptures were allowed to be read, and even these were mixed with the unwritten word, so is it with the unrevoked decrees of the Council of Trent; it is to be believed on peril of damnation, as an Article of Faith, that besides the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, an unwritten tradition is handed down in the Church from the time of the Apostles, which must be received with equal reverence, with the Holy Scriptures themselves. Is it not strange thus to find the Pharisee whom our Lord denounced, whose corrupt doctrine concerning Scripture our Lord condemned, occupy-

ing precisely the same ground on this vital question with the Romanists of our own day !

In the Primitive Church, retained still we believe in Eastern countries, the languages of the Superscription were blended in the form of a Monogram. In the Church of Rome, not only the Title, but every event connected with the Crucifixion is in Latin, the language of their worship.

There has not much been accomplished of late years in the American Church, in the matter of *practical* Exegesis. We have no endowment, "no munificence of a pious Founder" which will enable the American scholar to produce any work bearing upon the investigation and study of Holy Scripture.

We plead for the study of the Greek, not for its own sake as a language, but for its choice literature, leading us from Homer and Demosthenes, to the purer stream of sacred philology. We plead for the study of the Latin, for its sacred literature, and not simply for its mastery as a language, that we may be led from Cæsar, Virgil, and Cicero, to the best sources of Scriptural exposition, which will prove an ally against the insidious encroachments of the modern Church of Rome through her new and equally modern doctrines. We plead for the study of the Hebrew, not for the sake of fully mastering the language, for this will be found a life-long work, but for the purpose of acquiring a deeper knowledge of the Scriptures. Each one of these languages, studied as we have suggested, will open mines of sacred wealth in the sublime literature of the Bible, fill us with the spirit of Patristic interpretation of the Word of God, and make us with the judicious appliances of modern learning, "able ministers of the New Testament."

WILLIAM N. IRISH.

THE FUTURE OF THE PAPACY.

The writer of the following article is a Professor in the University at Florence, Italy. The article itself is given, not, of course, as expressing the views of the Editor, but as affording a fair illustration of a state of thought and feeling in reference to the religious future of Italy, very prevalent among the educated classes in that country at the present time, and for this reason it has been printed just as written. Between the limited and diminishing number of those who firmly adhere to the religious traditions of the past; and the even more limited, but steadily increasing number of those who wish to see those traditions treated with conscientious discrimination—reformed, not simply swept away—the large proportion of the educated classes continue as yet to agree with the former in accepting, without question or inquiry, the claims of the Vatican to be the representative of Catholicity, if they do not even confound Christianity itself with the Papal obedience:—but differ from them in the conclusions which they draw from these premises—and wish to *reject* everything.

The reader will note that the present article is written from the latter point of view; one from which the writer is not led to hope for reform in existing religious institutions of Italy, but to look for a nobler moral future for his country, in *a new religion*. It will, however, be also noted that his conceptions of the new religion needful for Italy, are not so unchristian—perhaps not so uncatholic as he supposes—and that we should ourselves, as American Churchmen, differ from him, in respect more to his terminology than to his principles.

(The reader must bear in mind that the word "Catholic," is used throughout this article in the restricted sense of "Ultramontanism," the only sense in which it is known to the author.)

The close of the present century is destined to witness the downfall of the most ancient of existing European governments, or at least such a transformation of it as will render it scarcely recognizable; and the cause of this historic crisis is evident, when we consider the peculiar nature of Catholicism and the new and fatal stalactitic forms which it has assumed since the proclamation of Papal Infallibility. Infallibility denotes immobility, and immobility is synonymous with death. The same process that characterizes nature is reproduced and continued in history, and there is nothing

more simple in its expression than the evolution of human nature. When nature is inactive, the result is sterility and inertia, but when it is active, we have creation of life. Thus we see in the history of humanity, the decadence of all those races and institutions condemned to immobility while the world around them is in motion. There is in Christianity, one essential part, the highest, the most ideal, which inspires it and gives it vitality. All else is merely form and dead letter, which deserves to perish. "The letter kills, but the spirit vivifies," says the founder of Christianity. Catholicism is more tenacious of the letter and the form of Christianity, than of its substance, and consequent upon this evil choice, her days are now numbered.

When the civilization of the world appeared to be arrested in its progress, and ignorance prepared the way for barbarism, Catholicism was all-powerful; it dwelt less upon Christ's moral teachings than on the torments of Hell, and by making scare-crows thereof, held in subjection not only the lower classes, but also those whose vassals they were. Hence came the great favor with which necromancy was regarded and the power it assumed, in the Middle Ages. As the clergy acknowledged the actual existence of the Devil, the Evil One was forced to do, or at least to attempt something which might attest his presence and his power; thus society was naturally divided into two factions—the adherents of his Satanic Majesty, and the followers of God. And in this way, Humanity, left by Paganism, if not in harmony, at least single sighted through a system of supernatural belief, became divided after its acceptance of Catholicism, and entered into intestine controversies, all for a principle, not of pure morals, but of mere dogmatic faith. The clergy, natural representatives of theology, formed alliance with princes, who aided them to assail and persecute their opponents, and thus the gospel law of love was cast away and the religion which was intended to unite, became the instrument of social division, and of fierce persecution resulting in countless hecatombs of victims. If Italy, even now, were governed by a despotic power, willing to second the tendencies of the clergy, we might witness a renewal, if not of Inquisitorial horrors, at least of tyrannical bondage, by which every advance toward rapid progress on the part of society would be checked.

No Italian can forget the fatal supremacy of the Jesuits among us in 1848. Education was wholly in their hands, and it was their business and their intent to impose limits to instruction and to lower its standard. As in the ancient Indian civilization, the Brahmin allowed his prince to exert sovereign sway only on condition that a similar power should be conceded to him, to give or to take; even as the Brahmin sounded the praises of his king and rendered him homage only in proportion as that monarch was disposed to distribute his wealth among the priests; so in modern times the Jesuits made themselves the arbiters of despotic rulers and reproduced in numerous instances, and in a smaller, though more insinuating, intimate and almost familiar degree, the phenomenon of the formidable Pope Gregory VII., who with one word humiliated and annihilated the power of the Emperor of Germany. The Pope was called the Father-General of the Jesuits; and every Jesuit in the despotic little States of Italy, before 1848, was a miniature Pope himself, divested of all paraphernalia indeed, but so much the more terrible, because employing the most subtle art in his secret workings. Catholicism in Italy was reduced to Jesuitism; outside of Jesuitism there was almost no Catholic religion. The Jesuits are not confined to those whose names are enrolled in the books of the Order of Jesus; if their forces could be numbered and clad alike, there would not be so much to apprehend; but in regard to the Jesuits, we may fitly quote the well-known Italian proverb: "*'Tis not the gown that makes the monk.*" The Jesuit is a religious disciple of Machiavelli; he never hesitates to use any means to attain his end, which is, to govern. Jesuitism is responsible for the peculiarly worldly and profane character which distinguishes the Papacy, converting it into an almost entirely political power, which is not displayed by the Pope alone, but by all the Catholic clergy who take possession of education, the better to control society. For this purpose, the College of Cardinals or princes of the Holy Church, is made a kind of political court, not so much to maintain and increase the splendor of the Holy See, as to fortify the person of the temporal sovereign. Such a degeneration of the institution of Cardinals, necessarily causes us to question the use of such a college in the present condition of the Papacy which has no longer a state of its own to govern, and which has banished the law of love from its code.

In a curious book, by Fabio Albergati, entitled *Del Cardinale*,¹ we find the duties of a Cardinal described as follows: "Like a senator, he is a counsellor of his republic, and as senator and cardinal of a royal republic, he is not only obliged to serve the Pope at his councils, but also by executing his wishes, by aiding him to bear the weight of public life, in legations and other duties of state. And finally, not only like a senator of a royal republic, but also like a senator of an electoral government, he has power to vote for the Pontiff. The questions, therefore, universally discussed among nations are, the public wealth and revenues; peace and war, defence and strength, the necessities of human life, which enter and proceed from the state, and provisions relating to the laws." From this description of the duties of a Cardinal in past centuries, it is easy to see how at the present day, under the new conditions which Italian politics have imposed on the papacy, the Cardinal only exists *pro forma*, and will therefore, be one of the first dignitaries to pass away, his office being merely to await the death of the Pope, in order to elect another. Thus, two of the principal supports of the Papacy, the Cardinal who serves it, and the Jesuit who inspired it in its days of omnipotence among kings, find themselves out of employment; the Cardinal of to-day, having little more importance than a priest; and the Jesuit being no longer able to govern as a religious magnate, throws aside his holy garb, turns layman, joins the Society of San Vincenzo, becomes a Paulist, and seeks offices, favors and titles under the new regime.

But all this has evidently nothing to do with religion, which remains *tanquam non esset*.

Much has been written and discussed on the text of the Cavourian formula: "*A free Church in a free State*;" but it may occasionally be urged and conceded, that such a form might result fatally to the Catholic Church, which has hitherto invariably cried: "*The Church above the State*," and which might say, "*The Church within the State*." It is too clear that in this case the kernel must become passive in the active shell. And the appellation of *free Church*, like that of *free State*, results in a perfect illusion, since liberty can not exist between the shell and its kernel save by

¹ Rome: Rufinelli, 1598.

mutual relation and natural spontaneous election, and not by any artificial arrangement or combination. The soul itself, enclosed within the body, is not free from the impression received from that external body, how much less free, therefore, is the Church from the State which is indifferent to it, and which always presses upon and surrounds it on every hand? Far different would be the condition of the Catholic Church after the Cavourian formula, if the Church, instead of being a kind of miniature and mock Chinese empire, deprived of the initiative and of an historic future, were the true representative of an ardent, active, glowing and aggressive religion. Inasmuch as the state presumed to reduce and limit its power, this religion would penetrate the entire state, and conclude by investing it with lofty character and new and potent vitality. But this is not the Catholic Church, nor this her religion. She preserves but the rites, the formulas and the priests; the primary soul, the divine afflatus which inspire religion, are extinguished. Who would look to the Pope, the Cardinals and the Jesuits for the expression of evangelical charity? Take away charity to-day from the Christian religion, and what remains that can give it duration? The Papacy in its present aspect resembles some historic mummy, bearing witness to a faith and civilization which have passed away, but which is powerless to revivify either. We can now see that such a corpse harbored in the breast of Italy could not fail to rouse hostility and embarrass her movements. This corpse is still surrounded by its adorers, and there are still those who speculate on it, to gain great prizes; and the new Italy which must needs tolerate this illicit trade in sacred things would be much the better if she could rid herself of this rabble of vulgar impostors. But since diplomacy requires even mortal enemies to be turned to account, we present the spectacle of men respecting and venerating the relics of the Roman Papacy, although we are all thoroughly convinced that if Pio Nono be not the last of the Popes, he will at any rate be the last to occasion much discussion, unless a reformatory Pope should succeed him, and which of the present Cardinals gives us cause to entertain such hope? But when such a Pope does appear, the thing called Catholic religion will disappear and will enter a new religious phase, which shall be acceptable to its few sincere believers and to all good Italians, who will soon be reconciled to religion when it once more

becomes the harmonious inspirer of morality and civilization, instead of being, as at present, the despicable instrument of reaction, by pointing to a past of servitude and barbarism, and suppressing in man, all that he holds most precious, his reason and his conscience.

An intelligent witness of the last Vatican Council, after having recorded his impressions day by day, concludes with the hope of a possible reconciliation between Church and State, or rather between the Church and civil society in Italy. "It is not for us," he writes, "to determine in regard to the Church, how the desired modifications in Catholic society can and shall be comprised within the sphere of the law; even as it is not for us to decide upon the signs of life and the limits of irresistible and fatal progress in humanity. Both the gospel and liberty are plots of fertile ground, bringing forth fruit propitious to every beneficial combination which can unfold their action. The first may be accommodated to every civil law. In the second, every religious institution can find its place. The simple and loyal observance of both, is the secret still unrecognized, from its very simplicity, and who knows whether it will ever be detached from the entangling passions, the fine and complicated conceptions of humanity. The Catholic nations must not only live themselves, but they must not cause the ruin of the other nations; and they must therefore find their moral equilibrium at last. This moral equilibrium, this essential condition of existence, is a need that they feel, finding it neither under the auspices of the inexorable mysticism of the Catholic party, nor in the complete dissolution of all principle. It is not to be found in scepticism, because nought comes of nought; it is not to be found in new divisions, because they engender dispute and angry dissensions, and separating the active party, weaken it, leaving it to reaction and rancor. It will only be found in a profound modification of their manner of feeling, mode of thought, and time in which their civil and religious institutions, revolving around the eternal principles of truth and morality, may learn to live in concord with each other. They are not really enemies, as no two good gifts contradict each other. There is not one truth for religion and another for science. And there is no benefit for one nation which is an evil for another. All these antitheses are artificial and always contain an error. Hence

it is that a true and noble religion, a religion which has a broad and solid basis on earth and a pinnacle soaring to heaven, could not be really and actually opposed to any truth and any good. The Catholic nations should turn themselves to rectify clearly and simply the criterion of good and evil; they should revolt against all artificial evils by which they are oppressed, because they are inclined to clear and simple views of actual evil, and because their forces would be strong to combat it. They should also be led to this contest by the spirit and not by the letter; because the spirit dictates customs, and the letter does not even attempt to correct them. *Quid leges sine moribus?* In order to attain this end, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, should be what it was in the beginning, the expression of all sacrifice and all virtue. To-day, as the State, so also the Church is unable to find outside of herself, the fashions, the forms and the limits suitable to it in the new conditions created for men by history and the times. This is the only sense in which conciliation can have significance, that is, as a point of arrival, and not as a signal for departure. Hence it is for her to find the way to adjust her substance, or rather her faith and her moral, in the new forms, with the greater enlightenment of reason and the new social and civil conditions of the nations; that is to say, she must adjust all the good innate in her, with all the good in science, in truth, in constantly changing customs and progressive humanity. It is for her, in the stormy transitional movement through which humanity passes in our day, to be an aid instead of an obstacle, to be an anchor instead of a reef. Amid this movement, giving rise to grave and complicated questions, which disturb and shake her severely, the Church called a convocation, and reposed her faith, in her States General, and in her Œcumenical Council, ready to find the desired solutions in them; it was most fitting for her here to attain the end towards which the time itself, her own propositions and her destiny directed her. The preliminaries did not respond to the highest demands, and it is still *summa lex* for her, because public safety demands it, to search out within the infinite forces of her internal constitution, perhaps even in her authority, in her skillful aptness for most arduous and labored interpretations contained therein, or what would be still more salutary, in a broad and deep discussion, a means, an element, a feeling

to lead at least to a possible solution of the great problem which concerns alike the life of the Church and the existence of all Catholic nations."

Beautiful and generous words, but too beautiful perhaps to be practical, and too generous towards a mischievous power, which by long evil doing, has lost the power of doing good; for doing good is no longer Catholicism, nor even the old Christianity, but a new religion, to create which such a decrepit body as the Papacy is unfit. In fact, the object is not to change the actual form to such an extent, but to give it another soul; to-day Catholicism is incapable of such a miracle. And some day, if a brave reformer should emerge from the Catholic clergy, he could only succeed through force of opposition from Catholicism, not by inspiration derived from itself. There is a school of literature in Italy, which respects and reveres Manzoni as its head, and calls itself Catholic, with the Catholic Manzoni, author of the *Inni Sacri*, the *Morale Cattolica*, and creator of the magnificent types of Cardinal Frederic Borromeo and Fra Cristoforo in his immortal romance of the *Promessi Sposi*. Undoubtedly, if the term Catholic implies a sense of truth and virtue, and the practise thereof, as Manzoni felt and practised them, every good man should and would be a Catholic. But the truth is, that Catholicism has added nothing to Christianity but forms and fetters, which impede every liberal interpretation. It may therefore be said that Manzoni was a good man in spite of being a Catholic, not by reason of it. His course as an honest man, a man of character and a wise man was fixed, before he reached the age of twenty, when his conversion to Catholicism had not yet occurred. Manzoni doubtless had a religious soul, but it was the soul of a man, a Christian man, if you will, a man inspired by the Gospel, but not the soul of a Catholic, and in so much as he declared himself and showed himself to be specially Catholic, his genius, instead of rising and expanding, becomes chained, debased and confined. There are those who think that the figures of Cardinal Borromeo and Fra Cristoforo, so skillfully conceived and drawn by Manzoni, would be impossible outside of Catholicism. I am bold enough to suppose that, with a few slight modifications, they would be possible even outside of Christianity; that the Stoic virtue of some of the Greeks and Romans would not only have been fully capable of the

sacrifice and nobility of which the two grand Manzonian types are the examples, but setting aside the Stoics, that Protestantism with its pastors, can give us numerous samples of evangelic virtue, by which art well might profit. The *Vicar of Wakefield* has no cause to envy the fortitude and goodness of soul of the Manzonian types, over which, although artistically speaking almost perfect, he has the advantage in being more closely allied to man and to the common daily life that all of us must live. On the contrary, the character which really personifies Catholicism in Manzoni's novel, is that grotesque and yet life-like figure of the parish priest, Don Abbondio, who resembles most of his class only too closely. Don Abbondio is the real representative of Catholicism, even as Cardinal Borromeo and Fra Cristoforo direct us to a more ideal and enlightened Christianity, such as the first expounders of the doctrine of Christ must have felt and preached. But is this Christianity, which still remains in a measure above and beyond the society which guides man, but does not invade all humanity in its most secret fibres, possible to-day? Is it enough, at the present day to preach peace, love, reconciliation, and gospel mediation, in an agitated, convulsed, terrified and hostile world like ours? And is such a form of Christianity, the Manzonian form, improperly called Catholicism, sufficient for the actual needs of society? If it were possible to reproduce primitive Christianity in society, the artificial resurrection of an effete form could not but be transitory, and would not succeed in penetrating polite society. A change is inevitable, but to Catholicism, change is death. The new religion should have the consciousness of the present life, and Catholicism holds itself entirely aloof from this life, and in full contradiction to it. Whatever name may be given to the new religion, the substance of Catholicism which rests principally on the idea of authority, is wrong, for the fundamental principle of any new religion should now be liberty alone; but active, potential liberty, inclined towards progress. And this liberty Catholicism may tolerate but cannot give. To keep Catholicism alive, would therefore necessitate too great a reform; and when this reform was put in practice, Catholicism would find herself so altered that no one could recognize her, and she would appear like a new form of Protestantism.

One of the reforms which seems most urgent and inevitable in

Catholicism is that of the celibacy of the priests. But every one can see that this abolished, Catholicism will lose a great part of her actual character; since the priest, who at present, deprived of family himself, penetrates into the families of others, detecting their secrets, directing their consciences and governing their conduct as a mysterious ruler, had he a family of his own would comprehend the sanctity and inviolability of the household much better, would appreciate men's passions much better, would be less egotistic, and would labor for others besides himself and the Church; also gaining in his morals, the priest made a man, could become of the greatest use to men. Three years ago an eminent priest died in Venice, in the prime of life, Abbé Germano Polo, who, before he died, sent to me an eloquent essay which I published.¹ It is the outpouring of a soul and a generous soul full of Biblical and Evangelical inspiration; if he had lived, he might perhaps have provoked a fruitful agitation among the clergy. But it is lawful to argue that these pages will cause many another priest to think and feel and wish as the young, brilliant, and lamented Polo thought, felt and wished. Permit me to cite some of the most characteristic pages of this important article. Every one must feel the truth and the profound melancholy which pervade it, and certainly, I could write nothing truer or more efficacious.

"I do not ignore the more favorable and exalted side of ecclesiastical celibacy. The man, whom religious consecration has raised above other men, and made a mediator between God and man, should at least have all that is good in man; he should be pure as the Lamb, being daily privileged to touch the flesh of the Lamb. That which is a necessity for others, is almost a profanation for him; he who has the whole world for his family, can have no family of his own; he, who consoles all, should need no consolation. Pure and alone on the melancholy summit to which God has raised him; pardoning all infirmities, without yielding to any, feeling all affections, but obeying only duty, and dispensing joy to all, without being able to partake of the cup he freely proffers to others, and never even shedding a tear. It is a generous conception, a sublime ideal,

¹THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE CLERGY. (In the *Revista Europea*, December, 1870.)

a career fit to enflame a noble soul, and which in reality inspires many to the state in which enthusiasm rises to any height and laughs at obstacles.

“ But I cannot persuade myself that in the institution of ecclesiastical celibacy, the sole or even the chief motive, was this idea of a greater purity among the priests. We may pardon the monastic spirit of the Middle Ages, its perhaps generous presumption of making themselves wiser and better than the apostles. It is easy for us to understand that in an age when the love of heaven implied hatred of earth, and the charitable negation of the affections and the purification of the spirit the destruction of material things; the priest, if no one else, was obliged to hold fast to that which might appear almost a duty for all. But did men quite forget the apostolic “ *melius nubere quam uri?* ” And even if it were well to change counsel into precept, and to take the exceptions for the rule, ought we still to seek an ideal, even when experience shows it to be almost vain? Should this passion for human spirituality obstinately blind to the repeated and scandalous revelations of materiality? To say the least, was it prudent to put themselves above the necessities of life, at an age when they knew nothing of life? Or just, that the generous error of a day should be punished by eternal torture? Or human, that a path, which we afterwards discover to be wrong, should close behind us for ever and inexorably. But I wish, both on account of the habit of sacrifice and the as yet unshaken reverence of the people and the minor temptations of society, that these scandals should either become more rare, or be more easily concealed, or else universally known; that these ascetics might not deceive themselves as to the accessibility for all of a height so inaccessible save to the very few, to the privileged ones. But when from Christianity, bought by the love of heaven and our souls to the end that body and matter, and the present life may be forgotten or condemned, Paganism revives, triumph and exultation revive on the very throne of the Pontiffs of Rome; the graves of our martyrs become a sewer; Savonarola is punished at the stake for speaking the truth; and from the dunghill of the Sanctuary, Reform germinates; can the Rulers of the Church doubt that all these outrageous immoralities may be caused by the attempt to impose so high a

morality upon too many, the morality being privileged and exceptional? Do we not think, seriously, now at least, of the time in the Primitive Church, in its first youth, in the indelible freshness of Christian enthusiasm, when the voice of the virgin disciple weak with age, taught the great precepts of charity; in the Primitive Church, I say, priests were priests, although not celibates; and was the nobility of their ministry diminished by the exercise of less sublime duties, or their charity disturbed by the heart-beats of more human affections?"

The Protestant reform, they say, provoked Catholic reform, and the council which formulated it closed Luther's mouth, even while enduring the scandals of the sanctuary. But setting aside dogmas, did the Council succeed in reform? The Council aimed chiefly at sanctioning all that part of the decree of Graziano and of the other pious frauds of the middle ages, that seemed most capable of healing the authority wounded in the breach of liberal example; but in the middle ages, from the obscurity, which favored the bishop, and still more the Pope, the poor priest issued, stripped of almost everything. Now when they required this docility from the priest to make their unity more complete and the teachings of the higher clergy more efficacious, and the primatial authority of the Bishop of Rome more monarchical, the priest could not expect to regain any part of his lost liberty. And to keep him a slave did they not know that the shortest way was to detach him from society? Read the canons of the famous Council and you will see the substance of those disciplinarian precepts producing an increased separation, distance and isolation. The monastic spirit has become definitely the ecclesiastical spirit; between society and the clergy, lies an abyss.

Everything conspires towards this end, even the dress, scrupulous care of which has increased, until it has become an affair of primary, almost exclusive importance; so that the wearers seemingly consider sanctity closely allied to transparent webbed black stockings; and even (we quote from current reports) deem themselves immodest if their sleeves be not hermetically closed at the wrist, and Gospel breakers, if they wear braces: *sint lumbi vestri præcincti*,—you may say, the priest, sober in all things else, should be sober in dress. But sobriety is not stupidity, and I defy you

to find a more stupid figure. No, no, a dark color would fulfil the demands of sobriety, or better still the beard and robe of ancient days: is it right that the priest's dress should be different, and, if ridiculous, all the better? In a society, which has a levelling tendency, as all use it, even in every form, the priest would have become a discordant note! He must have chosen between silence and hisses. Ask the priest travelling by rail what rapturous homage, what exquisite compliments his peculiar coat and three-cornered hat have won him; ask him what fresh ardor of charity is aroused in him by the ill dissimulated scorn, the transparent allusions, the open satire and public insults lavished upon him and his brothers!

Therefore, without declaring that the Council of Trent should have abolished celibacy; not even declaring, if it please you, that they should have retained, ensured and facilitated it; we may declare it anything but right to increase the motives for isolation by the dress; and that the only way to curtail, perhaps to prevent, the inconveniences of the priest's exceptional situation in the midst of society, was, not to increase his monastic spirit, but to educate him to greater charity. For sooner or later, nature avenges herself against any force acting against the very nature of nature. Would you repress human passion? At least, supply its place with divine passion, otherwise, subdued for a time, it will burst forth with greater violence and break out into more shameless excesses; or if there is any shame, it will only be the hypocrite's shame at his discovery. Let me speak, for example, of the woman who renounces all future hopes, the bliss of love, the joys of maternity, and embracing with more lofty motherhood all ignorance, all weakness and all sorrow, spends her life in teaching children, healing the sick, and consoling the dying. Such a woman's heart is occupied, is filled; she has no time to think of love; she forgets that she is a virgin, she feels herself a mother at every moment. But I do not speak of the woman who renounces all these dear things merely to bury herself between four walls, deceiving her heart with no other sentiment great enough to fill it; giving her widowed soul no food save wretched convent gossip, monotonous toil, better suited to wing than to fetter her fancy, or pious practices from which custom and periodic recurrence have stripped all

perfume, freshness and life. Must not this poor woman pity herself, torment herself, defile herself? Or will she be less degraded because her soul alone burns in the flame of impotent desires?

The Jesuitical tendency of modern Catholicism, which under pretence of aiding religious sentiment by the senses, arrests it and entangles it in the senses; cuts it to pieces and grinds it to atoms under pretence of applying it to the rarest emergencies and fugitive needs of life; makes it sterile and petrifies it under pretence of supplying the want of symmetry in humanity, this tendency, this enthusiasm rules the seminary. Instruction, education, social needs, good results, business, sport, all are subordinated to the great thought of external piety. The mother of those youths, whose exuberant and vainly repressed activity during the day renders longer repose necessary for health, would never arouse them long before the sun, to creep from their warm dormitories, chilled and sleepy, facing the cold, damp air of the church in midwinter, to mutter psalms and antiphonals, to send their bright spirits, still dreaming of mother, brothers, and their home, wandering through the close and narrow convolutions of some pious and stereotyped meditation. Nor would their mother, at nightfall, after their scanty supper, and brief and tardy space for recreation, have shut them up in narrow beds to fall slowly asleep, lulled by the monotonous sound of some soporific sermon, or to rub their eyes open to retrace the labyrinth of the morning meditation step by step, recounting aloud the services provided and commanded for their souls. The whole year round there is a throng of offices, masses, sermons and functions, services renewed with censers, candles, altars and choirs, in cathedral and in parish church, and all this to sweep out the dust of the world, which still steals in between the carefully closed seams of those convent bars—those things called Exercises: a series of days, during which all mention of work or play, or I had almost said, of food, is forbidden; nothing but preaching, prayer, canticles, meditation, examination of conscience, conferences and retreats. Beautiful and holy things, but not balanced and ennobled by others which have no place among them, though they should have place! Is it not plain that they mean to make the young student a minister of the altar; but the altar in the most limited and material sense of the word? This young man's country will be his sacristy;

his life will be a chain of vespers, litanies and services for the dead ; to him the ideal priest will be no higher than the ideal sacristan. And if this predominant, almost exclusive devotion render him forgetful of aught else ; if habit, as must inexorably be the case, make these practices so familiar to him, that he only sees their husks ; if the honor of God, thus confined to outward forms be in no wise contrary to his own interest, if by making that honor and this interest keep even pace, he grow to like the life, and evil men think and say that priesthood is a trade and the sacristy a shop like any other ; if this come to pass, how guilty are the instructors of his youth.

The sublime part of clerical education to many people, would be to have power to wrest children from the warm breezes of their home, and from protecting maternal shade the plants privileged to adorn the gardens of the sanctuary ; to keep them shut up in a hot-house for years, and then some fine day, to open doors and windows, to let these feeble flowers be blown by the winds and scorched by the broad light of the noonday sun. Generally they cannot get them until well grown, that is, already corrupt ; and must let them all (here the steward is to blame) breathe the profane air of the world for two or three months, at the risk that family affection may rouse that spark of feeling upon which so many ashes and so much water are thrown throughout the year. 'Tis a less evil that they have the greater part of the year to themselves, that they lack neither cunning nor obstinacy, that at the first dawn of love, the young heart expands and yields itself prisoner ; let a few years pass, and the young Levite may yet become a fool or a hypocrite, despite society and his family.

Oh, tell me, what do seminarians ever talk of but alienation from the world ? And not that moral alienation which is the Gospel ideal and the essence of the priesthood, but that material alienation which becomes odious, blind to how much, whether of good or ill, exists in the world, which is oftenest reduced to a convenient pretext for dispensing with social duties ; which killing affection, kills charity with it, unless charity be something contrary to affection ; which it is not, for it is human affection itself purified and made almost divine. In the conferences, readings, meditations, sermons and exercises nothing is ever mentioned save the ecclesi-

astic spirit ; by this index is recognized, and by this proof is tested, the candidate's vocation ; the order he shall join depends upon the high or low temperature of this thermometer. But after all, what is this ecclesiastic spirit ? Is it an anti-mundane spirit ? No ; it is an anti-human spirit.

To have the ecclesiastic spirit, you must assure yourself that talent is a temptation ; enthusiasm, dangerous ; beauty, a deceit ; art, a lie ; nature, a spectacle for the blind ; patriotism, profanity ; love of liberty, rebellion ; family, an impediment ; affection, a sin ; woman, an auxiliary of Satan ; and society, a common sewer through which all filth is filtered, a desert where every good germ must die of thirst and neglect. To it the priest and the man are not two different things, but two opposite things, like life and death, light and darkness, or health and disease.

But why, oh soul emasculators, why were you not at least logical enough to mutilate everything ? Did you never suspect that the flesh would be less docile in proportion as the spirit was proud and lofty ? You have clipped the soul's wings ; and will you lament, that drawn downwards by the body, it wallows in the mud ? Still recommend angelic virtue to this spotted soul, a martyr's courage to this eunuch : propose as model for his ignorant, inexperienced youth, agitated by passion's breath and worldly contests, threatened indeed by the most delicate offices of his ministry, propose, I say, the almost inimitable miracle of some young claustral saint, multiply precautions, exorcisms, amulets and bars. You will make it wretched, but not virtuous ; impotent, but not chaste. To the greater part your vow of celibacy will be anything but a vow of continence ! And to the few to whom the vow is not a mockery, it is but one profanation more, they will be considered the reprobates rather than the spoiled darlings of the seminary, their ordination will cause you pangs of remorse ; rebelling against your care, inaccessible to your flattery and incapable of persuasion that mutilation is virtue ; that all that is great, good and beautiful in the world is sinful or dangerous. Neither will heroism be an easy task to them : if it were, would it be heroism ? Such men, in the sacred pride of undivided souls, of souls that scorn the meed, will find strength to keep their vow, inconsiderate though it be, and their sacrifice, useless though it be.

Nor is the priests' education better than the seminarians'; college completes what the seminary began, and the lesson is the more efficacious that it no longer consists of words, but deeds. The corner stone of the ecclesiastical spirit is still external regularity; the material part of worship still surpasses every other thought; there is the same hatred of all frank dignity, all unemasculated talent, all enthusiasm that is not fanatic, the same dread of liberty, made yet more vigilant by the instinctive desire to wreak on the weaker the oppression inflicted by the stronger; the same despotism only limited by the caprice they call "*ex informata conscientia*," and reigning so supremely over life, honor, dignity, conscience, soul and body, that there is to-day no more humiliating livery of thralldom in the world than the priest's robe. Still you see that there is some difference between the prior and the bishop; you see that the tendency to become a priest in the base sense of the word, not only continues but increases; even if disgrace with the superior has ceased to be punished by a scowling face, a noisy reprimand or an ordination inconveniently postponed; and a fat prebend vainly caressed, a parish examination idly repeated a dozen times, confinement to a meagre chaplaincy in some unwholesome spot, an apostolic career cut short midway, and as the last resource of justice or light, a suspension *a divinis*, are the present result. This alone excepted, the system is the same. While the three-cornered hat absolves its wearer and approves of countless taints, the least frivolity is a great offence for the wearer of a round hat; while in some, open and disgusting ill-doing is atoned for by an assumption of godliness, the integrity of a whole life does not suffice to protect the appearance of evil in others. Without scandal, sin would be almost null, and to create a scandal in one we dislike, will require almost as much art as to hide it in a favorite. The convenient but cautious loves of some Perpetua may be overlooked, but who can promise the priest the pure comfort of an innocent friendship? To refuse with humble frankness, in the name of conscience, to subscribe to a doctrine repugnant to reason, is an unpardonable crime; it is docility, on the other hand, to subscribe to it with a bold face, even though it may not be sincerely believed, either by him who gives or him who receives it. And above all things, shun society; I say society, but not the world; for how

can human frailty shun the world? Who does not know that the world may be enclosed within four walls, sometimes even more easily than within a public square? The world lurks even in the folds of the nun's wimple and in the scanty larder of the monk's refectory. Shun society, not, God forbid, to retire into a library; the priest's asylum is the sacristy; there, amid surplices, copes, chalices and ostensorii, around the crackling brazier, in company with acolytes and bell-ringers, filling up the records of deaths, christenings and marriages, his mind will be enriched with knowledge more profitable and more ecclesiastic than amid the dangerous shelves, and Heaven knows how profane books, of his library. Shun society, and especially its great truths, its opinions, its aspirations and its feelings. They are all alike, no choice between them. Never imagine that any grain of good can lurk in the world's words and thoughts. Saying "No," when the majority says "Yes," you will never err. If the majority hate you, glory in it, for this hatred will assuredly be your reward. Men of honor, wise men, prudent men may hiss: enough encouragement if bigots and sacristans applaud.

I have told you how priests are made within and without. Do you wonder, now, that they are for the most part such as you see them?

I do not photograph them, I only collect the fragmentary sketches which you yourselves have drawn from time to time.

They are ignorant, you say. Of course; they think that all wisdom is contained in the Bellarmine Catechism. Egotists, and why not? The lower instincts of nature always flourish when the higher are stifled. Insensible! But have they not always been told that affection was a sin, that tears were insubordination? And they have found it most convenient to mistake resignation for indifference, and virtue for impassibility. Spiteful! Good God! Can sufficient harm be said and thought of the enemies of the priests; in very fact, the enemies of God and the Church? They do but defend the cause of God, and a few white lies told with good intention must be forgiven, must even seem meritorious in the sight of God. Will it not all redound *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*, if these wretches are left hungry and dishonored? Would you deal leniently with them? Leniently with those who would

make the world a convent ; who have no faith in passion, because they have no feeling ; who, even if they were not deaf to the flatteries which deceive others, might require to be austere, that they might seem holy, and to cry out against the follies of men, that they might forget their own ? And they will be mad fanatics ; for woe to the religious sentiment which is not counterpoised by the human, which is not tempered and mitigated by charity ! The child's tender hand shall delight in adorning the garments of the Holy Child ; and devout kings hasten to add fuel to the funeral pile ; and the men of the Church shall dance a fandango by the sinister light of the sacrificial fire. And they will be intolerant. Rooted to one idea, confined to the same set of books, the same journals, the same conversations, they will take the horizon of their own habitation and their own Church, for the horizon of the world ; and they will communicate the intractable rigidity of dogma to the least dogmatic of their assertions, oblivious of its inviolable sanctity. And appetite comes by eating ; how can they help enjoying the fragments of Papal infallibility ? What a glorious thing to adjust doctrine to necessity ; and to create dogmas, which require neither tradition, argument nor science ! What joy thus to be able to condemn a greater number of misbelievers to hell ! And there must of necessity be appendices. I wonder to what profit they can turn such inventions of the devil as the telegraph and the railroad ; and assuredly there can be nothing good in a society which has done and does so much to get rid of being ruled and guided by priests. When they do not calumniate by calculation, they calumniate in good faith and on the word of others, poor society, which they have always been forced to shun, which they could never know, against whose every law they have a decree from the Sacra Penitenziaria, against whose every aspiration they have heard a couple of excommunications hurled and half-a-dozen encyclical letters thundered ; and then society has moved on, and they have stood still.

And their light is to illuminate your darkness, their rough hand to smooth the folds of your garment of life, to minister comfort to you, and that voice hoarse with rage to interpret pardon ! Such men are to bless the cradle and the marriage bed, the fire-side and the table, the work-shop and the warehouse, the home and the

temple. In every joy, too great to seem human, in every grief, too bitter for earth to console, you must speak the language of your heart, the language of your age, to these men of another age, who never knew or who have quite forgotten the language of the heart. I do not think the faith of your fathers so weak as to make it responsible for the unworthiness of those who proclaim it; but you would do better to put between yourself and your God, no soul incapable of understanding you, no mind that condemns you, no heart that hates you. You would not leave the altar standing where such a one sacrifices, the tribunal where such a one deals justice: but you would limit and change to a sense dearer to you and certainly dearer to God, the form of public prayer; kneeling at his feet, you conceal from him all, save what you deem it sin to conceal, you show him but one side, the coarsest and most shallow side of your soul.

Perhaps you may do so! but can all, or will all do so? Can those millions to whom religion is the sole comfort of a comfortless life? Those pure and pious souls who adore the symbol of God's pardon in the priest's robe? That poor slave of the soil, whose sole diversion after six long and toilsome days, is to hear the festive sound of the bell, to see the lights and flowers in his village Church, to listen to the rhetorical feats of his parish priest, and the bungling Latin of the vesper service, vying with the discordant tones of the old organ? That poor woman, who knows not where she may lay her despised tears, if not at the foot of the altar; who has sorrows to be told to none save God: and must she see this God in a man; and may she never hear the voice of her soul promising her consolation, save echoed by another voice—a voice, which should be tender as that of a father, which does deem itself omnipotent as that of God?

Amen, you say. Children, peasants, women, and illiterate should be left to the priest. Once master of the world, he has retained but a part: the thinkers have escaped him and he rules only idiots. Are you serious? And is it generous, is it prudent to condemn so many millions of immortal souls to vegetate in ignorance, to tremble in superstition, to hate their brothers, to plot against society, and to curse Italy? And you take little heed of the rest. Is it right, is it profitable, is it safe to condemn your women to such a

fate? For they are yours and you love them; you love them, if for no other reason than that, companions and pride of your youth, they are still the mothers of your children. Does it not seem as if, jealous though you be of the communion of the body, you yet make an easy bargain for that sympathy of thought and feeling, the communion of the soul? And yet the kingdom of love lies in the soul: that nameless sense of infinity and eternity, which communicated to love, makes woman's face the symbol of every ideal of the human soul, that sense of infinity and eternity assuredly do not proceed from the body. The body is a heavy weight rather than a pair of wings; the body measures itself and is measured by satiety. Marriage, it has been said, is the result of love, as vinegar is of wine: but the soul is not to blame, if love turn sour; it is not the spirit's gentle breath that sears that flower's petals, it is not the heart's soft touch which spoils and crumples that divine butterfly's golden wings! Oh! may the soul outlive the body: may love, woman's greatest, perhaps her only lord, teach her to find a tear even for your least known, your most secret woe, to reward your every toil with a smile, to fortify your every aspiration with hope, to reflect your every idea; transformed by affection, to learn all that you know, to feel all that you desire, to adore all that you love; and marriage will no longer be the tomb of your love, love will daily rise again, an immortal phoenix, from its mysterious pyre!

Then do you not care for your women's thoughts, loves, knowledge and desires? Do you not dread a solitude where, in very truth, they are not alone; in company more gloomy than any solitude—in company with a corpse? But for your sons, at least, you should care. What do I say? you should care for yourself. With a Paulist wife, are you very sure that you will not become a Paulist too? Woman has two strong weapons to conquer withal: the gentle insistency of affection; the inflexible grasp of punctilio. You will yield to her tears or to her obstinacy. And how can you suppose that she will not use these and all those other arms, against which we, the strong sex, are so weak, when she is strengthened by her conscience, when she is determined to wrest you from the devil and to open the gates of Paradise to you? Exhausted by the labors of the day, deafened by the tumult of business, disgusted

by the deceits of the world, you seek a brief space of silence, rest, and relaxation in the sanctuary of your affections; but you find neither silence, rest, nor relaxation: you expect a smile and you meet a frown: you ask a kiss and you hear a sermon: you ask for your children and you hear laments over the poverty and imprisonment of the Pope: by her reproaches or even worse, by her tears, even the hour of your scanty supper, your children's caresses, and the pillow of your nightly repose are poisoned and embittered. *Pro bono pacis*, you yield, and some fine day you are amazed to find yourself a Paulist. Or at least you capitulate, you provide yourself with two tongues: that of hypocrites and sacristans for your home, that of honest men and liberals for the world. Perhaps you are liberal abroad in proportion as you are conservative at home; and anger at domestic silence may sometimes be divined by the greater fury of the words you utter at the café. You resume your native courage on leaving home, like your hat and overcoat, but beware! you can not always display it, even abroad: the time will come when you must stuff it into your pocket. You can only show it on those occasions, when no one can tell your wife that they have seen you display it. In company, you look around before you speak; at a meeting, you balance your expressions so carefully that none can tell whether you be Red or Black; at a council you would vote the liberal ticket secretly; but in public, the very newspaper alarms you. With your heart, you give your vote to your friend, the man of honor, the patriot; with your hand you give it to your enemy, the Paulist, the scoundrel.

Woman always seeks the priest: alone or in company, free or enslaved, young or old, she always seeks him. And if she did not seek the priest, the priest would seek her. Does not all this pomp of theatric function, in which religion becomes a sensual spectacle, seem made for woman; is it not ingeniously feminine? Is not the same true of that piety of lights and flowers, of little images, and dainty altars, tiny prayer-books, and ejaculations? Those manuals and mission books in which religion speaks the language of love—passionate, mad, delirious love—in which women learn expressions, which if modesty do not forbid, they may repeat on leaving Church to the first man with whom they happen to fall in love? Those societies, in which charity is changed to curiosity and religion to

intrigue; in which a scapulary or a medal gives the wearer the right to scorn her who wears none; in which a woman, becoming Prioress or Lady President, may gratify the chief feminine passion—vanity—to the greater glory of God? A holy man, none too polite in truth, but an honest man, has remarked that the preachers of religious doctrines always seek companions or accomplices in women. “Woman,” he says (and I beg your pardon for his lack of gallantry), “woman accepts easily, because she is voluble; she defends readily, because she is frivolous; she retains firmly, because she is headstrong.” And do you expect that priests will not give chase to woman by the light of these moonbeams, even if men flee away? But I have told you that a great part of the welfare of society, of your own welfare, depends upon that gentle half of the human race. And I have also told you, that I fear we must make up our minds to leave this gentle half of the human race where they are. Now then, if woman may not be changed, what remains but to see if we can change the priest?

The priest can only be changed, I believe, through the medium of the priest himself, and even this is anything but easy. The clergy is a vast, compact and powerful organism; an assembly of forces bound together by two chains, which according as the case may be, bind many more—interest or conscience. An immense chain of mills become a unit, in which we pass ceaselessly and rapidly from priest to bishop, cardinal, and finally to Pope. And even at the summit at the white Pope’s side sits the black Pope; the head of that famous company, called by derision or antiphrasis, the company of Jesus; an army of corpses, moving, fighting and conquering; a machine whose every wheel thinks, but only just so much as a wheel should think, which is conscious of its own function and ignorant of that of others; a gigantic iron net work embracing the two hemispheres, and retarding, opposing and striving to suffocate the life of society in the skilfully concealed intricacies of its delicate web. Rash society, either unaware of its strength, or laughing at it! And they have the great lever of the world, that is gold; gold piously won from the flattered passions of potentates, from the calculations of ambitious men, from the enthusiasm of ex-sinners. Gold, which taught by the past, profiting by manufactures, railroads, banks, and by the progress of this accursed

modern society, has already saved them from the danger of possible suppression. Visible and invisible, scattered and united, rebellious and disciplined, brothers and priests at once; and as necessity wills, like the bat in the fable, now a rat and now a bird; they command the Pope, they terrify bishops, they instruct and brutalize the clergy, they make the minutes for encyclical letters, they prompt bishops' speeches, they decree text and tone of sermons, they prepare the sentences of the Index, the schemes of the Council, and the judgments of the Penitenzieria. They strive to convert all their doctrines into dogmas; they cry out to the four winds that the welfare of the Church depends upon the welfare of the Company; they have succeeded in establishing the belief that nothing is Catholic unless it be Jesuitical. But to them the Pope is a tool, the Church an excuse, heaven the longest but surest road to rule earth. They wish to rule, and they use the clergy, as more credulous or less suspicious, to preserve the mastery of the people. Powerful and astute, who could imagine that they would ever let their victim run out of the ruts into which they have coaxed it, and in which they urge the Church on to perdition with the clergy."

After scourging the Catholic clergy, the author invokes and hopes for a reform proceeding from them, and exclaims: "Oh, why may not salvation proceed from a humble source yet once again? Catholic reformation of the Church from priests? Was not the good news first announced to shepherds? Was it not first of all diffused by sinners? To-day sinners have become kings, and shepherds wolves; the wolves know not the meekness of the lamb; nor do kings love the ragged garments of the Divine Carpenter of Nazareth. The Church once reformed society; now society must reform the Church; and reform must come from below; that is, from that part of the clergy on whom the double oppression of pope and bishops weighs most heavily, and in whom, by their very condition of slavery a greater knowledge of humanity exists, and in whom the heart of the people still beats persistently. Religious instruction must still and ever descend from pope to bishop, and from bishop to priest; but nourished and renewed by the evangetic sap of modern ideas, the priest shall train, shake, convert and reconcile bishop and pope by the efficacious lesson of example. From the depths of religious society, shall be raised and

renew in its turn, charity which is now a mere name; the meekness which now kisses with sharp teeth; the humility, which is now found nowhere save in the *servus servorum Dei*.

"The thought alone exalts me; and transported by the sacred image, my fancy reads the future. I see an old man, venerated by kings and subjects for the unarmed majesty of his garb; monarch of hearts and consciences, supreme master of a doctrine of love, respected counsellor of peace to all nations, living promise of heaven, symbol and representative of God—and around him, little less venerable, other weaponless old men, like him armed with their humility alone; depositaries, like him of a treasure which they will restore intact to the Lord of all; brothers and rulers with him; but disciples no less than rulers, sons as well as brothers, first in authority and at the same time first in obedience. And lower still, a crowd, great, yet not too great, of men of all ages, who in caring for others, find it easy and pleasant to forget themselves; to whom nights of vigil with their books are but recreation and means to give the weary rest, to dry the tears of the sorrowful, to supply the needy and to shelter the outcast; admired by wise men and adored by weak, ignorant women; meek with the lowly and lions with the arrogant. Always friends of the poor, avengers of the scorned, and helpers of misfortune; simple of life and grand of heart; experienced in all grief; alive to all affection; indulgent to all passion; enthusiastic over all good deeds; a living school of all fertile, meritorious and necessary abnegation; models of all virtue and dispensers of all truth. Oh joy! the altar no longer contends with the hearth; humanity is no longer divided from religion; even science is revered like another priesthood, not so high but no less necessary. The priest is no longer the negation of the man: the bishop may be paternal and not seem tyrannical; the Pope may dwell side by side with the King. Faith embraces reason and reason bows to faith, and the light of both divine sisters comforts and illumines the world. Renewed humanity celebrates the holy nuptials of intellect and charity, country and family, earth and heaven.

"Mine may seem an idle dream; but I live in this faith; I feel that if, when I quit the earth, this faith have at least become a hope, I shall present myself light of heart and almost proudly before my Judge."

"Whom the gods love, die young," sang Menander, and this ardent Italian apostle of a new faith and a new Catholic religion, was not only forbidden to see his desires fulfilled, but even to kindle in his companions among the clergy that necessary flame which must inspire every great reform. Abbé Polo's condemnation of Catholicism is most just; as for his hopes of reforming it, of rousing it to new, ideal and powerful life, they have faded. And we find ourselves once more in face of a clergy, for the most part coarse, ignorant and vicious; of an ecclesiastical hierarchy, which has all the hindrances of an established government, but not the subjects to govern; of a papacy, which in proportion as it preoccupies fancy, disturbs conscience and sets diplomacy in motion, must continue isolated, impotent, useless and indifferent, among us who have the unenviable luck to shelter it.

There is also question in Italy of the relations between Church and State. Much has been said in Germany on the subject of this internal question and Prince Bismarck has paid great attention to it. Our Parliament, too, if only by seeing what is said and thought about it outside of Italy, must often have taken serious thought concerning it, not exactly because we Italians care much about the condition of the Papacy, with which we could very well dispense, but because if we do not make a pretense of interest in the well-being of the Pope and the jealous custody of Catholicism, we shall draw down the disapproval of all sceptic, but prudent and utilitarian diplomacy, and the hatred of some one of the neighboring Catholic powers, which under pretense of coming to the Pope's defence, will embrace the opportunity to take arms against us and gain mastery of our country. The Italian government must be only too well assured that some day or other, the papacy, deprived of material arms, and as for spiritual ones, reduced to immobility, by the proclamation of papal infallibility, must come to an end by dying a natural death. Having successfully done your utmost against the Pope, leave it to time to do the rest, and by such conduct, gain the reputation of skillful moderation and noble wisdom. What progress has been made from the Constitution of April 17, 1830, proclaimed by the King of Sardinia, by which every subject was compelled to confess and to partake of the Communion on Easter day, Jews were set apart from other men and punished with death for

blasphemy against God and the saints, to 1850, when Count Siccardo abolished all ecclesiastical tribunals in Piedmont, and 1870, when Italy confined the Pope to the Vatican. Progress is still advancing by degrees, so that, by the end of the century, the leaky bark of St. Peter may be seen to sink; *quod est in votis*; not that the downfall of so ancient an institution, which has had so large a share in the world's civilization, would not be a sorry sight, but because we hope that from death a new life may proceed, more active, powerful, and beneficent.

ANGELO DA GUBERNATIS.

BISHOPS ELECT.

THE OFFICE OF THE HOUSE OF DEPUTIES, AND STANDING COMMITTEES IN THE ELECTION OF A BISHOP.

In the dignified letter of the Rev. Dr. DeKoven to the Convention of Illinois, declining a nomination to the Bishopric, he speaks of our system as :

One unknown during eighteen centuries, to any branch of the Catholic Church, which permits the votes of numerous bodies of clergy and laity to come between the free choice of a Diocese and the Bishops who are appointed of God to increase, as well as to guard, the order to which they belong.

The Convention of Illinois by the decided vote of thirty clergymen to nine, and of sixteen parishes to eight, adopted the following resolutions :

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention the canon giving to the House of Deputies, or, as the case may be, to the Standing Committees, the power to sit in judgment upon Bishops elect ought to be at the earliest possible moment repealed, and the primitive rule and practice of the Church restored, whereby the Bishops alone should be empowered to judge of the qualifications of Presbyters elected to their own order.

The Deputies were requested to bring the matter before the next General Convention, with a view to the action therein proposed.

A condemnation so emphatic, from sources entitled to so much respect, of a system adopted at the organization of our branch of the Church in 1786, sanctioned by the practice of all the Bishops from

that time down, and as we believe, unquestioned, either as to its churchly character or its utility, until the year 1875, should receive great consideration.

We shall endeavor to show that this part of our polity is consistent with, and sanctioned by, the course and practice of the Apostles and their successors in the early Church. Not that we can show that we have followed a model in details, furnished in those periods; but that the principles then authorized and acted upon, essentially and by just reasoning, support our system, and that the original power of the Apostles would have sustained, and the transmitted power of the Bishops does sustain it.

We recognize as absolutely as Dr. Pusey himself, the great truth that the power of the Bishops was the power of the Apostles, in the regimen of the Church, except so far as it was restricted by any Apostolic practice or injunction. And again, that the Bishops were the judges how far they should fetter their authority from views of expediency, and how far they should confer upon others a share in such government. They were as powerful in this particular as they were powerless to transfer the right to ordain. They could not delegate to one not of their own order the imparting of such a spiritual commission. Their hands alone could place the crown of the ministry upon the brow. With such qualification, concession reigns throughout the usage of the early Church; but it is concession, not right. Two passages from St. Cyprian unfold the rule conceded.¹

But the history of the action of our Church in the matter should first be stated.

In 1785 the Clerical and Lay Deputies of the several States then in Convention, addressed the Archbishops and Bishops of England, requesting them to confer the Episcopal office on such persons as should be presented to them by the Conventions of the Church in the respective States.

¹In ordinationibus clericis solemus vos ante consulere, et mores ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare.

Ut ea quæ circa ecclesiæ gubernaculum utilitas communis exposcit tractare simul, et plurimorum consilio examinata limare, possemus. (Apud Bingham, Book II, Chap. xix, § 8, note.

The answer dated in February, 1786, was signed by the two Archbishops and seventeen Bishops. It stated their earnest desire to comply with the request, and to obtain a legal capacity to do so. They express apprehensions as to certain reported alterations in the Formularies.

In June, 1786, the General Convention adopted an answer to the letter of the Archbishops and Bishops concerning the doubts as to the changes, renewing the application, and gave the matter in charge of a Committee of Correspondence, empowered to call a General Convention. (Journal, Vol. 1, p. 44.)

In reply to this communication of the Convention, the Archbishops stated their preparation of an act of Parliament enabling them to consecrate without the person taking the usual oaths, etc. They say that the subject was considered at a meeting of themselves and fifteen Bishops, and they proceed :

We therefore think it necessary that the several candidates for Episcopal consecration should bring to us both a testimonial from the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, with as many signatures as can be obtained, and a more particular one from the respective Conventions in those States which recommend them.

Two forms of testimonial accompanied this letter. That of the members of the General Convention was precisely the same as that now to be signed by the members of the House of Deputies. The other only differed from the one now in use by having a clause of personal knowledge for three years last past. (Journal, 1786, p. 54, 55.)

From the minutes of this Session of 1786 we find that the Convention of New York had elected Dr. Provoost for Consecration ; the Convention of Pennsylvania, Dr. White ; and that of Virginia, Dr. Griffith. In each case the members of the General Convention signed the testimonials in the form transmitted by the Archbishops.

The State Conventions, as well as the General Convention, were composed of clergy and laity, and upon these testimonials Bishops White and Provoost were consecrated in England.

In 1789 five Presbyters of the Church in Massachusetts "did nominate, elect, and appoint the Rev. Edward Bass to be our Bishop," and prayed the Bishops of Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania to invest him with Apostolical powers. (Journal,

p. 70.) This application was laid before the General Convention, and on the 5th of August, 1789, the Convention requested the Bishops to join in such consecration, but not until after the meeting of an adjourned Convention. The consecration did not, however, take place until 1797, as is afterwards noticed.

During this session and on the 8th of August, 1789, a canon was passed as follows :

That every Bishop elect, before his consecration, shall produce to the Bishops to whom he is presented for that holy office, from the Convention by which he is elected a Bishop, and from the General Convention, or a *Committee of that body appointed to act in their recess*, certificates respectively in the following words. (The forms were the same as those of the Archbishops.)

On the last day of the session of 1789 the report of a Committee was adopted containing the following passage :

That the Standing Committee which agreeably to the Constitution (*canon*) is chosen to act during the recess of the General Convention, ought in the name of the Convention to recommend for consecration any person who shall appear to them to be duly elected and qualified for the Episcopal office.

This Standing Committee was composed of ten clergymen and seven laymen.¹

Upon a testimonial from such a Committee the Reverend Dr. Bass was consecrated Bishop of Massachusetts in May, 1797, and the Rev. Dr. Jarvis, Bishop of Connecticut in October, 1797. (Hawks' Constitution and Canons, p. 104.)

In 1799 the legislation empowering the Standing Committees of the Dioceses to act in the matter, commenced. This provision superseded the use of a Standing Committee of the General Convention.

The first paragraph of the canon of 1799 is so similiar to the first clause of § III, Canon 15, Title I, that we need not state it. The second paragraph was as follows :

The evidences of the consent of the different Standing Committees shall be in the form prescribed for the General Convention in the second canon of 1789; and without the aforesaid requisites, no consecration shall take place during the recess of the General Convention.

This system of the Church, as to the choice of Bishops, remained

¹ In 1792, upon a testimonial of the House of Deputies, the Rev. Dr. Claggett was consecrated Bishop of Maryland by Bishops Seabury, Provost, White, and Madison.

unchanged until 1808, when the testimony of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies in General Convention was substituted for that of the General Convention, and the clause as to a Committee of that body to act in the recess, was omitted. Thus the legislation continued until 1832, when some alterations took place. We do not deem it necessary to state more than one of them; that requiring in express terms a consent of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies to the consecration. Dr. Hawks, with great reason, insists that there must under the canon be a separate vote and certificate of such consent, besides the testimonial to character, etc., to be signed.¹

This review of the course of our Church upon this grave subject, warrants some conclusions clearly.

I. The Archbishops of England, with fifteen Bishops, required and were content with testimonials from the Convention of a particular State which proposed a person as Bishop, and from the General Convention, composed of clergy and laity. Such testimonials were to purity of character, good learning, soundness of faith, fitness to exercise the office of a Bishop, and of there being no known impediment, on account of which he ought not to be consecrated.

II. These testimonials were adopted in 1789 into a canon of the General Convention, made essential to a consecration, and became the settled law of the Church.

III. It cannot admit of doubt that the testimonials so signed by the members of the General Convention at first, and then by those of the House of Deputies, were equivalent to an express literal assent. The canon of 1799 as to Standing Committees, in terms required their consent, and declared that such consent should be evidenced by the same testimonial as that given under the canon of 1789. Here is a recognition that the same amounted to a consent. Indeed, to say without qualification, we know of no impediment to the consecration, is to say we agree to it. The

¹ In the General Convention of 1874 an attempt was made to withdraw the power entirely from the House of Deputies, and vest it exclusively in the various Standing Committees. The Committee on Canons, to which the proposition was referred, reported against it, and the House rejected it by a very decided majority of both orders.

action of 1832 embodied in terms the result previously deducible, and gave more formality to its expression.

IV. Thus then we have had from 1789 to the present day, under some varying forms of exercise, the unbroken rule that the nomination and approval of the clergy and people of the particular Diocese must be given, and then that the consent of the whole national Church, through a representation of both orders, clergy and laity, must be obtained.

This striking, we may say, this grand element in our system comports with the catholic idea of each Bishop's universality and parity of spiritual power.¹ For wise prudential reasons, the Church has, by express law, restricted the exercise of exclusive Episcopal functions to the Bishop's separate precinct; but with a consent, at least all his sacred acts are valid and effectual elsewhere.² The orders of the Priest who ministers to me in the parish Church, the confirmation of my child who assumes the vows made for him at baptism, all have the same divine effect and power, the same sacred effluence pervades them all, whether the Bishop of Maine or the Bishop of Oregon performs the act. "Go ye, and make disciples of all nations," was a commission in parity to the Apostles, and has come down in parity to their successors. Polity may limit the sphere of action—polity cannot destroy the power.

In one of the noblest passages of Barrow³ he speaks of "the unity of the whole Church of Christ, of persons spiritually allied, professing the same faith, subject to the same law of the heavenly kingdom; but the uniformity in external government is not commanded, and perhaps in unattainable." The great author would have rejoiced had the vision been given him, that in one part of the domain of the Apostolic Church, a vineyard in his day

¹ *Ubiunque fuerit Episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Alexandriæ, sive Tanis, ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est et Sacerdotii.* (St. Jerome, *Bingham*, Book II, Chap. v. § 2, note.)

² Van Espen, Part I, Tit. 16, cap. 3, 22 Canon of Antioch, A. D. 351.

³ On the Supremacy.

untitled and scarcely known, an approach would be made to blend such uniformity in a great particular, with such unity.

The first transaction of the Apostles connected with this polity of the Church was the choice of Matthias to fill the place, ministry, and Apostleship from which Judas fell.¹

One hundred and twenty disciples were on this occasion assembled at Jerusalem. They formed but part of the body. Five hundred had seen Jesus after the resurrection. Supposing the eleven Apostles and the seventy commissioned by the Saviour were present, as is generally considered, and seems highly probable, we have thirty-nine disciples of another or lay class.

The seventy composed the last of the three orders of the Priesthood, the Great High Priest, after the new order of Melchisedec,² the Apostles, and this body. St. Jerome says: "By the testimony of the evangelist Luke, there were twelve Apostles and seventy Disciples, of a minor order, whom the Lord sent by twos before Him."

And Hooker observes: "The Saviour did Himself appoint seventy other of His own disciples, inferior Presbyters, whose commission to preach and baptize was the same which the Apostles had." So Van Espen, declares "Bishops are the successors of the Apostles, and Presbyters of the Seventy Disciples."³

It is then clear, that some of the disciples, not of any order of the ministry were present.

It has been considered by Mosheim,⁴ Sir Peter King,⁵ and others, that this transaction proves that it was the law of the primitive Church so declared and established, that the people should have a concurrent power in the selection of this Apostle, and hence in the choice of Bishops thereafter. The proposition is strongly contested by others, among them Sclater⁶ and Morgan.⁷ An analysis of the argument of the latter may be found in Townsend's New Testament, Vol. 2, p. 216. The substance of it is, that it

¹ Acts i., 21-26.

² Hebrews vii., 11, etc.

³ Cited by Potter—Church Government, 36, note.

⁴ Supplement, 421.

⁵ Mosheim, Vol. I., p. 136.

⁶ Enquiry, &c.

⁷ Draught of a Primitive Church, 152.

⁸ Platform, etc., 29.

was only the Apostles who were addressed, and only the Apostles who cast the lots.

It strikes us as a decisive answer to this argument, that then the Seventy Disciples, commissioned by the Saviour, with powers only just beneath those of the Apostles, would be excluded. There is evidence that both Matthias and Barsabas were of this number.¹ The best Construction is, that the seventy fulfilled all the conditions imposed by the Apostles on the choice. To exclude this body is at least repugnant to the letter of the text, and to every presumption the narrative warrants. And if these were comprehended there is no line of reasoning which can justly shut out the other Disciples. The philological argument founded on the true translation being "Men Brethren," omitting the "and" seems very inconclusive. The 29th and 37th verses of the 2nd chapter of Acts, refute it. The men of Judea and dwellers in Jerusalem were addressed as "Men Brethren," and they said to Peter and the rest of the Apostles, "Men Brethren." In each instance the *and* is found in Italics. In each instance, the argument for an inclusion of the Seventy and the others is strengthened by the omission of the word. To reject the word *Men*, and substitute *My* would not be warrantable.

The learned Grotius says: "It is a wonder to me how men have persuaded themselves that Matthias was chosen by the people to the Apostolic charge, for in St. Luke I find no footsteps to fit." (De Jure, etc. circa Sacra Cap. x., § 5). And Dr. Doddridge observes: "I cannot see that the right of choosing Church officers can receive much light from so singular a story, in which so peculiar an act of God was expected. (Expos. iii., 9.)

The argument we have noticed of writers opposing Sir Peter King and others, may be wholly insufficient and yet the position itself be untenable, and the judgment of Grotius be true, yet not embracing the whole truth. There is a great and most important distinction between the essential concurrent right

¹ Eusebius speaks of the tradition that both were of this class. (History Lib. I., Cap. 1, 2). And St. Jerome says: "Matthias, who had been one of the Seventy, was chosen into the Order of the Apostles."

of a body in an election, and a share of power, though inferior, conferred by a superior authority, which may be temporary and revocable.

A careful consideration of the narrative proves some things very clearly, and others justly inferable.

The Apostles decided, that a choice to fill the place of Judas was necessary. Peter, on their behalf, declared this. The Apostles fixed the qualities of the person to be chosen, and the class from which the choice was to be made. They announced *that one was to be ordained*, to be a witness with them of the resurrection. Yet they did not themselves ordain, but prayed to the Lord that He would determine; and the ordination was by the Lord, precisely as their own commission had been received from Him.

Here then there was nothing more than a nomination and choice of two to be presented with prayer to the Lord for His guidance as to the one to be substituted. The Apostles permitted a concurrence in this designation and supplication, by all present. No share was granted in the ordination itself, for that was referred to and given by the Lord. We see in all this a permitted participation of Lay Disciples, in the method the Apostles adopted for filling the Apostate's place. It came from them. It was subordinate in character, but it was a concession of some share in the act.

We shall next notice the course of the Apostles in relation to the appointment of Deacons.

The Twelve called the multitude of the Disciples unto them. The request or injunction is addressed to them, to look out from among them seven men of good report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, "whom we may appoint over this business."

The saying pleased the multitude, and they chose Stephen, Philip, etc., whom they set before the Apostles. "And when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them."

Some things are plain. The Multitude consisted of or comprised Lay Disciples. They were to look out from among themselves seven men of good report, etc., to be appointed. They, the multitude chose the seven and presented them to the Apostles, who laid hands on them.

But what was the nature of the office thus constituted? It

was merely the supervision of the distribution of the alms; or it was a branch of the ministry; or it was a combination, which is thus stated by Dr. Hammond :

"And the twelve Apostles, calling the Church together, said unto them—We have resolved that it is no way fit that we should neglect the preaching of the Gospel, and undertake the care of looking to the poor. Therefore do you nominate to us seven men, faithful and trusty persons, the most eminent of the believers among you, that we may consecrate or ordain them to the office of Deacons in the Church, and entrust them with the task of distributing to those that want, out of the stock of the Church; and in the choice of them let it also be observed, that they be persons of eminent gifts and knowledge in divine matters, (see ver. 10), who consequently may be fit to be employed by us, in preaching the word, and receiving proselytes to the faith by baptism." (Hammond, Ch. viii., 5-12)

We find that Stephen forthwith commenced to work miracles, conducted a discussion with certain of the Sect of the Libertines, and preached that memorable sermon, the record of God's dealings with the chosen people, of Moses the Prophet who was with the Church in the Wilderness, of the Angel on Mount Sinai, and the reception of the lively oracles to give to us. Philip went forth to Samaria, and preached Christ. He baptized both men and women, among them Simon, and he preached to and baptized the Eunuch.

There are few points to which the testimony of the early Fathers is more uniform and consistent than that Deacons were of the Second Ministry, and next to Presbyters. The title given them by St. Polycarp is "Deacons or Ministers of God in Christ, and not of Men."¹

One theory in regard to these Deacons has been that they were taken from the Seventy. If so, their ministerial character and office was already defined.

There are several catalogues of the Seventy; one is ascribed to Dorotheus.²

Dr. Crossthwaite, in his Edition of Potter on Church Govern-

¹ Townsend's New Testament Notes, p. 234. See also Sutcliff's *False Semblant* apud Keble's Edition of Hooker, Vol. 2. p. 478.

² One wholly accurate is supposed not to exist, but it would be incredible that the names of those who composed such a body were not treasured in tradition at least, though errors would arise.

ment, p. 398, states that there was a list in a tract ascribed to St. Hippolytus, printed in the appendix to the first volume of Fabricius' Edition of his works. If this was Hippolytus Portuensis, (and we have met with others), he lived sometime between the years 220 and 386.

In the list of Dorotheus, all the Seven Deacons are included, but among these is Nicolas, a Proselyte of Antioch. That he was not a Proselyte to Christianity at Antioch seems reasonably certain. It was later in the Apostolic Age that Antioch became converted to the faith through Christians of Cyprus and Cyrene after the dispersion. He was then probably a Proselyte of the Gate. There was, according to Josephus, a Jewish University at Antioch. The Proselytes of the Gate included those who had renounced Pagan Idolatry, without fully adopting the Jewish religion. That he was of the Seventy can scarcely be imagined.

Again, if the laying on of the hands of the Apostles means here the general sense of ordination to the ministry, the conclusion would seem inevitable that these Deacons were not of the Seventy. The latter had already received their commission from the highest source. But it may be that the laying on of hands in this case was only an invocation of a blessing upon a special mission, such as in the case of Barnabas and Saul, in Acts xiii., 1-3. It was probably derived from examples in the Old Testament, where in a spiritual benediction the form was used. The prayer of Israel for Manasses and Ephraim was thus accompanied.

One opinion has been that at first the office was only to take charge of the offerings, and of the poor. This was all that was involved in the original appointment; and that the Apostles subsequently endued them, or some of them, with ministerial powers and functions. This formed a precedent for the Bishops, who afterwards united the two offices. Hooker appears to incline to this view.¹

Van Espen² refers to the distinction as some time prevalent, between seven whose duty was the service of the poor, and others employed as aids in the ministry. He states that there were one hundred Deacons at Constantinople in the time of Justinian.

¹ *Ecc. Pol. Book*, v., p. 7.

² *Scholia in Canones Trullanos*.

That acute writer, Solater, says :¹

Whatever offices in the Church the Apostles' imposition of hands might entitle these Deacons to, it is plain the referring their nomination of them to the brethren was upon the single score of finding out persons they could entrust with the contributions of the Church, for the daily ministrations, and for the serving of tables. For such offices the members of the Church were to recommend the persons. For the higher offices of Evangelists, or preachers, the Apostles did not refer or propose them to the people in that capacity.

We close the citation of authorities with that of Ignatius, almost a contemporary of the Apostles.

The Deacons are Ministers of the Mysteries of Christ, not merely ministers of food and drink, but administrators of the Church of God. (Apud Van Espen, *Scholia in Canones Trullanos*.)

We submit some propositions as justly deducible from the text.

Whatever office or function was conferred upon any one of the seven was conferred upon all. The ministerial functions of baptizing and preaching existed immediately afterwards in Philip and Stephen. The Seven were then either of the Seventy commissioned by the Saviour, or were ordained as Ministers by the Apostles. The argument against their being of the Seventy seems unanswerable.

Part of the duty to be performed by the new class was purely secular. If it was not meet that the Apostles should leave their proper work for this service, it were not meet to impose it upon the Seventy. The true result, far the most consistent with the language of the narrative, is that this body was selected from the Lay Disciples present, that they were appointed to this office, and were at the same time ordained into the Ministry as its lowest order.

Here then we have, by Apostolic grace and concession, a right granted to the laity, of naming and presenting persons to be endowed with ministerial functions.

We shall next endeavor to ascertain what was the practice in the early ages of the Church after the Apostles, as to the election of Bishops.

¹ Vol. 3. *Works*, p. 369.

The authorities upon this subject which we have carefully examined are Van Espen, Bingham, Sclater, Beveridge, and various Councils. Reference has been had to the works of Bishop Sage, Archbishop Hughes, and Dr. Pusey.

The opinions upon the position of the Laity as to such election may be thus classed.

I. Of those who contend that the concurrence of the laity of a Church was as essential as that of clergy or Bishops, so that there could not be a valid ordination without that concurrence.

II. Of those who insist that the only share or office of the Laity was that an ordination should be in their presence, for the purpose merely of giving an opportunity to attest or to assail the purity of life and conduct of one proposed.

III. Those who hold that it was the settled general polity of the Church to allow and require a nomination or approval by the Laity and the consent of the clergy of the *Paroichia* (Diocese) of the person proposed. That the ultimate power to approve and consecrate rested with the Metropolitan and Provincial Bishops; so that they could reject any one, though fully thus approved, and could ordain without any such nomination or consent.

IV. Those who contend that the Bishops only so far limited their absolute undivided power as not to force a Bishop upon a reluctant people. *Nullus invitis detur Episcopus.* (Dr. Pusey's Councils of the Church, 41.)

There are several ancient canons which are of much importance.

The first canon of the Fourth Council of Carthage is quoted by Bingham as follows: *Cum consensu clericorum et laicorum, et conventu totius provinciæ episcoporum maximeque metropolitani vel auctoritate, vel presentia ordinetur Episcopus.*¹

There is a series of canons of the ancient Gallican Church, which I cite from Guizot's *History of Civilization*, Vol. III.

By one of the Council of Arles about A. D. 452 :

To avoid simony in the election of Bishops, the Bishops shall name three persons among whom the clergy and the people shall choose.

¹ Book iv., Chap ii., §11.

By another of the Council of Clermont A. D. 550 :

No one shall be permitted to obtain a Bishopric by means of presents ; but with the consent of the King the pontiff elected by the clergy and the people must as prescribed in the ancient rules, be consecrated by the Metropolitan, or some one commissioned in his place, and the provincial Bishops.

Again :

No one shall be made a Bishop over those who refuse to have him ; and (it would be a crime) the consent of the clergy and citizens must not be compelled by persons in power.

The Council of Rheims, A. D. 625, (of 41 Bishops) declared :

This Council forbids to regard as a Bishop him who is not a native of the place and who has not been chosen by the will of all the people with the consent of the clergy and of the Provincial Bishops.

And a canon of Barcelona (A. D. 599) declared the rule of the Spanish Church, that the clergy and people were to nominate three and the Metropolitan and Provincial Bishops were to cast lots which of the three should be ordained. (Apud Bingham, Vol. 2, p. 30.)

The authority of Van Espen is, we believe, as high as that of any Canonist. He discusses the subject fully.¹ We quote some of his leading statements. He cites the Novel of Justinian (123-4) prescribing that in the election of a Bishop the chief men of the city should concur with the clergy ; and he considers that this Novel was founded upon the thirteenth canon of Laodicea, (A. D. 365) declaring that the *multitude* is not to make the election of those to be ordained. That the Novel, conforming to the spirit and intent of the canon, transferred the right from the people at large to the chief men of the city, representing the whole people.

In his Scholion upon this canon (Vol III, p. 151) he says, that by one reading it is treated as forbidding an election to be conducted in a tumultuous manner. He contends that its effect was to take away from the body of the people the suffrage they before possessed. He quotes the language of Stephen, Bishop of Ephesus, at the Council of Chalcedon, that he had been ordained Bishop with the suffrage of the reverend clergy, and of the whole people, *omnis civitatis*.

¹ Jus Universum, Part I, Tit. xiii. 1.

The Laity became absolutely excluded from any share in the Romish Church in the time of Innocent the 2d, and in the Greek Church during the ninth century. Two documents are quoted in which the right of the people is vindicated by the maxim that all should concur in the election of one whom all were to obey.

He observes :

It was not that during this age, the election by the people gave a right to ordination to the party chosen ; but it was rather the simple presentation¹ by the people and clergy, of a person whom it would please them to have ordained as their pastor.

Again Van Espen, in Title xi., *De confirmatione Episcoporum*, says : For many ages the election of Bishops, particularly in the Latin Church, was conducted by the suffrage of the clergy and people, as we have before shown. We have also noticed that this had not such force or authority, that necessarily he was to be ordained whom the people sought to have, but the right was in the Metropolitan and his Suffragan Bishops, of examining both as to the election and the elected party.

Thomassin² is cited by Burns (*Tit. Bishops*), as supporting, after a long and learned enquiry, these propositions.

That the Bishops were the highest in power of the Electors of a Bishop ; that though the people were always among the electors, they had less weight than the clergy ; and that subsequently the consent of the Prince became indispensable to a consecration.

The charge of Theodoretus as to Lucius the Arian is quoted that he was ordained :

Non Episcoporum Orthodoxorum Synodo, non clericorum virorum Suffragio, non petitione populorum ut Ecclesiae leges præcipiunt.

¹ The word in the original is *Postulatio*. The text is this : *Sed potius erat simplex postulatio ipsius plebis et cleri de persona sibi grata ordinanda in suum pastorem.* Habertus uses the word in the following passage : *Plena illa et absoluta per populum electio nunquam ecclesia presertim Græciæ, placuit, vera quidem consensus plebis, et approbatio, vel etiam postulatio—sed electio, neutiquam.*

Another writer says : *Quin immo nonnunquam populus ipse aliquem proponebat et postulabat ordinari. Postulationis autem quæ fiebant episcopis a populo nihil habuisse præter supplicationes ; neque jus ullum, aut obligationem induxisse certum est.* (*Apud Bingham, vol. 2, p. 10-14.*)

² *Vet. et Nova. Eccl. Disciplina, Vol. ii., p. 313.*

And Pope Leo, in full accordance, declares :

Nulla ratio sinit ut inter Episcopos habeantur qui nec a clericis sunt electi, nec plebibus expetiti, nec a provincialibus Episcopis, cum Metropolitanis iudicio consecrati.

Van Espen also traces the progress by which the nomination of Bishops became vested in Cathedral Chapters, and the usurpation of Monarchs upon the right of choice.

In the passages we have cited there is incontestable evidence, that Bishops, and Councils formed mainly of Bishops, did allot some share and office to Laity as well as Clergy, in the selection of a Bishop. We recognize in all its absoluteness the law that this was and could only be of the will and gift of Bishops. We insist that they had the right, and had the sanction of the Apostles for its exercise, to make such concession. Beyond a doubt the principle which dictated the rule—we will not consecrate one whom you oppose—involves the power to say—we will consecrate one whom you select, unless commanding objections should appear. And so the power to clothe the Clergy and Laity of a particular Diocese with this privilege involves the power to extend it to the Clergy and Laity of a Province. All we deem established and to be conceded is, that such a requisition is consistent with the principle of the early Church. That the Bishops who have given their approval of it since the year 1789, broke no Apostolic or primitive rule or practice. That it embodies a noble idea of unity, and strengthens the interest of every member in the spiritual well-being of every other member, however remote. Hence it is a true development of a primitive rule.

It is quite clear that this method can only be accomplished by a representation. What such representation shall be is a question of expediency, though one of moment.

The great object of legislation in this matter must be to secure the most authoritative, intelligent, and true expression of the wish of the whole Church upon a nomination. The deputies to the General Convention come from each Diocese, the selected exponents of its views and will—the guardians of its rights from possible intrusion, but they come with an office higher and more sacred than this—the Joint Protectorate of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, of her faith, her orders, and

her discipline. The intelligence, the worth, and the loyalty of the Church at large is thus concentrated and brought into action in a convenient and efficient form.

The objections to the submission of the nomination to the various standing committees are of much weight. Scattered over the Union at great distances, the chances of action upon imperfect or erroneous information are considerable. The responsibility is comparatively slight, and an apathetical consent may sometimes be expected.

It may be suggested, whether a return to the principle of the original method, a representation of the House of Deputies, would not be a preferable mode.

The Diocesan Conventions might designate one of their Clerical and one of their Lay Deputies (with some provision for a vacancy) to form a committee upon the election of a Bishop. The House of Deputies could adopt such named persons as a committee of its own. A canon could regulate its organization, times and places of meeting. Two such meetings during recess, and one during a session would probably suffice.

Thus a fixed responsible body would be secured, with full opportunity to examine, and deliberately to discuss every nomination.

MURRAY HOFFMAN.

A LITERARY COINCIDENCE.

A striking coincidence in English literature has recently forced itself on my attention.

It is not to be spoken of in the category of undesigned coincidences, for the most remarkable feature about it is the probability that there was in it no possibility or opportunity for any design or intention. Undesigned coincidences are circumstances or events in the history or writings of the same persons which subsequently appear, or are brought to light without there being any evidence of previous planning or contrivance. But the coincidence to which I refer is to be found between a fictitious character portrayed by Charlotte Brontë, in her novel entitled "Jane Eyre," and the late Frederick W. Robertson, who, some twenty odd years ago, was the famous preacher at Brighton, England.

It should be remembered that Charlotte Brontë began to write her story of Jane Eyre in 1846, and it was published on the 16th of October, 1847, up to which time Mr. Robertson had scarcely attracted any attention at all, certainly not beyond the circle of his immediate friends; and those strong and unique traits of character which afterwards made him such a notable and marked man of his time, were as yet wholly unrecognized and undeveloped. It should furthermore be remembered that news is not disseminated in Europe from house to house, and from hamlet to hamlet, as in this country, and the names of persons who acquire a famous local reputation are not bandied about from mouth to mouth as is the case with us.

It is therefore possible for a distinguished person to reside in a neighboring town, or for one to acquire a local celebrity without the fact being generally known, even a few miles away. I myself

have met an English Clergyman who did not know where Charlotte Brontë lived.

It is therefore altogether probable—if indeed it is not absolutely certain—that at the very outset of his career Charlotte Brontë never heard of the Rev. F. W. Robertson, and there is a total absence of any evidence going to show that she ever met him. And yet, so striking is the resemblance between her fictitious character of the Rev. St. John Eyre Rivers and the Rev. Frederick W. Robertson, that one can scarcely be brought to believe that the whole thing is the result of accident, and that there is no reasonable and satisfactory explanation of the mystery.

I say mystery, for mysterious it certainly is, as will evidently appear when we come to look into it. For, not only are the dates already given to be kept in view in considering this subject, but it is to be borne in mind that Robertson did not die until six years after the publication of "*Jane Eyre*," during which time he became what the world understands him to have been. But all that Charlotte Brontë wrote concerning the Rev. St. John Rivers antedates this period of time. And the resemblance between the fictitious creation of genius and the veritable personality of the great and wonderful preacher is not confined to traits of character and disposition merely—this would be something between men of such unique characteristics—but it extends to their personal appearance, size, height, yes, down to the color of their hair and eyes, the contour of their faces, their general manner and bearing.

Nor is this all, for not only were they alike in their personal appearance, which was far removed from what is denominated common-place, but there is a striking similarity in their ideas, their souls appear to have had the same bent, and their age is identical. It would not be difficult perhaps to discover and point out resemblances in character between fictitious and veritable persons; especially if, as is usually the case, the resemblance in the fictitious creation of the poet or novelist is to be found after the veritable person has lived and developed those characteristics which the writer of fiction has seized upon and appropriated to his own use. In other words, we know that writers of fiction may and do borrow their materials from real life, and are excused for so doing.

But it is scarcely conceivable—and in the present instance no one for a moment supposes, that a person writing the biography of a warmly attached and devoted friend would ever think of looking into the pages of a novel for words to express his conception of his friend's character. But in this case, as has already been said, the novel preceded the true history.

Frederick W. Robertson was living, and only just beginning to unfold the singular individuality which afterwards rendered him so remarkably famous, at the very time Charlotte Brontë's ink was wet upon the paper. Had she been most intimately acquainted with him, and had she been gifted with the power of prescience it would hardly have been possible for her to have rounded up, and drawn out in detail, in the brief space which she devotes to her character, a more exact portraiture. So perfect indeed is the resemblance that the writer of this article has sought in vain for any points in one, which may not be found in the other.

Their moods, their idiosyncracies were the same. The very antagonisms in their natures were the same. At the outset of their ministry their theological bias was the same. They both thought they were called to be soldiers, and yet they both entered the ministry.

They both strove to make their profession chivalric, and their lives as much like the life of a patriotic soldier as it is possible for the life of a clergyman to be. Nothing indeed would satisfy the character of fiction but that he must go as a missionary to a heathen land, and it may be accounted fortuitous rather than otherwise that Robertson did not go.

Now I say it is certainly a very extraordinary coincidence, and one that scarcely admits of a parallel, that a novelist residing in a far, remote and northern part of England, should portray in a current story of the day, the appearance, prominent characteristics and salient traits of disposition of a man living in the extreme south, and just then entering upon a career which subsequently spread his fame world-wide.

I will now proceed to give some proofs of what has been said. The following is the description of the personal appearance of the Rev. St. John Rivers, taken from the story of "*Jane Eyre*":

"Mr. St. John—sitting as still as one of the dusky pictures on the walls, keeping his eyes fixed on the page he perused, and his lips mutely sealed—was easy enough to examine. Had he been a statue instead of a man, he could not have been easier. He was young—perhaps from twenty-eight to thirty—tall, slender; his face rivetted the eye; it was like a Greek face, very pure in outline; quite a straight classic nose; quite an Athenian mouth and chin. It is seldom, indeed, an English face comes so near the antique models as did his. He might well be a little shocked at the irregularity of my lineaments, his own being so harmonious. His eyes were large and blue, with brown lashes; his high forehead, colorless as ivory, was partially streaked over by careless locks of fair hair. This is a gentle delineation, is it not, reader? Yet he whom it describes scarcely impressed one with the idea of a gentle, a yielding, an impressionable, or even a placid nature. Quiescent as he now sat, there was something about his nostril, his mouth, his brow, which to my perceptions indicated elements within, either restless, or hard, or eager. His eyes, though clear enough in a literal sense, in a figurative one were difficult to fathom. He seemed to use them rather as instruments to search other people's thoughts, than as agents to reveal his own; the which combination of keenness and reserve was considerably more calculated to embarrass than to encourage. He looks quiet, but he hides a fever in his vitals. You would think him gentle, yet in some things he is inexorable as death. As I looked at his lofty forehead, still and pale as a white stone—at his fine lineaments fixed in study—I comprehended all at once, that he would hardly make a good husband; that it would be a trying thing to be his wife."

Now compare with this, the description of the personal appearance of the Rev. Frederick W. Robertson, taken from his "*Life and Letters*," edited by the Rev. Stopford A. Brooke. Vol. 2, p 314:

"In person he was rather above the average height, and his graceful and well-knit figure indicated the possession of much physical energy and activity. His face was not striking from any peculiarity, but it was a beautiful one. The nose was straight and finely proportioned. The mouth showed great delicacy, and purity of taste and feeling, and, when the lips, with their rich sweeping curves, were closed, inflexible resolution. Compared with the upper part of the face, the chin seemed lacking somewhat in development; and the dark blue eyes, which left their light with you after he had gone, though set well apart, were smaller than the eyes of our greater poets usually are; but the noble forehead, so high, so full, so ideally rounded, and shaded by his rich brown hair, imparted, at a glance, the assurance that here was a man of great moral elevation of character, and of large intellectual power."

Again, on p. 240, we read:

"The high, intellectual brow, strongly marked, suggested a thoughtful and an artistic nature; and the blue, deep-set eyes, full of a pure, beautiful light, flashing often with a bright and eager lightening of excitement or enquiry, told of the strangely-mingled qualities which lay within—will, tenderness, and courage."

In describing the characteristics of the Rev. St. John Rivers, as a preacher, Charlotte Brontë says:

"I wish I could describe the sermon, but it is past my power. I cannot even render faithfully the effect it produced on me. It began calm, and indeed, as far as delivery of pitch and voice went, it was calm to the end; an earnestly felt, yet strictly restrained zeal breathed soon in the distinct accents, and prompted the nervous language. This grew to force—compressed, condensed, controlled. The heart was thrilled, the mind astonished, by the power of the preacher, neither were softened. Throughout, there was a strange bitterness; an absence of consolatory gentleness; stern allusions to Calvinistic doctrines—election, predestination, reprobation—were frequent; and each reference to these points sounded like a sentence pronounced for doom. When he had done, instead of feeling better, calmer, more enlightened by his discourse, I experienced an inexpressible sadness; for it seemed to me—I know not whether equally so to others—that the eloquence to which I had been listening, had sprung from a depth where lay turbid dregs of disappointment, where moved troubling impulses of insatiate yearning and disquieting aspirations. I was sure St. John Rivers—pure-lived, conscientious, zealous as he was—had not yet found that peace of God which passeth all understanding."

Compare with this, the description given of Mr. Robertson as a preacher :

"I cannot describe to you in words the strange sensation, during his sermon, of union with him and communion with one another which filled us as he spoke. He did not use much action, but there was a restrained passion in him which forced people to listen. I used to feel as if everyone in the congregation must be thrilling with my emotion, and that his suppressed excitement was partly due to his consciousness of our excitement. Nor can I describe to you the sense we had of a higher presence with us as he spoke—the sacred awe which filled our hearts—the hushed stillness in which the smallest sound was startling—the calmed eagerness of men who listened as if waiting for a word of revelation to resolve the doubt or to heal the sorrow of a life—the unexpected light which came upon the faces of some when an expression struck home and made them feel—in a moment of high relief from pain or doubt—this man speaks to me, and his words are inspired by God. And when the close came, and silence almost awful fell upon the Church, even after a sigh of relief from strained attention had ceased to come from all the congregation, I have often seen men so wrapt that they could not move till the sound of the organ aroused them to the certainty that the preacher had ceased to speak."

Salient points of character and disposition in St. John Rivers :

"He was a good man, but I began to feel he had spoken truth of himself when he said he was hard and cold. Literally, he lived only to aspire—after what was great and good, certainly; but still he would never rest, never approve of others resting around him. Zealous in his ministerial labors, blameless in his life and habits, he yet did not appear to enjoy that mental serenity, that inward content which should be the reward of every sincere christian and practical philanthropist."

HIS HUMILITY.

"Yes," said he, "there is my glory and my joy. I am the servant of an infallible Master; I am not going out under human guidance, subject to the defective laws and

erring control of my feeble fellow worms; my king, my law-giver, my captain is the All-perfect; it seems strange to me that all around do not burn to enlist under the same banner—to join in the same enterprise. Humility is the ground-work of christian virtues; you say right that you are not fit for the work. Who is fit for it? or who, that ever was truly called, believed himself worthy of the summons? I, for instance, am but dust and ashes. With St. Paul, I acknowledge myself the chiefest of sinners; but I do not suffer this sense of my personal vileness to haunt me. I know my Leader; that He is just, as well as mighty; and while He has chosen a feeble instrument to perform a great task, He will, from the boundless stores of His providence supply the inadequacy of the means to the end. It is the Rock of Ages I ask you to lean on; do not doubt but it will bear the weight of your human weakness."

HIS DISCONTENT.

"A year ago I was myself intensely miserable, because I thought I had made a mistake in entering the ministry; its uniform duties wearied me to death. I burned for the more active life of the world—for the more exciting toils of a literary career—for the destiny of an artist, author, orator, anything rather than that of a priest; yea, the heart of a politician, of a soldier, of a votary of glory, a lover of renown, a luster after power, beat under a curate's surplice. I considered my life was so wretched it must be changed, or I must die. You hear now how I contradict myself. I, who preached contentment with a humble lot, and justified the vocation even of hewers of wood, and drawers of water, in God's service. I, his ordained minister, almost raved in my restlessness. After a season of darkness and struggling, light broke and relief fell; my cramped existence all at once spread out to a plain without bounds—my powers heard a call from Heaven to rise, gather their full strength, spread their wings, and mount beyond ken. God had an errand for me, to bear which afar, to deliver it well, skill and strength, courage and eloquence, the best qualifications of soldier, statesman, and orator, were all needed, for these all centre in the good missionary."

HIS SENSE OF DUTY.

He was called on a stormy winter night to go and see a dying woman, who lived four miles off: his servant remonstrates with him and says: "I'm sure, sir, you had better not. It's the worst road to travel after dark that can be; there's no track at all over the bog. And then it is such a bitter night—the keenest wind you ever felt. You had better send word, sir, that you will be there in the morning." But he was already in the passage, putting on his cloak, and without one objection, one murmur, he departed. It was then nine o'clock; he did not return till midnight. Starved and tired enough he was, but he looked happier than when he went out. He had performed an act of duty, made an exertion; felt his own strength to do and deny; and was on better terms with himself. His parish was large, the population scattered, and he found daily business in visiting the sick and poor in its different districts. "As a disciple of Jesus, I adopt His pure, His merciful, His benignant doctrines. I advocate them, I am sworn to spread them; to achieve victories for the standard of the cross." That is just as fixed as a rock firm set in the depths of a restless sea. All men of talent, whether they be men of feeling or not, whether they be 'zealots, or aspirants, or despots—provided only they be sincere—have their sublime moments

when they subdue and rule. He believed his name was already written in the Lamb's book of life, and he yearned after the hour which should admit him to the city to which the kings of the earth bring their glory and honor. The last letter he wrote drew from my eyes human tears, and yet filled my heart with divine joy.

HIS READING. •

For the evening reading before prayers, he selected the twenty-first chapter of Revelation. It was at all times pleasant to listen, while from his lips fell the words of the Bible; never did his fine voice sound at once so sweet and full; never did his manner become so impressive in its noble simplicity, as when he delivered the oracles of God; a calm, subdued triumph, blent with a longing earnestness, marked his enunciation of the last glorious verses of that chapter.

Now let us contrast with this portraiture of the Rev. St. John Rivers, the salient points in the character and disposition of the Rev. Frederick W. Robertson :

The impression which the grandeur of Robertson's moral and spiritual character has left within me, has almost encroached, so to speak, on that of his intellectual power. I noted that in him truth and honor partook more of the quality of passionate attributes than of merely formal principles, and that a righteous indignation against meanness and hypocrisy burned in him like a consuming fire. To a mind thus sensitive to the sins and sorrows of our humanity, sadness could not be unfamiliar. His own lofty ideal necessarily entailed on him many griefs and disappointments. He himself walked in such a sunlight of integrity that any deviation in others from the path of righteousness inflicted on him actual pain. All was done as in his great Task-master's eye.

HIS HUMILITY.

His gentleness was as great as his courage. Even the very tones of his voice bespoke the fact. He was totally devoid of pride or assumption. He would not have men rest on him; he warned them that if they would be spiritually strong, they must learn how to stand alone with God and their own soul. He refused to claim dominion over their faith. One was their master, he said, even Christ. Thus he endeavored to guide them in christian manhood—"It is something to feel the deep, deep conviction, which has never failed me in the darkest moods, that Christ had the key to the mysteries of life, and that they are not insoluble; also, that the spirit of the cross is the condition which will put any one in possession of the same key: 'Take My yoke upon you, and ye shall find rest for your souls.' It is something, much, to know this, for, knowing it, I feel it to be unphilosophical and foolish to quarrel with my lot, for my wisdom is to transmute my lot by meekness into gold. It is a grand comfort to feel that God is right, whatever and whoever else may be wrong." One was his Captain, even Christ; and he did not care, provided he fought under Him the good fight, what regiment he belonged to. "I trust," said he, "that God will bring His flock by such a thing as I. I am sure if He does it will be strength made perfect in weakness indeed."

HIS DISCONTENT.

"As to the ministry, I am in infinite perplexity. To give it up, seems throwing away the only opportunity of doing good in this short life which is now available to me. Yet to continue it, when my whole soul is struggling with a meaning that I cannot make intelligible; to go on teaching and preaching when my own heart is dark, and lacks the light I endeavor to impart, is very wretched." It is no wonder, with such a spirit, matched with so chivalrous a heart, that he often thought that he had mistaken his profession, and said to his friends "that he would rather lead a forlorn hope, than mount the pulpit stairs." "Yet now that the die is cast, I will not shrink nor cast a look behind, but endeavor to be equal to the hour, and do my duty." He thought himself, that "this discord in him marred his usefulness." Doubts did pass across his mind, but they passed over it as clouds across the sun.

HIS SENSE OF DUTY.

He arraigns himself, in a letter to a friend, "for poor unvisited, and duties left undone." And yet (says this friend), I recollect his calling on me just before his going abroad, as late as ten o'clock at night, and taking me with him a distance of three miles, through such a storm as Lear was out in, to visit a poor, disconsolate old man, who seemed to have shut himself out from human sympathies, and therefore all the more enlisted his. I never knew one whose care and constant kindness to the poor could compare with his." "He died, giving up his spirit with his last words in faith and resignation to his Father. "Let God do His work." These were his last words. "His will be done." These were the last words he ever wrote.

HIS READING.

"I have never heard the liturgy read as Mr. Robertson read it. He carried its own spirit with him; and those prayers, so often degraded by careless reading into mere forms, were from his voice felt to be instinct with a divine life and spirit. The grave earnestness and well-weighed emphasis with which he read the Gospel of the day, were absolutely an exposition of its meaning. A friend turned round and said to me once, "He need not preach a sermon now, that is sufficient."

And very much more to the same effect. Indeed, no one can study the life and character of Mr. Robertson and compare them with Charlotte Brontë's ideal creation without being impressed with the fact that there is a most extraordinary parallelism between the two. Like St. John Rivers, Mr. Robertson was disappointed in his first love. What the cause or reason was, his biography does not inform us. But it was "an outward blow—the sudden ruin of a friendship which he had wrought, as he imagined, forever, into his being, from which he never afterwards wholly recovered." It is true Mr. Robertson subsequently married, but it was a peculiar affair; the entire record concerning it being comprised within less than two lines in his biography. A

distinguished bishop remarked to the writer that it was not a true *marriage*.

Can it be true that what Miss Brontë says of St. John Rivers was likewise true of Mr. Robertson—he was not calculated for a married man? There is another singular fact in this strange history. St. John Rivers had two sisters who went as governesses “to a large fashionable south of England city.” What place can this mean except Brighton, where Mr. Robertson removed only a few weeks before these lines were first given to the world? It is certainly all very curious, and if purely accidental is perhaps without a parallel in all literature.

GEORGE G. HEPBURNE.

CONGREGATIONALISM IN THE CHURCH.

There is little doubt or uncertainty among Churchmen as to the fundamental principles of Church polity and government. The only ministry that is accepted among us is one of three orders—Bishops, Priests and Deacons. The office and duties of Ministers of each of these orders are matters of general agreement. We believe in Diocesan Episcopacy, in Missionary Bishoprics, and in Parishes and Missions as sub-divisions of the field and of the work involved in the great Commission and Charter of the Church.

And yet in many things our practice does not correspond with our theory. Our Ministers are not always what our Church principles require them to be. Our Deacons are often incipient Priests. Our Presbyters Congregationalist Ministers Episcopally ordained. And our Bishops travelling functionaries, preaching, confirming, ordaining, presiding in committees and at Ecclesiastical meetings, giving counsel which may or may not be heeded, exercising considerable moral influence, but having rarely any real cure of souls, and possessing less authority than is held by those in the place of Bishops in denominations which reject the Episcopal office.

There were, in our early history, many causes leading to the conception and the working of the Church as a "denomination." Many powers and functions of an Apostolic and Catholic Church were suffered to lie dormant. But of late years we have been coming up to a better realization of our character and position. We are no longer content to work exclusively in the old ways and the old fields. We are sending out our Missionary Episcopates which are designedly aggressive upon the worldliness and heathenism of the border lands of our Territory. And in many a city and rural district in the older parts of the country, we are multiplying our missions and using means and appliances which, though well known to the Church in better days, would have seemed to

some Rectors of a generation ago, most questionable innovations. It is an immeasurable gain, that Sisters, Deaconesses, brotherhoods and guilds, workingmen's clubs, lay preaching and active lay work for Christ, are no longer novelties. Whatever means are found effectual in winning souls, in extending the Church are cordially welcomed by our Bishops and leading Clergy and People. And so we find that we can reach, and gather in, and mould into the Church's life the working classes, one of the best tests of the validity of our claim to Catholicity, to us, "*the Article of a standing or falling Church.*" This progress, indeed, is not so rapid as we could wish. Many parts of the Church do not share in it. Still it is already doing much towards removing the evils and deficiencies from which the Church is suffering. If we bring out distinctly some of these evils, it is from a strong sense of duty, and with the hope also of suggesting some remedies.

Of the three forms of Church polity which exist at the present day, we regard what is known as Independency or Congregationalism as incomparably the worst. Its principle is that each separate congregation is the Church, and that all ecclesiastical powers and functions whatsoever are inherent in the congregation. If single Churches associate, the acts of such association have no binding force. It can only counsel and advise. It is true that Congregationalism becomes in its practical working, Presbyterianism. It must do this to have any Missionary effectiveness. For if each congregation is sufficient in and of itself, growth must be by the multiplication of such independent bodies, and such extension is generally impossible, except by combination of congregations. From such combination there is often great efficiency in Missionary work—a result secured by the departure from the system.

It is strange that Churchmen should adopt in any measure in practice, a system so alien to our own, but it is not strange that its adoption should tend to destroy all Missionary spirit and the proper activities of a corporate Church life.

What is the idea of the Parish? In the Primitive Church and for ages the Parish was not known as we have it to day. The *παροικια* was originally the Diocese. The Bishop was its head; and around him, working under his guidance, were the Presbyters

and Deacons and minor orders of laymen and the whole body of the faithful. We cannot enter upon an investigation of the historical *genesis* of the American Parish, nor show by what steps, if there be any historical connection, the primitive *παροικία* has become, not the Diocese, but the independent congregation. It is sufficient to observe that, partly from our relation to the Church of England, partly from the influence of the Congregationalism around us, we have the anomalous institutions, historically considered, which we denominate Parishes, claiming to be not parts or sub-divisions of Dioceses, but the *integers*, of which Dioceses are formed by aggregation. Practically, and even in the view of some of our Canonists the Parish is the unit of the Church. Parishes unite to form Dioceses just as Congregational Societies unite to form Consociations. This view is without question false to history and contradictory to our most cherished principles. It cannot be held consistently with our system of Diocesan Episcopacy historically and rightly understood. We must rise above it. We must make our Parishes, constituent elements or parts of the Diocese from which they derive their organization and character, and not prior to the Diocese, and independent of it, except by a voluntary affiliation. The Parish thus related to the Diocese is legitimate and necessary.

The Parish thus rightly constituted should be territorial. It should have, as it has in theory, its limits, its well defined boundaries prescribed for it. And it should be responsible for all the souls, at least for all those not connected with any other religious body, within the district which it embraces. If it cannot fulfil its trust, its limits should be restricted. It must realize its corporate relations in the Diocese, its full responsibility for all Diocesan and general Missionary work. Its local work will be done most thoroughly and successfully, when it enters heartily into the spirit of the great Mission of the Church, of which it is a part. It is desirable that its Church property be held in trust by a Diocesan Corporation of which the Bishop is *ex-officio* a member and chairman. In the election of its Rector, it should have some choice. But this choice should not be absolute. There should be a concurrence between the Vestry and the Bishop. Parochial preferences and the Bishop's right and duty to send, and to dispose his

workers in the field might be thus harmoniously adjusted. Thus modified the Parochial system may be most efficient for good.

But the Parish as thus defined is not our typical American Parish, and it is of some of the faults in the practical working of this, that we desire now to ask the consideration of our readers.

This sort of Parish is only practically a Congregation. It consists of a certain number of persons and of families associated by the fact of attendance at their Church, and of contributing for the support of its services. The objects for which it exists are the maintenance of a Clergyman, called a Rector, and of a Choir. The Sunday School is generally a voluntary matter, for which the Parish, as a Corporation, has little or no responsibility. The Vestrymen who are the Trustees of the Congregation and the Financial Managers of the Parish, are chosen, not for their piety, nor for their knowledge of or interest in the Church, but for their social and business standing, and their influence in the community. If the Rector is naturally a leader, and is thoroughly devoted to his work, the Parish may be made in the best sense a success. If he be not a leader, if he be lacking in efficiency, though he be good and popular, the Parish may be carried on with or without his favor, in the spirit of a secular institution. The money question is fundamental, and hence sensational, "smooth" or what is called "popular preaching," and sensational music are relied on to attract people of taste and influence, to rent the pews and make the income meet the expenses. The attendants fulfil their duty towards the Church by paying their quota of the expenses and by their presence on Sundays. The Bishop has no voice whatever in the selection of the Rector, and the Rector, unless he be a man of great force of character, has little influence in the selection of the choir or the music, and in the general policy of the Vestry. Practically, except when it is desired to defeat the forming of a new Parish, there are no Parish boundaries, and the Parish as such holds no relation to the lost or erring souls within it. Those belong to it who attend and support its services. There may be two Churches on contiguous blocks. Church people exercise freely their preferences as to the Church they will attend, or whether they will attend any. With many the "popularity" of the Church determines the question.

Thus the Parish is a voluntary association, for the maintenance of religious services and preaching for the edification of its members. It is intended for a class. Its purposes do not look beyond the class for which it is administered. It has its representation in the Diocese it is true, and it contributes towards Diocesan expenses. But it gets an equivalent for this in its increased dignity and importance. Its character is in no degree determined by its Diocesan relations.

This is no caricature. Everybody knows that there are such Parishes. Whether they are exceptional or not they are an evil. They have of right no place in our system. They are an abuse which requires speedy reformation. The best exposure of them is the plain, bald statement of their character.

It is obvious that such Parishes are obstructive of missionary growth. Not being founded on the missionary principle, which is the most distinctive of the principles of the Church, they fail to develop a missionary spirit. Managed as they are on secular principles, they do not counteract the worldliness which the Gospel forbids. In raising money for Church purposes, too often the principle is acted on that the end justifies the means. The temptation is readily yielded to, to resort to all those questionable expedients, which in many quarters have made religious societies an offense to right thinking Christian people. The short sightedness of the policy of selling worldly pleasure to make money for the Church is not at first apparent. It is not considered how in this way all the springs of generous giving are dried up, and all spiritual life is paralyzed. Money is made, temporary enjoyment is secured, and hence every extravagance of worldliness is justified and encouraged.

Even in such secularised Parishes there are many who are living godly lives. The services, the preaching to some extent, are constantly inculcating holiness of character. But even in those who, in their families, in their business, and in the ordinary walks of life, maintain a certain consistency of Christian practice, there is one great defect. There is little aggressive work, little care for winning souls to Christ and extending His kingdom. There is a general contentedness in the enjoyment of the faith and hopes of Christians, in apparent unconsciousness of the duty of bringing those who are without into the fellowship of the Gospel and the

Church of God. And then, there is the peculiarly deadening effect of joining in holy services as a form, upon those who do not appreciate their meaning and purpose, who live in habitual neglect of instruction heard only by the outward ear, and of the spirit of a service which ought to rouse every faculty and energy of the soul to Christlike action.

With whatever individual exceptions, the spiritual tone is low. The world has invaded the Church. The Spirit of Christ does not dwell effectively in those who in their outward lives are "conformed to this world."

Congregationalism in the Church is essentially anti-missionary. This charge must be distinctly made. It does not seek to minister to the bodies and souls of men. It does not found and maintain hospitals, homes for the friendless, the infirm, the aged, the orphan, schools of Christian nurture and refuges for the reform of the erring and the abandoned. It has no idea of the Church as Christ's own representative, as bound to do for Him or help Him to do just that work for which He came, by the means and the grace which He has provided. The chief manifestations of energy being on the secular and pecuniary side, but little is thought of those who have no money. Church privileges must be paid for or they cannot be enjoyed. Hence in such a Parish all responsibility for Christianizing those who are outside the select circle of worshippers is practically disavowed.

In well-worked Parishes in cities, unceasing efforts are made to bring to Christ and the Church, those who are beyond the limits within which a Parish can be worked effectively. Parochial visiting, cottage lectures, mother's meetings, mission schools and such-like instrumentalities are found to be effectual. Other congregations, missions and Parishes grow up naturally and healthfully wherever they are needed, and relations of beautiful harmony and coöperation are maintained. The growth of the Church outstrips the growth of the population. There can be nothing of this where Congregationalism determines the character of the Parish. There is more than indifference, there is a fatal obstructiveness to all such growth. Towns large enough and calling for more than one congregation, if the Church is to hold her own, cannot multiply except as the result of a quarrel and a schism

There is many a city in which the Rector and Vestry resisted for years the establishment of a second Parish, which had to be organized in spite of them, and where there are now several strong and active congregations. There are numerous cities even to this day of from fifteen to twenty thousand people, in each of which there is but one Parish, and no mission, and the Church is no stronger than it was when the population was but half or even a fourth of its present number. In many of these towns the suggestion of another congregation would excite a storm of opposition. The attempt to gather another would be resisted as an infringement of parochial rights, as an invasion of Parish bounds, as promoting division and weakness. And the whole influence of the old congregation and very likely of its Rector would be strongly arrayed against the new. It is believed that in general, though with some remarkable exceptions, a Parish does not grow stronger in a city of eight or ten thousand inhabitants, if its Church people are content with a single congregation. Sometimes Church growth is arrested in much smaller cities from insufficient Church accommodation, because the people will not enlarge or build anew nor permit a mission or another congregation.

Increase must be the result of missionary effort, by building a large church, by new congregations, by colonization ; or by missions in outlying wards or districts worked from within themselves. A Mission Sunday School may be attempted as a substitute for real missionary work. But this will accomplish little of itself. It may subserve ends no more vital and spiritual than the fussy activities of some Ladies' Parish Aid Association. If the Mission Sunday School is to accomplish anything, it must be more, it must be a mission, the Church must go with it. The object must be to evangelize the people. The Minister must be on the ground with his regular services, teaching and sacraments. He must be the head, directing and marshalling all his forces. The more work done by lay people, men and women, the better. But the whole power of the Church and its Ministry must be behind them, empowering them to work with a degree of wisdom and practical ability not their own.

When a town has become large and there are several Parishes, there is less difficulty in establishing a new one on the Congregational

principle. All that is necessary is a certain number of people of sufficient means. The question of Parish boundaries is no obstacle. But the jealousies between the Parishes of some large cities, the lack of coöperation, the petty and weak isolation of each, is a sad commentary on the manner in which they were formed and the Congregationalism by which they are conducted and maintained. It would possibly be best, certainly it would be ideally a most beautiful form of growth, that in cities the new congregations with their Churches or Chapels formed in the different districts, should be sub-divisions of the Mother Parish, one Vestry or Corporation sufficing for all. Then the Central or Mother Church would be ready for a Bishop on the See principle, who would have his Cathedral system in some measure prepared for him. Whether so or not, if the growth is normal and congregational selfishness does not mar it, there will generally be no lack of harmony between the different congregations.

Thus we have expressed ourselves very freely concerning some of the evils of Congregationalism in the Church. Thoughtful Christians who believe in the Church and earnestly desire to see her making full proof of her Apostolic and Catholic claims, have long seen and lamented them. The discussion of them is already upon us. The exposure of some of them has been most effectual even since the main points of this article had been determined. It is easier to discern and to point out evils and abuses than it is to suggest the remedies by which they may be corrected. There are, however, some remedies which are obvious. Some have been already suggested incidentally.

First we need a better trained and instructed Clergy. They must be educated up to the missionary idea and imbued with the missionary spirit. Knowing for what the Church exists, they must be full of the thought and purpose of doing just what Christ's Ministers did, when the Apostolic Commission which determined their duty, was fresh; and His love so constrained them that they were able in His strength to subdue to His sceptre the world of Heathenism, and to make His Kingdom the power of God for the regeneration and salvation of men. There are too many "Ministers of the Old School;" too many selfish, self-indulgent, ease-loving, worldly-minded parsons; too many who are obstructionists

to the Church's advancement ; too many who do their work according to their poor conception of it, perfunctorily ; too many who are merely "preachers," but who cannot speak from a full heart of the love of Christ to the men they meet in the shop, in the field or market place, in the highways and hedges, and in the home. If the Church is to do her Catholic work, her Clergy must be trained to be leaders. The popular saying, "Like people, like priest," must be reversed. The Priests must bring up their people to their own high standard of thought and feeling, and mould them into the Church's Spirit. Their earnestness should be contagious. They should know how to call out workers and to direct them in ways of helpful coöperation, to inspire enthusiasm, to train their people in habitual giving, in zeal for missions, in self-forgetful, self-denying devotion to Christ and His cause. Even to this day a spirit of antagonism to parochial or city missions, to the coöperation of men and women in spiritual and mission work, is almost as commonly found in a certain class of Clergy as in the Laity. Our Theological Schools are at fault if they do not train our Candidates for Holy Orders to understand the mission of the Church and the work of its ministers, and to know how to develop and use effectively all those methods and instrumentalities, which primitive and Catholic practice justifies. The first requisite of the Christian Minister is to have life, the second is to be able to stir up life among his people.

The question of the expediency of small Dioceses is determined variously according to the premises assumed, and the bent of mind of the disputants. At present the tendency of opinion and feeling is against much or rapid sub-divisions. The question of SEE BISHOPRICS is a different one. We believe that every Bishop should have his Church in his see city, as the centre of his work and the base of his aggressive missionary operations. And that, this point gained, we shall have gone very far towards the correction of the evils of Parochial Congregationalism. For in the see city at least, in the central church,—central, that is, in relation to the other congregations of the city and the Diocese—though it be at the first small and insignificant in itself—and in immediate connection with it, there will be a manifestation of church life and of church work in its various forms, the efficien-

cy of which will be the most potent demonstration of its value. In this church, which will be *FREE*, all who desire it may find a home. It will be supported not by fairs, theatricals and dances, but by free-will offerings given to God in acts of worship. Its services will be devoutly congregational, without the abuse of operatic quartette music, such as sometimes profanes the sanctuary. But its *WORK* will be its characteristic feature. The Bishop will have around him his clergy, priests and deacons, his lay helpers, sisters, deaconesses, laymen charged with special duties, his schools of industry and of education, his missions, and ministries to the classes to be reached and incorporated into the Church's life, his organizations for mutual help and edification and of mercy and charity. The self propagating power of such a parish will be the sufficient evidence of its fruitfulness. In some cases this idea of a Bishop's Church can be realized by an arrangement with the vestry of the mother parish of the city chosen as the see. In others it will probably be found expedient to begin anew, and build the Bishop's Church from its foundations, and thus be free at once of the congregationalist habits and associations of the old church. But the work of such a Bishop's church, cathedral, or whatever it may be called, and however it may be secured, will be a most powerful agency in raising the standard of church services and church life and work throughout the Diocese, and thus help to lift up parishes out of their congregationalist position.

Another essential thing is, that in the beginning of church work in new places, missions should be organized before parishes. In our older Dioceses the growth of the church has been very much retarded by the early and traditional practice of investing new missions with a full parochial organization. Let the mission be first, and only give place to the parish after attaining to a condition of self support. In the Missions, the Bishop alone, or with the concurrence of his Board of Missions or cathedral chapter, or whatever body may stand in its place, will have the exclusive right to appoint the minister. And so the time will the sooner come when in parochial organizations the right of the Bishop in the sending and appointment of ministers to their fields of labor, consistently with all due preferences and rights of the parish from whom must come the clergyman's support, can be canonically provided for.

The importance of the free-church movement will be appreciated in this connection. Nothing tends more to perpetuate the idea that the church is for a class, than the ownership or exclusive proprietorship of pews in the house of God. Nothing will tend more to break down this congregational class idea than to open the doors and the sittings of the church, wide and free to all, and to give to all, of whatever class, the equal and full privileges of the Gospel. The pew system with its attendant, and it is to be feared inseparable evils, has alienated from the church the great working class, that class which we call "the masses," which holds the political power of this country, which will possess its wealth and control its destinies; and which we must reach effectively with the Gospel and the church, or moderate our high claims of Catholicity and content ourselves with being a sect for the well-to-do and respectable. This same system is in like manner largely responsible for the alienation from religion itself, of large numbers of thinking men, who lament that they are infidels not from choice but from necessity. If the Church shall become what she was intended to be, and do the work for which she was founded, she will carry her divine credentials in her own hands, and the unbelief of the present day will present no stronger barrier to the advance of Christ's Kingdom than did that of Stoicism, Epicureanism, and Neo-Platonism in the first ages. To win back to faith in Christ and membership in Him, the vast multitudes who are content in their self-invented systems, their indifference or their scepticism, and to make the Church as in primitive times, the Church of all classes and conditions of men; we believe that among the other means to be used, and for the full effect of the use of other means, **FREE AND OPEN CHURCHES** will be found indispensable. The only difficulty in the way of the free-church system is the financial one, to combine the support of the Church with the support of the work outside of it, the missions Diocesan and general. But this difficulty will be overcome when we have obtained what is one of our greatest needs to-day, an adequate *financial policy and system* for the Church.

Finally, we would welcome the work of Evangelists and Missioners as helping towards the consummation so devoutly to be desired. In real harmony with our ecclesiastical system, their

ministry may be used to awaken and stir up life in dead souls and dead parishes, quickening the seed sown by stated ministers ; and also to sow the seed of the Word in the hearts of multitudes who are not reached by our present methods and agencies.

And in short we would foster and encourage all kinds of means and efforts to which authoritative sanction can be given ; multiplied services, mission preaching in and out of parishes and of churches, by parochial and mission clergy, by laymen acting under authority, and all the varied methods which devout hearts and earnest minds can discover, whereby all who are sworn as the soldiers and servants of Jesus Christ, and especially all who are empowered for work by receiving the laying on of hands in Ordination or in Confirmation, may fulfil their " vocation and ministry."

The revival of church life, of earnestness and missionary spirit, in the midst of which we are now living, is carrying us on faster and further than we know. There is every ground for faith in our Church and of hopefulness for her future. She is coming up to the full belief in her Divine Mission, and will gradually outgrow whatever practical abuses may stand in the way of her fulfilling it. Congregational selfishness will not long remain to hinder our progress when we fully realize and practically exemplify our oneness in Christ, in the Body of which He is the Head, in which all have and must exercise their office whereby to contribute to the "increase of the Body and the edifying of itself in Love."

JOHN FRANKLIN SPALDING.

THE MOZARABIC LITURGY.
AND
THE MEXICAN BRANCH OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH OF OUR
LORD JESUS CHRIST MILITANT UPON EARTH.

A LITURGICAL STUDY.

The Bishop of Delaware, in an article on the Church Reform Movement in Mexico, in the CHURCH REVIEW, of last October, says (p. 586):

"The Liturgy in use is understood to be provisional. * * There is no prescribed Lectionary. This and other defects are obvious. How can they best be remedied? Not, in the judgment of the writer, by imposing our formularies, or by proposing hasty emendations. The Liturgy must be formed by the deliberate and mature action of the Church which is to use it, a Church, be it remembered, whose members are of Spanish, not Anglo-Saxon race and education. Precious materials may be drawn from the ancient Mozarabic Liturgies. Time, learning, study, and experience must all combine to perfect so important a work as the permanent *cultus* of this Church."

It is not necessary now that we should go into a discussion of the defects of the *Libro de Oracion*. Should any of these seem to the Mexican Commission of our House of Bishops, so great as to give rise to any question whether "the Sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance, in all things that of necessity are requisite to the same," they will of course, in their wisdom, take the proper means to have the error corrected. Minor defects may, under the circumstances, be overlooked for the time.

There are, however, those who think, and, as it seems to the writer, justly, that it would be a serious error of judgment in the leaders of the Mexican Reform movement, to delay, one day longer than is absolutely necessary, the preparation of as good a Liturgy, in all its essential parts, as can now be prepared. To us, who know

the influence on heart and mind of a true Liturgy, it is needless to argue the inestimable benefit of such an one to those who use it. But beside those in Mexico who have openly taken a stand for Reform, there are, there is reason to think, very many more, both of clergy and laity, who in their hearts feel the need of it. To these, a well-ordered Liturgy would be at once a guarantee of the real nature of the Reform movement, and, in itself, no slight attraction.

And there is another point not without importance. The Mexican Reformers ask the sympathies and help, not only of our Church in its corporate capacity, but also of its members as individuals. Why have these not been more freely rendered? Is it not in a great degree because, to use the words of a recent editorial in one of our Church papers: ¹

"Information is needed sufficiently detailed and precise to interest and satisfy the majority of our people, who still know little more than that a movement is in progress in Mexico, but are in doubt as to its true character. It may as well be plainly said that a doubt on this point prevails widely, and accounts for much of the apathy which is shown."

On the part of many intelligent and large hearted Churchmen, the feeling is not one of apathy, but of suspense of judgment; they are unwilling to believe that things are wrong, they cannot quite convince themselves that all is right. If these Mexican Reformers could but put into the hands of such men, either in Spanish or in an authorized translation, a Liturgy, and say, "Examine this and see that we stand in the old ways and walk in the old paths, and have but turned from Romish error; thus and so we worship, so we administer the Sacraments—this will show our belief as to them," the interest of many would be secured, who now stand aloof, but not at all from indifference. With them the *lex orandi* is an important factor in forming their judgment of a Church. A Liturgy drawn up on true liturgical principles would do very much to secure the aid and sympathy of American Churchmen.

It is, of course, most to be desired in any Church Reform that the continuity between old and new be preserved. As Anglican Reformers appealed to the teachings, not only of the Primitive

¹ Church Journal, Feb. 23, 1876.

Church Catholic, but also, with an especial force, to those of the early British and Anglo-Saxon Churches, and based their Liturgy on the ancient use of Sarum—so it is pleasant to know that those who are laboring for Reform in the Church in Mexico, appeal to the doctrines and practices of the early Spanish Church, and intend making the Mozarabic Liturgy the main source from which their own is to be taken.

The question may be asked, what is this Mozarabic Liturgy? He who would have a full answer may look for it in Neal's *Essays on Liturgiology and Church History*; in Neal's *Introduction to the History of the Holy Eastern Church*, pp. 339-703, where he compares the Mozarabic and several Eastern Liturgies; in Alexander Leslie's *Prefatio ad Missale Mozarabicum*; and in a study of the Liturgy itself. There is but space here for a few facts in regard to it. It is Neale's opinion¹ that "the groundwork of the present Mozarabic Liturgy is coeval with the introduction of Christianity into Spain, but that the Goths may possibly have added, and St. Leander certainly did introduce some approximations to the Oriental rite." The Learned Saban y Blanco² says that "in the year 633 no other rite than this [which he calls the Gothic] was used throughout the Peninsula." At the time of the Mahometan invasion, this Liturgy acquired the name Mozarabic, which has so puzzled etymologists. Pagi and others make the word to be equivalent to *Mixtarabic*, because this Liturgy was used by Christians who dwelt among their Arab conquerors. Flores, the Church Historian of Spain, derives the first two syllables of the word from the Arabic *Macih* (Messiah); others have formed, or invented, the word *Musa*, but of these some say it is a name for "Christian," others that it was the name of one of the Arab conquerors, who, by his kindness to the Christians, won their esteem.

Neale says,³ "The real derivation is simple enough: *Arab* *Arabe* signifying an Arab by descent (like an Hebrew of the He-

¹ *Essays on Liturgiology*, p. 130.

² Quoted by the Rev. A. H. De Mora, a clergyman of our Church, now laboring in Lisbon, Portugal, p. 100 of *La Iglesia en España*, a modest little work, but showing considerable research, and of real merit.

³ *Essays on Liturgiology*, p. 131.

brews), *Arab Most-Arabe* an Arab by adoption, and the latter term gradually having been softened into *Mozarabe*, and applied to the Liturgy."

Rome has ever had a jealousy of National rites, and in the eleventh century she succeeded in suppressing the use of the Mozarabic Liturgy in one part of Spain after another. The people of Toledo, however, so clamored for its continuance with them, that this was conceded in the case of the seven most ancient Churches in that city.

The great Cardinal Ximenes, among other steps towards reform in the Spanish Church, endeavored, so far as he might, to revive the use of its national Liturgy. The copies, of the Mozarabic Office Books were few, and some of them very incorrect. He had them carefully edited, and printed in the years 1500 and 1502. He built and endowed a chapel, in connection with the Cathedral of Toledo, in which the Mozarabic Liturgy was always to be used. A similar chapel was founded at Salamanca. Only in these two Cathedral Chapels, and in the Churches of St. Mark and St. Justa, in Toledo, does the Spanish Church use its own Liturgy, all others follow the Roman use.

The existing copies of the Mozarabic Liturgy have suffered from changes and additions which have not been improvements. Still is there much that is most admirable in them; still is it most true that, in the words of the Bishop of Delaware, "precious materials may be drawn from them," for the Liturgy of the old Catholic Church of Mexico. There would seem to be a providential intimation that the Mexicans should use these materials in the fact that an Archbishop of Mexico (afterwards Cardinal) Lorenzana was most earnest in reviving a knowledge of the Mozarabic Liturgy at a time when it was well-nigh forgotten. For many years it was practically impossible to obtain a copy of it. In 1760, Lorenzana had the Ordinary of the Liturgy reprinted at Puebla. Translated to Toledo, he had a large part of the Offices printed in Madrid in 1775, with an introduction written by himself, the remainder appeared in Rome, after his death—but at his expense.

The Mozarabic Liturgy may well be used as a *basis* for the Mexican Liturgy, but something will be needed beside a fitting translation into Spanish, and the removal of the errors which, in

the course of time, have crept in. The statement of a well-known traveller in Spain, Mr. Ford, 'that one of the marked features of the Mozarabic Ritual is its simplicity,' is as correct as travellers' stories are apt to be who repeat what they are told on insufficient authority, or through incompetent interpreters, without having the previous knowledge of the subject which would enable them to know that very much of what they thus learn, is utterly valueless. The Mozarabic is, as that most competent authority, Neale, informs us, "about the most complicated use that exists." It is exceedingly diffuse as well as complicated. Migne's reprint of the Mozarabic Liturgy is in very large octavo, small print, and yet occupies nearly 1,200 pages. Of course great simplification and condensation would be required in preparing, from all this, a "Book of Common Prayer."

In the following pages the writer has drawn up, from the Mozarabic Liturgy an Order for the Holy Communion parallel to our own. In a few instances, brief phrases have been taken from Holy Scripture, the common heritage of the Churches of God, in a very few—which are always noted—he has quoted from our own Liturgy when he did not find in the Mozarabic what was so well suited to the purpose. He has aimed, of course, to translate Liturgical Latin into Liturgical English. Sometimes he has paraphrased expressions which were too diffuse, or which were not quite in keeping with the position here assigned them. In all cases he has given the original Latin at the foot of the page, and referred to the volume and column in Migne's reprint whence the quotations were made. He has not thought it necessary in this Essay to give Rubrical directions.

The writer may be asked whether, in his opinion, a Spanish Liturgy so drawn up would be just what was needed in Mexico? He would unhesitatingly answer, No. The *words* in this are Mozarabic, the *structure* Anglican. In one or two cases, he has ventured to follow the genius of the Mozarabic Liturgy, as in having a special *Prophecy* as well as *Epistle* and *Gospel*; our Church using but *one* Prophecy for every Sunday or holy day, Exodus xx., 1-18. The writer thinks that a conformity, in other respects also, to ancient Spanish use, would be wise in a Liturgy for Mexicana.

The writer has but endeavored to draw attention to the treasures

of the Mozarabic Liturgy—to show what *could* be done with these rather than what *should* be. As Bishop Lee well says, “The [Mexican] Liturgy must be formed by the deliberate action of the Church which is to use it.” They may ask, if so minded, the *help* of others, the final responsibility must rest upon themselves.

AN ORDER FOR THE HOLY COMMUNION,
PARALLEL TO THAT OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH.

ARRANGED FROM THE MOZARABIC.

I will arise, and go to my Father, and will say unto Him, Father, I have sinned against heaven and before Thee, and am no more worthy to be called Thy son.

Let us pray.

Lord have mercy upon us.

Christ have mercy upon us.

Lord have mercy upon us.¹

OUR Father, etc., etc.

Cleanse Thou us O Lord from secret faults.

And keep Thy servants from presumptuous sins.

Lord, hear our prayer.

And let our cry come unto Thee.²

O God, who makest the unworthy to be worthy, the sinner to be just, and the impure to be pure; cleanse our hearts and bodies from all thought and pollution of sin, that we may acceptably serve Thee, through that Great High Priest without spot of sin, Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with Thee in

¹ Surgam et ibo ad Patrem meum, et dicam Ei, Pater peccavi in cœlum et coram Te, jam non sum dignus vocari filius Tuus. Oremus. Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison. *In Ordinario Missæ.* (I. 525).

² PATER noster, etc. Ab occultis meis munda me Domine. Et ab alienis parce servo Tuo. Domine exaudi orationem meam, Et clamor meus ad Te perveniat. *In Ordinario Missæ.* (I. 525).

the unity of the Holy Ghost, ever one God, world without end.
*Amen.*¹

The Lord be ever with you.

And with thy spirit.²

A lesson from the book of³ ———, chapter, beginning with the — verse.

Thanks be to God.⁴

[*At this place is usually read a lesson from the Old Testament: on Easter-day, the lesson is Revelation i, 1-9.*]

Confitemini Domino. Psalm cvi.

O GIVE thanks unto the LORD, for He is gracious: and His mercy endureth forever.⁵

Who can express the noble acts of the LORD: or show forth all His praise?

Blessed are they that alway keep judgment: and do righteousness.

Remember me, O LORD, according to the favor that Thou bearest unto Thy people: O visit me with Thy salvation.⁶

That I may see the felicity of Thy chosen: and rejoice with the gladness of Thy people, and give thanks with Thine inheritance.

O give thanks unto the LORD: for He is gracious, and His mercy endureth forever.⁷

¹ DEUS, qui de indignis dignos, de peccatoribus justos, et de immundis facis mundos; munda cor meum, et corpus meum, ab omni sorde et cogitatione peccati, et presta ut, acceptibiles Tibi hostias offeram, et per Eum Tibi meum sit acceptabile votum, Qui Se Tibi, Deo Patri, pro nobis obtulit in sacrificium, Qui est solus sine peccati macula Pontifex, Jesus Christus, Filius Tuus, Dominus noster, Qui Tecum Vivit et regnat, in unitate Spiritus Sancti, Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. *Amen. In Ordinario Missæ.* (I. 525).

² Dominus sit semper vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo. *In Ordinario Missæ.* (I. 533.)

³ Lectio Libri.——— *In Ordinario Missæ.* (I. 109).

⁴ Deo Gratias. *In Ordinario Missæ.* (I. 109).

⁵ CONFITEMINI Domino, quoniam bonus: quoniam in sæculum misericordia Ejus.

⁶ Quis loquatur potentias Domini: auditas faciet omnes laudes Ejus.

Beati, qui custodiunt judicium: et faciunt justitias in omni tempore.

Memento nostri, Domine, in beneplacito populi Tui: Visita nos in salutari Tuo.

⁷ Ad videndum in bonitate electorum Tuorum: ad lætandum in lætitiâ gentis Tuae, ut lauderis cum hæreditate Tua.

Confitemini Domino, quoniam bonus: quoniam in sæculum misericordia Ejus. (II. 814.)

GLORY and honor be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen.¹

The Lord be ever with you.

And with Thy spirit.

Let us pray.²

The Collect for Easter-day.

O LORD Jesus Christ, Who didst die for the sins of the whole world, and, as at this time, didst rise from the dead, by Thy resurrection, mortify and kill all vices in us: and as, by Thy Cross and Passion, Thou didst destroy the power of death, make us to share in the blessed life; through Thy merits O Blessed Saviour, Who dost live and govern all things, world without end. Amen.³

The Epistle (*or* the portion of Scripture appointed for the Epistle) is written in the — chapter of —, beginning at the — verse.

Thanks be to God.⁴

[The Epistle for Easter-day is Acts ii. 29-40].

The Holy Gospel is written in the — chapter of —, beginning at the — verse.

Glory be to Thee, O Lord.⁵

[The Gospel for Easter-day is St. John xx., 1-19.]

The faith that we hold in our hearts, let us confess with our mouths.⁶

The Nicene Creed.⁷

¹GLORIA et honor Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, in sæcula sæculorum. Amen. *In Ordinario Missæ.* (I. 109.)

²Dominus sit semper vobiscum. Et cum spiritu Tuo. Oremus. *In Ordinario Missæ.* (I. 526.)

³Dominus Jesus Christus, Qui pro totius mundi salute moriens, hodie resurrexit a mortuis, Ipse vos resurrectione Suâ, mortificet a delictis; Quique per crucis patibulum, mortis destruxit imperium, beatæ vitæ vobis tribuat participium; Per, etc. *Benedictio in Die Resurrectionis Domini.* (I. 487.)

⁴Sequentia Epistolæ,—vel Lectio Libri—(I. 480). Deo Gratias. *In Ordinario Missæ.* (I. 110.)

⁵Lectio Sancti Evangelii Secundum—Gloria Tibi Domine. *In Ordinario Missæ.* (I. 111.)

⁶Fidem quam corde credimus, ore autem dicamus. *In Ordinario Missæ.* (I. 117.)

⁷Symbolum Constantinopolitanum, vel Nicænum. (I. 118.)

Hymn.

Sermon.

The Offertory Sentences.

ALL things come of Thee O LORD; and of Thine own have we given Thee.¹

Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church militant.*

ALMIGHTY and Everliving God,' mindful of Thy precept' to make supplications, prayers, and intercessions, and to give thanks for all men:.* We humbly beseech Thee most mercifully to accept our alms and oblations, and to receive these our prayers, which we offer unto Thy Divine Majesty:.*

Beseeching Thee of Thy goodness, to enrich the Holy Catholic Church in faith, hope, and charity; ' to sustain her in danger, protect her in adversities, and make her watchful in prosperity.* And grant that all they who do confess Thy Holy Name may live in pure and sincere love of the brethren,* and keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace."¹⁰

Make, we beseech Thee, all Christian Rulers and Magistrates to

¹TUA sunt enim omnia, et quæ de manu Tuâ accepimus, dedimus Tibi. (II. 880).

²Ecclesiam Sanctam Catholicam in orationibus in mente habeamus. *In Ordinario Missæ*. (I. 114).

³Omnipotens æterne Deus (II. 147).

⁴Memores præceptorum Tuorum. (II. 130).

⁵1 Tim. ii. 1.

⁶Acceptabilis sit majestati Tuæ, Omnipotens Deus, hæc nostra oblatio, quam Tibi offerimus. *In Ordinario Missæ*. (I. 528).

⁷Ecclesiam Sanctam Catholicam in orationibus in mente habeamus, ut eam Dominus, fide, spe, et caritate, ampliare, dignetur. *In Ordinario Missæ*. (I. 114).

⁸Sustenta eam in periculis, protege in adversis, et moderare in prosperis. *Illatio in Missæ Votivæ*. (I. 987).

⁹Ut ii qui vexillum crucis Tuæ in frontibus gestant, puram atque sinceram cum fratribus retineant caritatem. *Oratio ad pacem, in Festo Inventionis Sanctæ Crucis*. (I. 743).

¹⁰Unitatem spiritus servantes, in vinculo pacis. (I. 612).

truly and impartially administer justice,' for the punishment of evil-doers and for the praise of them that do well.'

Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all Bishops and other ministers, faithfully to preach Thy truth, setting forth in their lives what they preach with their lips.;

And to rightly and duly administer Thy holy sacraments.'

And grant that all Thy people, and especially this congregation here present, may truly receive Thy Holy Word which is preached unto them.'

And serve Thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life.'

And we most humbly beseech Thee, of Thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succor all those who are in need, trouble, sickness, or any other adversity.'

And we also bless Thy holy Name'

For all Thy servants departed this life in Thy faith and fear,' beseeching Thee to give us grace so to follow in their footsteps," that with them we may be partakers of Thy heavenly kingdom."

Grant this, O Father, for the sake of Thine Only-begotten Son,

¹Regibus fidelibus, cum mansuetudine et veritate, justitiam largiatur. (I. 753).

²1 Peter ii. 14.

³Tu ora nostra præconio veræ predicationis accinge, * * * ea quæ predicamus sermonibus, opere impleverimus. *Oratio ad pacem, in Natale S. Saturnini, Episcopi.* (I. 156).

⁴Fac me dignum et strenuum sanctis altaribus Tuis ministrum. (I. 525).

⁵Præsta, quæsumus, ut cuncti fideles Tui veraciter apprehendant quæ ex predicatione ejus [sc. Evangelii Tui] suscipiunt. *Alia Oratio, in Quinto Dominico post Festum Pentecostes.* (I. 642).

⁶Serviamus Illi, in sanctitate et justitiâ coram Ipso, omnibus diebus nostris. (II. 870).

⁷Ut omnes inopiâ afflictos, tribulatione vexatos, morbis obrutos, vel quolibet mœrore contritos, cunctos indulgentiæ Tux pietatis absolvat. *Oratio ad pacem in Missâ Votivâ* (I. 984).

⁸Benedic Nomini sancto Ejus. (II. 810).

⁹Omnibus fidelibus defunctis. (I. 986).

¹⁰Ac tribue precibus nostris, ut * * per eorum nos facias ambulare vestigia. *Oratio post Prædicationem in Festo Omnium Sanctorum.* (I. 897).

¹¹Ut cum eis partem in coelestibus habeamus. *Benedictio in Festo Omnium Sanctorum.* (I. 898).

Jesus Christ, our Lord, through Whom Thou givest all good to us Thine unworthy servants. *Amen.*¹

DEARLY beloved brethren ; We who mind to come to the Holy Communion of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, must confess our sins, if we would not be condemned at God's Judgment. We must humble ourselves before men if we would be glorified before the angels. We must mourn here, if we would reign with Christ hereafter.'

May our merciful Lord Jesus grant us so truly to confess our sins, that we may obtain speedy remission ; may He clothe us with the Wedding Garment, that we may come holy and clean to the Heavenly Feast.'

WITH a full trust in God's mercy through Christ, let us make our humble confession unto Him,' devoutly kneeling.'

ALMIGHTY God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,' we acknowledge that we have grievously sinned against Thee, by thought, word and deed, and by omission ;'

We do earnestly repent of these our misdoings ;'

¹*Præsta, Pater Ingenite, per Unigenitum Tuum, Dominum Nostrum, Jesum Christum, per Quem Tu * * omnia nobis indignis servis præstas. Post Pridie in Secundo Dominico post Octavas Epiphaniæ. (I. 251).*

²*Accedentes ad Domini mysterium, fratres carissimi, debemus deferre ad publicum crimina, si ad Judicium nolumus sustinere tormentas. Debemus hominibus humiliari, si volumus coram angelis gloriari. Debemus lugere in sæculo, si volumus regnare cum Christo. Missa in Quarto Dominico post Octavas Epiphaniæ Domini. (I. 256).*

³*Non nos abjicias Jesu bone. Sit in nobis vera confessio et peccatorum celerrima subsequatur remissio. Dona nobis nuptialis dignitatis vestimentum, quo accedamus ad Tuae Passionis Epulum preparatum. Feria Quarta post Ramos Palmarum. (I. 404).*

⁴*Faciem Domini Jesu, ac Redemptoris nostri, preveniamus in confessione, cum omni fiducia. Feria Quarta post Ramos Palmarum. (I. 404).*

⁵*Pœnitentes orate, flectite genua Deo. (II. 611).*

⁶*Omnipotens Deus, Pater Domini Nostri Jesu Christi. Oratio post Nomina, in Secunda Feria Pascha. (I. 489).*

⁷*Confiteor graviter peccasse in lege Dei mei, cogitatione, locutione, opere, et omissione. Confessio in Ordinario Missæ. (I. 526).*

⁸*Pœnitentiam agimus pro malis nostris. Preces ad Tertiam, in Quartâ Feriâ post Dom. III. Quadragesimæ. (II. 409).*

We are heartily sorry for our sins;¹

We are bowed down under the burden of them.²

Turn Thy face from our sins, O Lord, and blot out all our iniquities. Have mercy upon us, we beseech Thee, supplicating Thy favor,³ for the sake of Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord, who died upon the Cross for our salvation, forgive us all the evil that we have committed, cleanse us from all the stains of sin, and fill us with all spiritual gifts,⁴

That we may ever hereafter walk in newness of life,⁵ through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

ALMIGHTY God our Heavenly Father *Who, of His great mercy, hath promised forgiveness of sins to all those who, with hearty repentance and true faith, turn unto Him,*⁶

have mercy upon you pardon and deliver you from all your sins,⁷ confirm and strengthen you in all goodness,⁸

And bring you to everlasting life⁹ through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

*Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith unto all who truly turn to Him.*¹⁰

¹Peccavimus, propter hoc factum est in dolore cor nostrum. *Ad mat. in Sextâ Feria post Dom. III. Quadragesimæ.* (II. 422).

²Peccatorum pondus inclinat. *Alia Oratio, in Quarto Dominico post Octavas Epiphaniæ Domini.* (I. 262).

³Averte faciem tuam a peccatis nostris, Domine, et omnes iniquitates nostras dele; miserere quæsumus rogantibus nobis. *Oratio ad mat. in Feriâ Quartâ, in Capite Jejunii.* (II. 246.)

⁴In Ipsius dilecti Filii Tui, * * et cœterni Domini Nostri, Jesu Christi, nomine Te invoco, ut omnibus malis meis indulgens, cunctas maculas criminum meorum abstergens, atque spiritualibus donis replens. *Illatio in Missâ Votivâ.* (I. 985).

⁵In novitate vitæ ambulantes. *Alia oratio in Feria Sexta Paschæ.* (I. 512).

⁶From the American Liturgy.

⁷Misereatur vestri, omnipotens Deus, et dimissis omnibus peccatis. *Absolutio, in Ordinario Missæ.* (I. 526).

⁸Confirmati semper in bono. *In Ordinario Missæ.* (I. 119).

⁹Perducat vos ad vitam æternam. *Absolutio, in Ordinario Missæ.* (I. 526).

¹⁰From the American Liturgy.

COME unto Me, all ye that travail and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you.' ST. MATT., xi., 28.

So God loved the world, that He gave His Only-begotten Son, to the end that all that believe in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life. ST. JOHN, iii., 16.

Hear also what St. Paul saith.*

This is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be received, That Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners. I. TIM., i., 15.

Hear also what St. John saith.

If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and He is the Propitiation for our sins.' I JOHN, ii., 1, 2.

Lift up your hearts.

We lift them up unto the Lord.

Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

It is meet and right so to do.†

It is very meet and right, that we should always give thanks to Thee, O Holy Lord, Everlasting Father, Almighty God :

[Preface for Easter

Through Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord, Who, as at this time, manifesting the glory of His Resurrection, came forth from the tomb in triumph, when He had overcome death by dying, and by His Blood had reconciled the earthly with the heavenly.‡]

THEREFORE with Angels and Archangels, and with all the

* Venite ad Me, omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et Ego reficiam vos. (II 1022).

† From the American Liturgy.

‡ Si quis peccaverit, Advocatum habemus apud Patrem, Jesum Christum. *Ad. Mat. Feria Secunda, Dom. III. Quad.* (II. 387).

§ Sursum Corda. Levemus ad Dominum. Gratias referamus. Dignum et justum est. *In Ordinario Missæ.* (I. 115, 116).

¶ Dignum et justum est, nos Tibi gratias agere, Domine Sancte, Pater Æterne, Omnipotens Deus, et Jesu Christo Filio Tuo, Domino Nostro. * * Hodierne, Resurrectionis gloriam manifestans * * triumphavit, cum mortem moriens vicit, et Sanguine Suo terrena celestibus reconciliavit. *Ilatio, in Die Resurrectionis Domini.* (I. 484).

company of heaven,¹ we laud and magnify Thy glorious Name; evermore praising Thee and saying,²

HOLY, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts; Heaven and earth are full of the glory of Thy Majesty; Hosanna to the Son of David; Blessed be He that cometh in the name of the Lord; Hosanna in the Highest.

Hagios, Hagios, Hagios, Kyrie, O Theos.³ Amen.

WE come to this Thy Table, O Lord, in humbleness of spirit,⁴ trembling because of our sins, but trusting in Thy mercy. We hide not our sins from Thee, heal us through the merits of the One Sacrifice.⁵

Grant us, O Lord our God, so to partake of the Body and Blood of Thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, that we may receive remission of all our sins, be filled with Thy Holy Spirit,⁶ and, in the world to come, attain the crown of everlasting life.⁷ Amen.

VERILY Holy and Blessed art Thou, O God the Father Almighty, Who didst send Thine Only-Begotten Son to take upon Him our nature, and to die⁸ for the salvation of the whole world;|⁹ Who,

¹ Cœlorum ille exercitus innumerabilis. *Ilatio, in Sexto Dom. post Octavas Epiph. Domini.* (I. 268).

² Sine fine laudetur, parili concentu, cum Angelis et Archangelis laudantibus, atque ita dicentis. *Ilatio, in Quarto Dom. de Adventu Domini.* (I. 135).

³ Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth; Pleni sunt cœli et terra gloria Majestatis Tuae: Osanna Filio David; Benedictus Qui venit in Nomine Domini; Osanna in excelsis. Agyos, Agyos, Agyos, Kyrie O Theos. *Sanctus, in Ordinario Missæ.* (I. 549).

⁴ Accedam ad Te in humilitate spiritus mei. *In Ordinario Missæ.* (I. 113).

⁵ Reatu licit trepidi, sed Tuâ freti misericordiâ, * * non abscondimus vulnera, * * sana nos Sacrificio. *Post Pridie, in Secundo Dominico post Octavas Epiphaniæ.* (I. 251).

⁶ Domine Deus meus, da mihi Corpus et Sanguinem Filii Tui, Domini nostri, Jesu Christi, ita sumere, ut * * remissionem omnium peccatorum merear accipere, et Tuo Sancto Spiritu replei. *In Ordinario Missæ.* (I. 120).

⁷ Et, in futuro [sæculo], consequantur vitæ æternæ coronam. *Post Pridie, in Sexto Dominico post Octavas Epiphaniæ Domini.* (I. 273).

⁸ Vere Sanctus et Benedictus es, Deus Pater Omnipotens, Qui Dominum Nostrum Jesum Christum, in assumptione (m) humanitatis, mortem fecisti subire. *Post Sanctus in Secunda Feria Paschæ.* (I. 490).

⁹ Pro totius salute mundi ad nos misisti. *Post Sanctus, in Quinto Dominico Quadragesimæ.* (I. 376).

by His Cross and Passion, bare the burden of our sins, and made an end of atoning sacrifices by that One Oblation of infinite worth ; Christ the Lord, and our Eternal Redeemer.¹

WHO the night before He suffered took Bread and giving thanks, blessed and brake it, and gave it to His disciples, saying, Take, Eat, This is My Body, which is given for you; As often as ye eat This, Do it in Remembrance of Me.

Likewise, after supper, He took the Cup, saying, This is the Cup of the New Testament in My Blood, which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sins; As often as ye drink This, Do it in Remembrance of Me.

As often as ye shall eat This Bread, and drink This Cup, ye shall show forth the Lord's Death until He come in glory from Heaven. *Amen.*²

THUS doing, Most Holy Father,³ with these Thy Holy Gifts, which we now offer unto Thee,⁴ we set forth the Death of Thine Only-Begotten Son, by which we were redeemed, as He commanded us to do, until He Himself should come.⁵

¹ Qui passione Crucis Suae, allevat pondus iniquitatis nostrae, et dat finem piaculis per Oblationem officii singularis * * Christus Dominus ac Redemptor Aeternus. *Post Sanctus, in Quarto Dominico Quadragesimae.* (I. 354).

² Qui pridie quam pateretur, accepit panem, et, gratias agens, benedixit, ac fregit deditque discipulis Suis, dicens, Accipite et Manducate, Hoc est Corpus Meum, Quod pro vobis tradetur; Quotiescumque manducaveritis; Hoc facite in Meam Commemorationem.

Similiter et Calicem postquam coenavit, dicens, Hic est calix Novi Testamenti in Meo Sanguine, Qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum; Quotiescumque biberitis, Hoc facite in Meam Commemorationem.

Quotiescumque manducaveritis Panem hunc, et Calicem istum biberitis, Mortem Domini annuntiabitis, donec veniat in claritate (m) de Caelis. *Amen. In Ordinario Missae.* (I. 550-553).

³ Hoc agentes * * Pater Sancte. (I. 491).

⁴ Hæc dona Tua * * in Altare Tuum, Panis ac Vini Holocausta proponimus. *Post Pridie Nativitate Domini Nostri Jesu Christi.* (I. 189).

⁵ Hoc agentes, apud Te, Pater Sancte, Redemptricem Nostrum Unigeniti Tui Mortem, sicut Ipse præcepit, usque in Adventum Ipsius, nuntiamus. *Post Pridie, in Secundâ Feria Paschæ.* (I. 487).

Having in remembrance His Glorious Passion, and Resurrection and Ascension;¹

Rendering unto Thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same.²

AND we most humbly beseech Thy Majesty, that Thou wouldst send down Thy Holy Ghost, with the fulness of Thy blessing, upon³ these Thy gifts and creatures of Bread and Wine;⁴ that we, receiving them according to our Saviour Jesus Christ's Holy Institution,⁵ may be partakers of His Most Blessed Body and Blood.⁶

WE earnestly pray Thee, O Heavenly Father, most mercifully to accept this our sacrifice⁷ of praise and thanksgiving.⁸ And here we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies to be a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice unto Thee;⁹

¹ Simulque Præclaræ Passionis, et Resurrectionis, et in Cælos Ascensionis, Memoriam facientes. *Post Prædicationem in Quinto Dominico Quadragesimæ* (I. 370).

² Completis nostræ redemptionis et Tuæ gratiæ documentis, referentes, Tibi gratias, benedicimus Te. *Post Prædicationem in Septimo Dominico post Pentecosten*. (I. 643).

³ Majestatem Tuam supplices rogamus, ac petimus, ut in his Sacrificiis benedictionum Tuarum plenitudo descendat, et infundas in Eis imbrem Spiritus Sancti, de Cælis. *Post Prædicationem in Quinto Dominico Quadragesimæ*. (I. 376).

⁴ In Altare Tuum, Panis ac Vini Holocausta, proponimus. *Post Prædicationem in Festo S. Mathiæ Apostoli*. (I. 727). Ut his Creaturis superpositis Altario Tuo Spiritum Sanctiificationis infundas. *Post Prædicationem in Festi Corporis Domini*. (I. 627).

⁵ Servantes preceptum Unigeniti Tui. (I. 627).

⁶ Da mihi Corpus et Sanguinem Filii Tui, Jesu Christi, ita sumere. *Oratio in Ordinario Missæ*. (I. 566.) Corda Nostra, Corporis et Sanguinis Filii Tui Domini Nostri commixtione purificas. *Post Prædicationem in Quinto Dominico Paschæ*. (I. 586).

⁷ Te ergo, Summe Pater, exposcimus, ut hanc * * hostiam * * e manibus nostris, placatus accipias. *Post Prædicationem in Quarto Dominico de Adventu Domini*. (I. 135).

⁸ Benedic et Sanctifica hoc sacrificium laudis, quod Tibi oblatum est. *Oratio in Ordinario Missæ*. (I. 528).

⁹ Per veram fidem, rectumque dilectionem, vivam Tibi preparemur in hostiam. *Post Prædicationem in Dominico in Ramis Palmarum*. (I. 400). *Romans xii, 1.*

humbly beseeching Thee, that we, and all others who shall be partakers of this Holy Communion,¹ may worthily receive the Most Precious Body and Blood of Thy Son Jesus Christ, and be filled with Thy heavenly grace,² and that He may evermore dwell in us, and we in Him.³

We come before Thee in a spirit of Humility, and with contrite hearts, May we be accepted Lord by Thee, and may what we offer Thee be pleasing in Thy sight,⁴ through Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord, Who liveth and reigneth with Thee, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, one God, ever world without end. *Amen.*⁵

THE Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. *Amen.*⁶

The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. *Amen.*⁷

OUR Father, Who art in Heaven, etc.⁸

WE thank Thee, O God the Father Almighty, that Thou hast deigned to feed us,⁹ *who have duly received these Holy Mysteries,*

¹ Ut quicumque ex hoc Corpore libaverimus, sumamus nobis *medelam animæ*. *Post Fride in Feria Secunda Paschæ*. (I. 492).

² Da mihi Corpus et Sanguinem Filii Tui, Domini nostri, Jesu Christi, ita sumere, ut per Illud remissionem omnium peccatorum merear accipere, Tuo et Sancto Spiritu repleri. *Oratio in Ordinario Missæ*. (I. 566).

³ St. John xiv., 20. I. John, iv., 13

⁴ In spiritu humilitatis, et in animo contrito, suscipiamur Domine a Te, et sic fiat sacrificium nostrum, ut a Te suscipiamur hodie, ut placeat Tibi Domine Deus. *In Ordinario Missæ*. (I. 112).

⁵ Per Dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum, Filium Tuum, Qui Tecum vivit et regnat, in unitate Spiritus Sancti, Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. *Amen. Oratio in Ordinario Missæ*. (I. 119).

⁶ Corpus et Sanguis Domini nostri, Jesu Christi, custodiat corpus et animam meam in vitam æternam. *Amen. In Ordinario Missæ*. (I. 566). Quod pro vobis tradetur. (I. 560)

⁷ Sanguis Domini nostri, Jesu Christi, custodiat corpus et animam meam in vitam æternam. *Amen. In Ordinario Missæ*. (I. 566). Quis pro vobis, et pro multis effundetur. (I. 551).

⁸ Pater noster, etc. (I. 119).

⁹ Refecti Christi corpore et sanguine pariter, quia sanctificati, Deo Patri Omnipotenti gratias referamus. *Oratio in Ordinario Missæ*. (I. 120).

*with the spiritual*¹ food of the most Precious Body and Blood of Thy Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ; Grant that this may not turn to our judgment and condemnation, but may profit to our salvation, and the healing of our souls unto life eternal,² through the same, Thy Son, Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*³

O LORD our God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, make us ever to seek and to love Thee, and may we have grace, through this Holy Communion which we have received, nevermore to draw back from Thee, but ever to do those things that are pleasing in Thy sight;⁴ For Thou art God, and beside Thee there is none else, world without end.⁵ *Amen.*

GLORY be to God on High,⁶ etc., etc.

THAT peace which our Lord Jesus Christ, when He ascended up on High, left to His disciples, be ever with you in all its fulness.⁷

And the Blessing of God the Father Almighty, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, descend upon you, and remain with you always. *Amen.*⁸

¹ From the American Liturgy.

² Corpus Domini Nostri, Jesu Christi, Quod accepimus, et Sanctus Sanguis Ejus, Quem potavimus, non veniat nobis ad judicium, nec ad condemnationem, sed proficiat ad salutem, et ad remedium animarum nostrarum, in vitam æternam. *Amen. Oratio in Ordinario Missæ* (I. 567).

³ Per Dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum, Filium Tuum. *Oratio in Ordinario Missæ.* (I. 119).

⁴ I. John, iii., 22.

⁵ Domine Deus Meus, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus, fac me Te semper querere et diligere, et a Te, per hanc Sanctam Communionem quam sumpsi, nunquam recedere, quia Tu es Deus, et præter Te non est Alius, in sæcula sæculorum. *Amen. Oratio in Ordinario Missæ.* (I. 120).

⁶ Gloria in Excelsis Deo, etc.

⁷ Jesus Christus Dominus, pacem quam ad coelos remeans discipulis Suis tradidit, integram in vobis illibatamque conservet. *Benedictio in Ascensione Domini.* (I. 605).

⁸ Benedictio Dei Patris Omnipotentia, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, descendat super hanc. *In Ordinario Missæ.* (I. 507).

CHARLES R. HALE.

THE BOARD OF MISSIONS.

THE BOARD OF MISSIONS is a body second only in its importance to the General Convention. The latter is the legislative body of the Church, the former is to a certain extent the executive. To it is intrusted the great work of Church extension, outside, and indeed in many instances within, the regularly organized Dioceses. We have received the report of the last Annual Meeting of the Board ;¹ and propose in this article to give from it some account of the work that has been done in the past ; and then to present a few thoughts and suggestions on Missionary work, especially in the Foreign department.

First it may be useful to describe the organization of the Board of Missions, for we have reason to believe that many, even of our Clergy, are not familiar with its Constitution and manner of working.²

The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, was organized by the General Convention in 1821, and incorporated by the State of New York, May 13, 1846.

MEMBERS.

The Society is considered as comprehending all persons who are members of this Church.

BOARD OF MISSIONS, HOW APPOINTED.

The General Convention, which represents the whole Church, appoints, at every Triennial Meeting, a Board of clerical and lay members, who, together with the Bishops of the Church, constitute the BOARD OF MISSIONS OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

¹ Proceedings of the Board of Missions, of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, at their Fortieth Annual Meeting, held in New York, October, 1875. pp. 280.

² Taken by permission from Whittaker's Church Almanac for 1876.

FUNCTIONS OF THE BOARD.

To the Board of Missions is intrusted the supervision of the general missionary operations of the Church, with power to establish Missionary stations, appoint Missionaries, make appropriations of money, and regulate the conducting of Missions. *The Board meets once a year.*

THE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN COMMITTEES,

are appointed by the Board of Missions. Each consists of eight persons, four clergymen and four laymen, who, together with the Bishop of the Diocese in which the Committees are located, the Treasurer of each committee (*ex officio*), and the Secretary and General Agent of each committee (*ex officio*), constitute, respectively, the Domestic and Foreign Committees. During the recess of the Board of Missions, the whole administration of the general missionary work, in their respective departments, is referred to these committees, subject to the regulation of the Board.

SECRETARIES AND GENERAL AGENTS.

The Board of Missions appoints for each Committee a Secretary and General Agent, who is the Executive officer of the Committee, and (*ex officio*) a member of the Committee.

HOME MISSIONS TO COLORED PEOPLE.

There exists, during the will of the Board of Missions, and by its appointment, the "Commission of Home Missions to Colored People," to which is committed the religious and other instruction of the Freedmen.

INDIAN COMMISSION.

There exists, by appointment of the Domestic Committee, acting by request of the General Convention and under instructions from the Board of Missions, an Indian Commission, charged with the oversight and care of the Indian Missionary work of the Church.

WOMAN'S AUXILIARY.

The Woman's Auxiliary, organized by the Secretaries of the several departments at the instance of the Board of Missions, aids the work of the Board in all its departments, Domestic, Foreign, Freedmen, and Indian.

These are the several departments of the work of the Board of Missions, which Board, as above set forth, acts in behalf of the DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The following ARTICLE OF THE CONSTITUTION of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church is of interest in connection with the foregoing:

ARTICLE 11.—For the guidance of the Committees, it is declared that the missionary field is always to be regarded as one—THE WORLD—the terms Domestic and Foreign being understood as terms of locality, adopted for convenience. *Domestic*

Missions are those which are established *within*, and *Foreign Missions* are those which are established *without*, the territory of the United States.

From the Report of the Proceedings we have drawn up a synopsis of the general work of the year ending Oct. 1st, 1875:

GENERAL MISSIONARY RECEIPTS.¹

Domestic Missions.....	\$160,406 18
Indian Commission.....	50,101 21
Home Missions to colored people.....	14,282 45
Foreign Missions.....	89,724 74
Total.....	\$314,514 58

MISSIONARY STAFF AND WORK.

DOMESTIC.

General—Bishops, 10; Missionaries, 202; Stations in 40 Dioceses and Jurisdictions, 218.

Indian Commission.—Bishop, 1; Presbyters, (White, 6; Indian, 1;) 7. Deacons, (White, 2; Indian, 1;) 3—11.

Catechists and Teachers—Indian, 12; White, (Male, 5; female, 13;) 18—30.

Candidates for orders, 6.

Missions, 7 (including 13 stations).

Baptisms of Indians (adults, 21; infants, 99) 120; average attendance at churches, 650; at schools, 352.

Home Missions to Colored People—Schools and Missions, 31; teachers, 54; pupils, 3,000.

FOREIGN.

West African Mission—Expenses, \$24,450 87.

White Presbyters, 3; Liberian Presbyters, 3; Native Presbyter, 1; Liberian Deacons, 4; Native Deacon, 1; White (female) Teachers, 5; Liberian Catechists or Teachers, 4; Native Catechists or Teachers, 9. Total, 30. Attending Public Worship at the various stations (average) 1,124; Baptisms, (infants, 67; adults, 23)—90; Communicants, 297.

Greece, (Athens), Expenses, \$4,516 85. Principal, 1; Teachers, 12; Pupils, 609.

China Mission.—Expenses, \$39,989 44.

Location—(1) Shanghai and its suburbs. (2) Wuchang. (3) Hankow. (4) Peking. Foreign Missionaries, 7 (6 Presbyters, 1 Deacon); Foreign Missionary Physician, 1; Foreign (female) Missionaries, 8; Native Presbyters, 2; Native Deacons, 2; Native Catechist, 1. Total, 21. Baptisms (adults, 29; infants, 17) 46. Confirmed, 25; Communicants (native) 170; Pupils, 490.

¹It will of course be understood that besides these, large sums are given for Diocesan and other missions, in the several States, with which "The Board of General Missions" has nothing to do. In future, under a new provision of the By-Laws, these will also be reported, so as to show *all* the Missionary work of the Church.

Japan Mission.—Expenses, \$3,180 14.

Location—(1) Yedo. (2) Osaka.

Ordained Foreign Missionaries, 5 (1 Bishop, 4 Presbyters); Foreign Missionary Physician, 1; Foreign (female) Missionaries, 2. Total, 8.

Baptisms (Natives, infants, 4; adults, 18) 22. Confirmed, (Natives) 15; Communicants, (Natives), 20. Pupils, 181.

Haiti Mission.—Expenses, \$9,744 29. Churches and Missions, 10.

Bishop, 1; Native Presbyters, 6; Foreign Deacon, 1; Native Deacons, 2. Total, 10.

Baptisms, 36; Confirmed, 106; Communicants, 246; pupils, 184.

Joppa.—Expenses, \$1,725 65; Teacher, 1; Pupils, 45.

The cost of working these missions in the offices in New York is as follows :

DOMESTIC. —Salaries.....	\$9,084 16	
Office expenses.....	2,057 56	
Editorial help.....	749 98	
Rent of rooms.....	1,293 75	
Printing for office.....	362 50	
		\$13,547 96
<i>Indian Commission.</i> —Salaries ¹	\$6,287 10	
Expenses.....	699 38	
Printing.....	995 25	
		\$7,981 73
<i>Home Missions to Colored People.</i> —Salary.....	\$1,500 00	
Office t'v'l'g exp'ses, etc.,	358 48	
Rent of room.....	220 00	
		\$2,078 48
FOREIGN. —Salaries.....	\$9,450 04	
Office and traveling expenses.....	1,907 06	
Rent of rooms.....	1,246 50	
Printing and Missionary boxes.....	554 87	
		\$13,158 47
Total		\$36,766 63

This estimate does not include the expenditures for printing the *Spirit of Missions*, and other Missionary papers, which last year cost the Board over the receipts therefor, \$5,579 73. These publications, it is thought, really pay for themselves, by spreading information about missions.

In the "Proceedings of the Board," and in the Reports of the various Committees and Missionary Bishops, there is much mat-

¹We presume this must include the salary of the Bishop; but in the treasurer's report the items are not given; if so, the total office expenses will be that much less.

ter of deep interest. But we can only call attention to a few important points, begging our readers to procure and examine for themselves the "Proceedings of the Board," from which these brief statements are taken. It is greatly to be lamented that Churchmen do not more generally peruse these publications of their appointed agents.

"The Domestic Committee" report an increase in receipts of nearly *fourteen thousand* dollars.

"The Indian Commission" has a debt of more than *ten thousand* dollars, due, however, to increased expenditures, not to diminished receipts, these being in excess of those of the year previous.

"The Commission of Home Missions to Colored People," by a "prudent and wise administration," has kept its pecuniary responsibilities "within the means at its disposal." But the offerings made to this cause have been entirely unworthy of its vast importance, and the Commission has been obliged to refuse opportunities offered of extending their work.

"The Foreign Committee" report a falling off in receipts of over *ten thousand* dollars from those of last year, and over *twenty-four thousand* from those of the previous year. In consequence of this, the treasurer reports a debit balance of nearly *thirty-three thousand* dollars!

There is a great need of Bishops for Africa and China. Yet notwithstanding all disadvantages the missions progress. A great work has been accomplished by the completion of the translation of the Bible into the Mandarin dialect by the Rev. Dr. Schereschewsky.

A proposition was before the Board to simplify the machinery of its workings by having, in place of the various Committees and Commissions now existing, only one large Committee of twenty-four members, to which should be left the administration of all our Missionary work, both Domestic and Foreign. The Committee of thirteen, to which last year this matter was referred, reported adversely to it, and it was not carried. We cannot but regret the hasty action of the Board in so important a matter. Without intending any disrespect to the Committee of thirteen, we must say that they do not appear to have carefully considered the plan referred to them. We judge so from the fact that the

chief objection they make to it in their report is that under the proposed organization there would be but one Treasurer for all Departments, who "is to treat all contributions, from whatever quarter, alike, dividing them equally between the two branches of mission work." (p. xxix.) If this were correct it would indeed be sufficient to condemn that feature of the new plan. But on examining the plan itself on pages vi.-viii. of the "Proceedings" we do not find any such proposition. It was indeed proposed that there should be but one Treasurer, keeping separate accounts, but only that "all collections made upon general occasions, except such amounts as are specified by the donor for particular objects, be hereafter equally divided between the Domestic and Foreign Committees." At present such general collections are divided into four parts whereof the Foreign Committee receive but one. We are compelled to think that the Committee of thirteen had not with sufficient care read the plan referred to them.

Without being prepared to endorse fully the alterations proposed, we feel that they deserve more careful consideration than they have yet received. The present machinery of our mission work is too complex—there are too many branches, they interfere with each other. Congregations are wearied with the numerous claims set before them. There is more or less rivalry between these; and there is danger that they will receive support, not in proportion to their respective merits, but to the zeal and influence of their respective advocates. We think it a mistake to keep up the division of home missions under three heads; we should prefer that one Committee have charge, as formerly, of the whole field. Whether it would be wise to commit the care of Foreign Missions also to the same body, as proposed, we are not so sure; though we can see some good reasons for it. At any rate the more we can simplify the work the better it will be done and the more confidence will the Church have in it.

As regards Domestic Missions, we had some thoughts to lay before our readers, but we found nearly the same ideas so much better expressed in the *Spirit of Missions* for March, under the head of Centres of Mission Work (p. 138), that we beg of them, taking it for granted that they all have copies thereof, to read that. No one can be blamed for calling the attention of

the Church at large to the matter when so great an authority writes, "It is time, high time, that our whole system of Missionary operations were subjected to the scrutiny of the best thought of the Church, and to a recasting, as far as need be, by her best skilled hands,"

As regards Foreign Missions we offer a few thoughts, not by way of criticism, but rather as suggestions.

It is evident that the Church does not take the interest in these missions it formerly did. We attribute this to two causes: either a want of knowledge of what has been and is being accomplished; or a doubt as to the wisdom of the principles on which these missions have been carried on. We have now virtually but two great missionary fields, Africa and China, for Japan may be considered as a branch of the latter. We have been working these now for many years, at a great outlay of money and men; and yet, though stations have been established, churches built, natives converted, and even a few native ministers educated and ordained; we have failed permanently to establish the Church in either. All that we have done has been to *set up a branch of the PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, as one of the sects of Christians. Untaught by our own sad experience, we have too much treated these missions as our Mother Church for long years treated these colonies, kept them in submission to the home Church. We have not space to follow out this thought, and it is less necessary because it is one familiar to many of our clergy. What we ought to do is to establish, in Africa, China and Japan, independent branches of the Church Catholic, and let them make their own laws, not expecting them to conform in liturgy and discipline to our own forms and canons. That this will require some time is conceded, but we believe that if it had been kept in view from the first, we should not now be obliged to lament that our two chief missions are without a head. In China, we should come to an understanding with the English Church. Instead of having rival jurisdictions and Bishops, let us persuade them to unite with us in establishing an independent Church, aided, so long as necessary by our alms, but auto-cephalic,—not obliged to look back to England or America for laws or Bishops.

The two missions of which we write are so entirely different in character that they require entirely different treatment.

AFRICA seems to have a special claim upon us, and the Church ought to make vigorous efforts to renew and extend its work there. That something more is needed than the simple proclamation of the Gospel is self-evident. We find here a people in a very low state of mental development. They not only are deficient in words whereby to express theological ideas, but they are incapable of even conceiving those ideas. And yet they are a race of strong religious susceptibilities, very superstitious, and with great imitative faculties. We must carefully study their character and adapt to it our teachings. Moreover, we must with religious teachings combine the effort to elevate the race in the scale of civilization. We might take a lesson from the Jesuit Missions of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, which, to a certain extent were so successful in parts of Africa and South America. A careful study of these missions would enable us, while avoiding their faults, to profit by their example. Monteiro, in his book on "Angola," speaking of these missionaries, tells us:

"It is impossible not to admire and honor the wonderful work of those good men. Palpable signs of their industry, and of their example and teaching may still be seen everywhere in Angola. Plantations of cocoa-nut and oil-palm trees, the introduction of the coffee and other useful plants, the ruins of extensive monasteries with which were associated their schools of industrial arts, all bear witness to their good work, and last but not least, the love and veneration in which their name is held amongst all classes of blacks."

It appears to us that if we would accomplish any permanent good by our African Missions, we must, to some extent, imitate these examples. We believe our African Missionaries have made some attempts in this direction, but want of means has prevented any extensive efforts likely to command the respect of the natives. The Church at home needs instruction in this matter, and our wealthy men should be stirred up to an interest which would lead them to make endowments sufficient to organize and sustain establishments to become centres of civilization and religion for the surrounding districts, and in time become self-supporting. We believe if the matter were properly planned and presented to the Church it might be done. Have we not among us a portion

of the zeal which sent forth those Jesuits? We have the men willing to go, who will send them?

In CHINA we find an entirely different state of things. The Chinese ages ago, when Europe was still barbarian, achieved a certain degree of civilization, and there, as Bunsen expresses it, became crystalized, having made few advances beyond that point. But they are exceedingly tenacious of their ancient beliefs and usages, and very little impression has been made upon them by foreign missionaries. If we are not mistaken it is only among the lower class, that any converts have been made. A great feature of the Chinese character is the respect they have for learning. Rank depends upon intellectual standing. The Jesuit Missionaries took advantage of this, and by their mathematical, mechanical, and astronomical learning and skill, obtained a foot-hold in the empire, and access even to the Emperors. That they did not make the best use of their opportunities and that therefore no permanent results, in the establishment of Christianity, followed, does not militate against the wisdom of some of the means they used. We have not space to enter into a history of the causes of their failure and expulsion. We now would merely suggest that the means they used to attract the attention of the higher classes might be with equal success employed by ourselves in our missionary work. Let our missionaries be instructed not only in the higher learning of the Europeans, but also in that of the Chinese. Let them be able to show these men that they understand and appreciate all that is good in their system of ethics, for there is much that is admirable in the writings of their great teachers, that they have something to add to their system, that at the very point where it ends, Christian teaching takes up the thread, that its truths come in to supply spiritual wants, expressed, but not provided for, in the Chinese theology. But those who can successfully do this must be men who can command respect and attention by superior learning in those branches of human knowledge most esteemed by the Chinese. And if possible they should be natives. The effort should be, as already said, to build up a native Church, entirely independent of England or America. Hence a most essential requisite is the establishment, not merely of schools, but of a University for higher learning; with endow-

ments for professors and scholars. Can none be found who will aid in such work, by supplying the necessary funds?

And what has been said of China, is equally true of Japan. If our mission there is to accomplish anything permanent, it must be by establishing an independent Church with its colleges. Both nations have a high regard for learning; through this, Christianity is to be established among them.

But it is constantly asked, and by some even of the clergy who ought to know better, when there is so much to be done at home, ought we to try to do anything abroad?

The financial returns show that this argument, or rather assertion, has had great weight among our Church people. But it is a selfish one, and therefore presumably wrong. The great commission, "Go ye into all the world and make disciples of all nations," has never, that we have heard, been recalled. If we are a true branch of Christ's Church militant it remains of obligation upon us. The fact that we have so much to do at home does not exonerate us from this portion of our duty. These are our neighbors. Africa on one side, China on the other, have special claims upon us; claims so evident, the one from past wrongs done to the race, the other from increasing commercial intercourse and close relations with us through our Pacific coast, that it seems unnecessary to dwell upon them. To the English-speaking race is evidently now in God's providence given the high honor of making known His Gospel to the Heathen. They have peculiar facilities for the work. Other nations, as especially the Spanish, have had it in turn offered to them, they failed in their duty. As a consequence, we believe, their leading position was taken from them; and we are come into their place as the dominant commercial and colonizing race. Does not this carry with it a heavy responsibility? And may we not fear, lest, if from selfish considerations we neglect this great work, as a consequence our days of prosperity may be numbered! Home Missions may indeed have the first—they have not the only claim upon us:—

"These ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone."

DISCOURSES ON ARCHITECTURE. By *E. E. Viollet-le-Duc*, Author of "*Annals of a Fortress*," etc. Translated with an *Introductory Essay*, by *Henry Van Brunt*, Illustrated with *Plates and Woodcuts*. BOSTON: JAMES R. OSGOOD & Co. 1875. Large 8vo. pp. 517. \$8.00.

If there is one thing more than another in which the American people need instruction it is in the science of Architecture. Large sums of money are spent in public and private building, but with what poor results every one must see. We have hitherto been mere copyists, and that not always from the best models, best, that is, for the purpose for which the building was intended. What we need is not histories of Architecture, nor descriptions and plans of great buildings in other lands, but teachings of the principles which have guided those who designed and erected these. Underlying every great art are certain eternal principles, always true, always to be followed, yet so general that they admit of great variety in application, and the skill of the true artist is shown in fitting these and adapting them in practice to the special needs and circumstances under which his vocation is to be exercised. This is eminently true of Architecture. There are certain fixed principles underlying this art, true in every age, every country, and which it will be found have guided the design and erection of every truly great building; deviation from these is the cause of defects and failures when such exist. The variations in the manner of applying these principles, and the greater or less extent in which peculiar circumstances and tastes may have modified or caused a preponderance of one or the other, have originated the differing styles of Architecture. Chief of these general principles we may mention, utility or fitness of design to purpose, adaptability of design to material used, truth, beauty, and unity of purpose. All true Architecture is based on these. But infinite variety is found in their application. The Greek, of high æsthetic culture, building in the clear atmosphere and upon the hills of Attica, made the post and lintel the basis of his architecture, and the ornamentation of these became a chief part of his design. The Roman, filled with the sense of national greatness, made fitness of design to end, and grandeur, his chief objects; beauty or ornamentation was a secondary consideration. Hence while the beautiful, graceful, column cannot be taken away from the Greek Temple without destroying the building, it is evident that the Roman pillars are, in most cases, afterthoughts, expressly added for ornamentation; or, in the one case, we may say, that the ornamentation is the skeleton; in the other, the clothing. But we always find in both a certain adaptation of means and material to

end. The Greek did not dwell in his temple. The Roman building showed the purpose for which it was erected. And so, Gothic art discriminates between the Church, the Town Hall, and the Mansion; neither can be mistaken for the other.

Unfortunately in this country we have ignored these principles of art, or rather, in our buildings have not been guided by any principle, unless that of senseless imitation can be called one. We have lived in wooden Grecian Temples or Gothic Churches, as unfitted as possible for our climate and domestic purposes. Or we worship the Christian God in poor imitations (wood and stucco) of the Parthenon; or, smitten with the beauties of Gothic Architecture, we build for our parishes, churches modelled after the glorious Cathedrals of the middle ages, not at all suited for our worship or climate, vast shams, where often plaster and castings take the place of honest and loving work in stone or wood. Look for illustration of the truth of what has been said, at the new buildings, both public and private, lately erected in the city of New York, possessing neither fitness nor beauty of design.

We hail, therefore, with pleasure, any attempt at instructing our people in true principles of Architecture, and this is the object of the work we have under review. It is not a history of Architecture, says little or nothing about the various orders, but combats false principles and sets forth the true. It explains lucidly the difference in principle between Greek, Roman, Gothic, and Renaissance art. Showing what each has of value; and as the result of these investigations setting forth, "The principles and information necessary to Architects;" and the method of application for this Nineteenth Century. We give a quotation or two to show the value of the book.

"Art does not consist in this or that form, but in a principle, a logical method.

One of the essential qualities of Greek architecture is *clearness*; that is to say, the pure, transparent expression of purpose, and of the requirements and means of execution * * * Though we admire these different expressions of Greek Art, we must not reproduce them, for our life is very different. * * We should reason like them, but should not endeavor to speak the same language.

Style resides in the true and well-understood expression of a principle, and not in an immutable form.

The Architects of the lay school of the Middle Ages, always caused the form, the *appearance*, to be modified by the material and methods they employed. They never, moreover, gave to the saloon of a chateau the appearance of a church, to a hospital the aspect of a palace, to a city house the outside of a country house; every thing was adapted to its place and actual uses, and confessed its own character. * * In short *sincerity* was one of the most striking qualities of early Gothic Architecture;

and this same quality of *sincerity* is one of the essential conditions of style in all arts and also one of the conditions of economy as regards expense.

The architect must see in form only the expression of an idea. A form which admits of no explanation, or which is a mere caprice, cannot be beautiful, and every form which is not inspired by the structure ought therefore to be rejected.

If we imitated, not the *works* of ancient and mediæval architects, but the *spirit* with which they composed those works, in subjecting form to reason, according to the supreme law of good taste, we should have a distinctive and characteristic architecture of the Nineteenth Century."

We have no space for further quotations, and must refer the reader to the book itself, which we assure him will well repay perusal. We think, however, that the translator might with great advantage have reduced the size, and thus the cost, by omitting certain parts which refer to the French Academy, and have little if any application in this country. We suggest to the publishers that a condensed and cheaper edition would be very useful to aid in spreading among us a truer knowledge of the principles of Architecture. .

LIFE OF JOHN COLERIDGE PATTESON. *Missionary Bishop of the Melanesian Islands. By Charlotte Mary Yonge. In two volumes. 8vo.* LONDON: MACMILLAN & CO. pp. 582, 603. 1874.

THE STORY OF A FELLOW-SOLDIER. *By Frances Awdry. 24mo.* LONDON: MACMILLAN & CO.

LIFE OF BISHOP PATTESON. *Published under the direction of the Tract Committee. LONDON: CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE SOCIETY. 16mo. pp. 220.*

The ample biography, edited by Miss Yonge, has already made its way into many homes. It has singular merits. It is edited by an intimate friend of the murdered Bishop. It contains a remarkably full sketch of the missionary work in New Zealand and Melanesia. It has almost the minuteness and charm of an autobiography, being largely composed of Bishop Patteson's letters to his friends in England. It is also a delightful revelation of their English home life and unremitting love for the distant brother and relative. It has the atmosphere of the purest and best social life of the older civilization, blended with the superstitious and rude barbarian life of the South Sea Islanders. It gives the views of a calm, dispassionate, well-informed outsider upon all the burning questions which

have agitated the English Church during the last thirty years. It repeats the life of the primitive Church in the effort to win savages to Christianity. It contains a free handling by an impartial judge of the great principles which underlie missionary work. It gives the signal example of a life of absolute faith and contentment. The story breathes the freedom and breadth of a man who has been compelled to decide questions for himself. It is such a record as has not appeared since the early days of the Church, of a man who conquered obstacles and was equal to every emergency and yet never knew his greatness, and was only intent upon the discharge of his duty. It is most refreshing to see what little fuss Coleridge Patteson made in leading a noble and glorious life and in winning a martyr's crown. All this story is told in that simple narrative style, without the least affectation, which is always so interesting when the author has anything to say, and which is the greatest charm of literary work.

This life of Bishop Patteson touches our Christian work at so many points, and adds independent testimony upon so many questions of permanent interest, and sheds so much side-light upon the Church movements of the last thirty years, that the sainted Bishop may almost be said to have done more good by his death than by his life. He had been permitted at the early age of forty-four to plant and shape Christianity for the Melanesian Islands, so that the mission could go on without him. His martyr's death and the story of his life has quickened missionary activity wherever the English language is spoken. No sketches of missionary work more important than these volumes, more interesting, or dealing more with the large matters where Christianity blends with civilization, have been published in modern times. There is a wonderful charm in these letters. They picture the missionary's life; they have the freedom and unconscious grace which belongs to letters intended only for the home circle; they are freighted with suggestions and information upon subjects of permanent interest. You irresistibly mark the pages as you advance in the reading, and your heart is touched to tears by the pathos of the story. It is a book for young and old alike. It instructs while it amuses, and has that unique interest which always attaches to an unconsciously great career. We do not attempt to deal with the work in detail, because when one begins to quote he cannot stop, but the story rises so grandly among shining deeds of the thousands of noble lives given to the missionary cause in this century, and has so much of the inspiration of great heartedness and truthfulness, that we are unwilling, even at a late day, to let the books go further on their great mission without most cordial mention in these pages.

The "Story of a Fellow-Soldier" is the attempt to give the chief facts in Bishop Patteson's life in a form especially adapted for the young. It is well-written, gives thrilling pictures of the Bishop's life and work, and will do for children what Miss Yonge's memoir will do for adult readers in teaching the lessons of the Bishop's life.

The Life of Bishop Patteson, issued by the Tract Committee of London, has been almost superseded by the life and letters as published by Miss Yonge, but as a brief and rapid sketch of the Bishop's work, chiefly in his own words, and illustrated with cuts representing the scenes of his labors, it has permanent interest. In fact, no effort has been spared by those who knew him to place the career of this modern saint and hero faithfully before the world.

WORDS OF COUNSEL ON SOME OF THE CHIEF DIFFICULTIES OF THE DAY: *Bequeathed to the Church in the Writings of Samuel Wilberforce, late Lord Bishop of Winchester. Collected and arranged by Thomas Vincent Fosberry.* OXFORD AND LONDON: PARKER & CO. Crown 8vo. pp. 453. 1875.

SPEECHES ON MISSIONS. *By the Right Rev. Samuel Wilberforce, late Lord Bishop of Winchester. Edited by the Rev. Henry Rowley.* LONDON: W. W. GARDNER. NEW YORK: T. WHITTAKER. Crown 8vo. pp. 353. 1874.

These volumes, with two volumes of Essays from the Quarterly Review, are likely to be Bishop Wilberforce's permanent literary legacy to the Church. He was not a very learned man, not a great thinker, not a first-class literary worker. He was a statesman within the Church. He took the whole field within his grasp. He brought up the rear-guards. He held the strings of power. He was strong in action, and in the impulsive eloquence which inspires other men to action. His addresses and charges used to give the cue to Church policy, and he was always on the Church side of great questions. These extracts, arranged by Mr. Fosberry, with special reference to the questions of the hour, have more than a temporal value because they show a great deal of sagacity in the statement of Church principles and in the discernment of the needs of the age. They are theological in treating of the Holy Eucharist, and questions of Ritual; thoughtful and dogmatic without narrowness in dealing with questions of unbelief; clear-sighted in discerning the signs of the

times and the tendencies of the age; and wisely broad, catholic, statesman-like in the almost judicial fairness with which the great issues of the Church in the world are handled from the point of view of the Episcopate. It is in our thoughts to suggest the careful study of this volume to our own Bishops. The tendency among them to speak their mind upon social, religious and theological questions, if they are manly about it, is greatly encouraged. What the Church needs as much as anything, is the courageous plainness of honest thought upon the issues which are before us; and the Episcopate, from their disengaged position, have special advantages of outlook and calm observation, for speaking truthfully and wisely upon current topics. Yet this volume is one which is very useful to every clergyman. It shows how one of the great leaders of the Church thought and advised upon the questions which came before him. It has the breadth and experience which come from the knowledge of men, and is one of the most serviceable books recently issued from the English Church press. There is only one thing more for Mr. Fosberry to do, and that is to publish a companion volume of selections from the Bishop's charges and sermons, which bear upon the permanent work and great abiding principles of the Church. Such a volume could not fail of being very useful.

Almost as much may be said for the "Speeches on Missions," from another point of view. Bishop Wilberforce had wonderful felicity of statement in extempore speech. He kindled with his subject, struck out into general principles, spoke as a man of the age, and thrust home his points with wonderful power. These speeches are not only rich in facts and suggestions about the great missionary enterprises of the Church, but first class specimens of the rich, persuasive eloquence which wins attention and converts wherever it is uttered. The book has this further use for the clergy. Bishop Wilberforce's method is the right idea for modern preaching, and more useful hints can be got out of these pages for the guidance of the young deacon or priest, than out of many a volume of homilistics. His method is everything, and it is as perfect in its way as that of John Bright or Wendell Phillips.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE GOSPELS. *By Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D. Fifth Edition.* LONDON AND NEW YORK: MACMILLAN & Co. 1875. pp. 486.

This valuable work is required to be used as a text-book by the Examining Chaplains in some of the Dioceses, and it ought to be put in the hands of every student of Theology, and indeed of every clergyman. Will not some of our wealthy laymen take the hint and give a copy to at least each student in our seminaries?

CAMBRIDGE SERMONS. *Preached before the University. By the Rev. Edwin H. Abbott, D.D.* LONDON: MACMILLAN & Co. 8vo. pp. 159. 1875.

The advocates of science have had things very-much their own way in their bold, if not convincing, statements of the changes which the advance of scientific knowledge have introduced into our conceptions of the creation of the world and of man. The Church cannot oppose them until she can meet definite issues, and one of the painful things about the present religious life of many people, is their "terrible dread that the belief in a God may be exploded next year through the unearthing of some new fossil, demonstrative of the Darwinian theory, or that the Divinity of Christ may be subverted by the discovery of a couple of Uncial manuscripts." Dr. Abbott, in these sermons to the students at Cambridge, vigorously and boldly grapples with these questions which modern science has raised in regard to the integrity of our religion. He argues, from the point of view of one who accepts natural selection and the doctrine of evolution, that the essential truth of Christianity is unchanged by these new postulates, and while much which he says is only possible, the conjecture of a thoughtful and reverent writer, he has so honestly taken the burning questions of science in hand that they lose their formidable aspect, and seem but the necessary steps by which we arrive at the full truth. Dr. Abbott, in short, attempted to meet scientific sceptics, and doubters, on the ground of common sense and honest thought. His method is wise and assuring, though his statements are often too speculative for our acceptance; and his great point is to show that all these contributions of science only compel the readjustment of Biblical criticism, and do not oblige us to throw aside the Bible. His healthy, vigorous, manly tone and thought are very winning, and if he does not show the logical, he certainly points out the practical, way in which men may attain to a certain belief in the living God, and in His Christ. He conciliates his opponents, accepts the broadly established conclusions of science, and shows that they are in accordance with the plainest teachings of divine revelation. His matter is very much, but his method is more; and the sermons are worthy of careful study by the clergy for their compact and strong thought. They show a man who has gone through with these questions within himself, and feels kindly for those whose faith is obscured or troubled by any present doubts from science.

The first three sermons take up these subjects in a way not unlike and not superior to Dr. John Cotton Smith's treatment of the doctrine of evolution in the recent volume entitled "Christian Truth and Modern

Opinion." The other three are on Christian Work, Prayer, and the Signs of the Church. These are not less thoughtful or able than the others, and the last discourse is especially to be commended for its wide and practical sweep of thought. It is altogether the most able and thoughtful and outspoken volume of sermons which has recently been printed in England. It is all the better that it has gone a little out of the old paths in a strong sympathy with the best thought of the age, and challenges criticism, by its own independence of statement and of thinking.

ANGOLA AND THE RIVER CONGO. *By Joachim John Monteiro, with map and illustrations.* NEW YORK: MACMILLAN & Co. 1876. pp. 354. \$2.50.

If any take up this book expecting to be entertained by moving incidents of flood and field, they will be disappointed; in this respect it differs greatly from most narratives of African travel. The author heard of lions, but acknowledges he never saw one! He does, however, give a full and, so far as we can judge, truthful description of a country but little known, which, now that it has been ascertained that the Congo traverses nearly the width of the continent, must become of considerable importance, commercially. Angola belongs to Portugal and extends from the 5th to the 15th degree of South Latitude. The author was for many years employed in investigating the mineral resources of the country, especially its deposits of copper. In doing this he became familiar with its geological and botanical features and productions, and with the customs of the various tribes inhabiting it. He thus states candidly his conclusion: "from the mental constitution of the race, and the impossibility of ameliorating the climate I can see no hope of the negro ever attaining to any considerable degree of civilization." We think that this opinion is not quite consistent with what he had previously said of the partial success of the Jesuit Missions in civilizing the natives, some results being visible even to this day (p. 219). It would, by the way, be interesting and instructive to investigate the reason why these same Jesuit Missions, in various parts of the world, have for a time been seemingly so successful, and yet have produced so little permanent result.

What our author says of the character of the negro race in Africa is, however, well worthy of the consideration of those who have charge of missionary work among them. May it not be true, as he says, that the slow progress made is due to the attempt to teach too much, to give to a

half-developed race, theological teachings of abstruse ideas, fitted for only the highest intellects, instead of plain practical instruction in morality and industry? We quote the following as of interest in this connection.

"So long as missionary work consists of simply denominational instruction and controversy, as at present, it is mischievous and retarding to the material and mental development and prosperity of Africa. * * * Present Missions on the coast, I am sorry to say, will continue to be fruitless as long as they are not combined with industrial training. That was the secret of the success of the old Catholic Missionaries in Angola; they were traders as well, and taught the natives the industrial arts, gardening, agriculture, etc."

"On landing at Bonny from the steamer, we saw the pretty little Church and Schoolroom belonging to the Mission there, in which were a number of children repeating together over and over again, like a number of parrots, 'I know dat I hab a soul, because I feel someting widin me.' * * * Can any one believe for a moment that the instruction afforded by that Mission was of any avail, that the few irksome hours of repetition of texts, writing and reading, explanations of the Bible, etc. could in the least counteract the influence of the fetish house in the village, or the superstition and ignorance of the children's parents, etc."

Those who read for information rather than mere amusement will find this book worth perusing.

THE ABBÉ TIGRANE. *A tale from the French of Fabre. Translated by the Rev. Leonard Woolsey Bacon.* NEW YORK: T. WHITTAKER, 2 Bible House. pp. 272.

This is a strange story. We are at a loss to know whether it is written simply to show up the secret working of the system which practically leaves in the hands of the priesthood the election to the Episcopate, or whether there is not along with this apparent some hidden purpose. We can scarcely imagine that the marked contrast between the Bishop Monseigneur de Roquebrun and his rival Capdepon, nicknamed Tigrane, is designed "to point a moral." The one is drawn as mild, gentle, firm, wise, not to say crafty—is that Ultramontanism? the other as headstrong, rude, fierce, and unyielding—is that the Gallican? But leaving such questions out of the case, M. Ferdinand Fabre is an excellent story-teller, and Mr. Bacon has done his work as translator, excellently. Those who would like to see and know that there are some faults, some defects in the system, where the laity are supposed to have no voice, will do well to read the Abbé Tigrane. With whatever motive the book is taken up, we feel well assured that it will not fail to be read to the last word.

LIFE, LETTERS AND JOURNALS OF GEORGE TICKNOR. *Two volumes.*
 BOSTON. J. R. Osgood & Co. 8vo. pp. 532, 539. \$6.

These ample volumes cover three-quarters of a century and represent much of the best social and literary life of Europe and America. Mr. Ticknor had an exceptional experience. He enjoyed unusual social advantages at an early age; his youth came when Boston was a city of very modest dimensions and everybody knew his neighbors. He spent some years in Europe before he entered upon active life, and had sufficient fortune, largely increased by his marriage to Miss Anna Eliot in 1821, to enable him to follow his own inclinations. He visited the old world when the brilliant men of the early part of this century were at the zenith of their fame and was honored by their familiar acquaintance. His social habits and opportunities, combined with his intense love of learning, enabled him to return home as the most cultivated American of his day. He became a professor of belles-lettres and modern languages at Harvard University, and did an important work in remodelling that institution. He twice afterwards went to Europe, once in the service of the Boston Public Library, and these volumes are crowded to overflowing with accounts of the people he met and his impressions of them. Mr. Ticknor's claims as an author are founded upon two works, his "History of Spanish Literature," and the "Life of William H. Prescott." The first work is very ample in its learning, but fails in interest to the general reader. It is an authority in Spain, and is over-learned. His life of Prescott is one of the most delightful memoirs ever written. Mr. Ticknor was for many years the one American whom Europeans of culture first thought of on visiting this country. His large acquaintance abroad brought him this position, and his liberal hospitality enabled him to maintain it. The latter part of his life was specially employed in devising the plan of the Boston Public Library. Though he never filled any official position in the country, he was the intimate friend of men like Webster, and shared very warmly in efforts to uphold the government in the late war. He lived to be nearly eighty years old and died in Boston, Jan. 26th, 1871.

We miss in these volumes many personal details which often go with such memoirs. Mr. Ticknor was singularly reticent about his own work and let few into his secrets. The journals are given also in greater fulness than was necessary. Few care for elaborate descriptions of titled nobodies, and a severer editorial judgment would have been better; but with these abatements, the volumes can be commended as the most valuable memoirs of literary and social life which have been published for a generation.

MISCELLANIES, OLD AND NEW. *By John Cotton Smith, D.D.* NEW YORK: T. WHITTAKER, No. 2 BIBLE HOUSE. 1876. pp. 258.

Dr. Smith possesses two qualifications as a writer which are by no means so common as is generally supposed. He has a clear idea himself of what he wishes to say and he so says it that the reader also receives a clear conception of it. Too many modern writers, especially of essays, begin to write before they have themselves fully thought out and understood the vague notions floating through their minds; hence their writings are misty and incomprehensible. Some people think this a mark of genius and depth of thought; we consider it rather an evidence of inaccurate thinking, and deficiency in early training.

These six essays, though written at different periods, are not altogether disconnected, but as the author tells us in the preface, "a unity of purpose guided their preparation."

That purpose being to show the bearing of certain literary, social, scientific and religious questions which, from time to time, have interested the public mind, upon great principles which underlie all history and life, and find their fullest expression and embodiment in Christianity.

The object of the first essay, on "Homer and the Homeric Age," is to show from these early poems, the existence of a primeval religion, an historic one, becoming indeed gradually corrupted, but still retaining traditions of Messianic ideas. The second essay, on "The Suspense and restoration of Faith," is on the whole the ablest one of the series. It is an argument, and a strong one, in favor of the stability of Christianity, showing its permanent elements to be "the evangelical faith and the apostolic order." "And that the faith stands related to the Church as a visible and perpetual institution in society." We commend this essay to those who have felt their faith in the stability of our religion and Church shaken by the false philosophy of the day.

The other subjects treated are. "The Oxford Essays, and Baden Powell on Miracles;" "The United States a Nation," a brief but sufficient historic investigation "of the nature of that union which was established between the several States at the formation of the Constitution;" "Evolution and a Personal Creator," an investigation of the relations of Christianity to scientific inquiry and discovery; and "Dante," setting forth some of the principles of Christian reform.

Our pleasure in reading this volume has been greatly enhanced by the beautiful manner in which it is printed.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MRS. FLETCHER. *With Letters and other Family Memorials.* BOSTON: ROBERTS BROTHERS. Small 8vo. pp. 384. 1875.

This is a volume of family memoirs. It unfolds the character of a singularly happy home, and, while we have many glimpses of distinguished people, the whole atmosphere is that of domestic life. Mrs. Fletcher was a woman of great personal beauty and excellent mind, and was permitted at Edinburgh and elsewhere to enjoy the friendship of the people best worth knowing. She was in Scotland what Madame de Staël was at Paris, only she avoided the worldliness of her more brilliant compeer. Her principle was to live above the common-place estimate of social life in England. She called out the reality of those she conversed with by the intuitive sympathy she felt and expressed for what was real, beautiful and true. She attached herself strongly to those who had earnestness of purpose and singleness of heart, and was loved by men and women as few so beautiful have ever been, the affection of good women forming a great part of the happiness of her life. She was the friend of the late George Ticknor, and knew intimately such men as Wordsworth, Arnold, Brougham, Campbell, Scott, Chalmers, and such women as Mrs. Barbauld, Joanna Baillie, Miss Martineau, Mrs. Gaskell, and many others. If there is no pretension about these memoirs, they give a view of eminent people upon their less known side, and their simplicity and rightness of tone help to make a truly charming volume.

CARTOONS. *By Margaret J. Preston.* BOSTON: ROBERTS BROTHERS. 16mo. pp. 246. 1875.

The production of a volume of good poetry is a notable event, and Mrs. Preston comes nearer to meriting this distinction than any one we know of in America during the last year. She reminds one of Robert Browning, in her dramatic studies, but has none of his obscurity. The book has several parts, cartoons from the life of the old masters, from the life of the legends, from the life of to-day. The verse has vigor and intense expression, and the ballads have the genuine ring. There are few weak lines, and the thought is not tortured by an attempt to express what refuses the narrowness of words. It would be exaggeration to say that all of these poems will live, but it is simple truth to add that some of them will find their way into the permanent part of literature. It is seldom that a first volume of poetry shows better promise.

NOTITIA EUCHARISTICA. *A Commentary Explanatory, Doctrinal, and Historical, on the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion, According to the Use of the Church of England. By W. E. Scudamore, M.A. Second Edition. Revised and Enlarged. LONDON: RIVINGTONS. 1876. pp. 1055.*

We believe this new edition of Mr. Scudmore's well-known work on the Communion office to be on the whole the most complete and accurate treatise on the subject that has yet been written. In it will be found nearly all the latest judgments of the English Courts on the ritual questions which have so disturbed the peace of the Church; and a vast fund of learning is accumulated on every point connected with the Liturgy. The various uses and portions of the service are traced down from the earliest Liturgies and illustrated by numerous quotations from the Fathers of the Church. One thing we commend in this book is its fairness. Mr. Scudamore does not, so far as we have noticed, allow his own likings to influence his statements. While frankly confessing that his own feelings are in favor of a certain form or observance, he never attempts to ignore the fact, when the weight of authority or of evidence is against him. We may refer, as an example, to his long and learned investigation into the use of Altar lights at the celebration of the Holy Communion. He allows that the custom was unknown in the early Church, candles or lamps being never used except when really needed to give light. (It must be borne in mind that the early Christians were compelled to worship at night or in dark cemeteries.) He quotes from Tertullian, Lactantius, Nazianzen and others, passages showing that they reprobated every "symbolical or ritual use" of lights "as a senseless mode of honoring the Gods." Jerome is the first who refers to their use, at the reading of the Gospels; but he says this was done only in some Eastern Churches; denying that there was any such custom in the West. The first mention of it in the West is by S. Isidore, Bishop of Seville, A.D. 636. Our author enters into a full examination of the alleged authority for the use of Altar Lights in the English Church, which we have not space to relate, but the conclusion at which he arrives is that the final decision, on appeal, of the "Judicial Committee of the Privy Council" is right; by which "Altar Lights were declared illegal, as being neither '*ornaments* within the words of the Rubric' * * nor '*subsidiary to the service.*'" Yet while thus honestly stating this as "not misrepresenting the mind of the Church of England"—he candidly says:

"It is a painful conclusion to many, and perhaps every well-informed and impartial person will think that their (Altar Lights) permitted restoration in our day would have

been attended by nothing but good. * * We may wish that our Church had been led to another determination in the exercise of her authority; but it is our plain duty in things indifferent to submit our opinions and predilections to her law."

We cannot but feel great confidence in such a writer. He presents in this a wide contrast to John Henry Blunt, who, in his "Annotated Book of Common Prayer," boldly takes the whole matter for granted, asserting "The symbolical use of lighted tapers in Divine Service is of Primitive Antiquity;" and then mentions, without giving his authority, a custom of the Sixth Century of lighting tapers at Baptism, cites Athanasius, the third Apostolic Canon, and St. Jerome as witnesses, but without any quotations. He omits to say that the Apostolic Canon¹ merely enumerates "Oil for the lamps," among the things which may be "brought to the Altar at the time of the Holy Oblation;" and that Jerome, as Scudamore and Bingham tell us, speaks of lights as a novelty, and that he is the only early authority who mentions them at all. Surely it is not honest on such insufficient authority to call this a use of "Primitive Antiquity." Nor is it fair to cite an injunction of Edward VI. (A.D. 1547) as authorizing, "two lights upon the high altar before the Sacrament," when, as Scudamore shows, other and later injunctions repealed that.

We have been led to dwell more at length on this subject than we intended, but our apology must be that it shows fairly, we think, the difference in the two books, both being frequently appealed to, and the result of the comparison in our own mind has been to lead us to distrust Blunt when his prejudices stand in the way, and to put confidence in Scudamore's assertions. We recommend all who wish a trustworthy and thorough treatise on the Holy Communion Service to procure the *Notitia Eucharistica*. We should add that this last edition contains a great deal of valuable new matter.

THE CHILDREN'S TREASURY OF ENGLISH SONG. *Selected and arranged with notes by Francis Turner Palgrave, etc.* NEW YORK: MACMILLAN & Co, 1875. pp. 302. \$1.25.

Though intended for children, those of a "larger growth" will be glad to have this little volume. We do not know of any book containing so much good poetry in so small a space. The name of the compiler is a sufficient guarantee of the judiciousness of the selections. It is admirably calculated to foster a love of good poetry in the young. We have found many of our old favorites, and some rare old pieces on its pages. It would be an excellent book for a birthday gift from some Uncle or Aunt, and the young people will thank us for the hint.

¹ These Canons are not older than the beginning of the Third Century.

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH: *from the Apostolic Age to the Reformation, A.D. 64-1517.* By James C. Robertson, M.A. A new and revised edition in eight volumes. POTT YOUNG & Co., COOPER UNION, NEW YORK.

Mr. Robertson has furnished what has been greatly needed, a trustworthy and readable Church History. Numerous Church Histories have indeed been written, but none that fully meet the want of the Church. Every minister has felt the difficulty, when asked by some layman to recommend a Church History, what book to suggest. Neander's is rather a history of the working of the human mind in its relations to Christianity. Mosheim and Kurtz and Gieseler, and others like them, are better suited for text books to be used by the theological student, than for the general reader. They are epitomes, not histories. And then these do not fairly set forth the true origin and establishment of the Church, are not written by Churchmen. Robertson's work is eminently readable, it is full of interest. His style is clear and flowing, and he presents his subjects in an orderly manner; yet without falling into the error of making such artificial sub-divisions as will confuse the reader. He is also very fair in his statements, does not write to establish any favorite dogmas, or party views, but simply to narrate events as they really happened. A good example of his clearness will be found in the account given in the first volume of the early heresies. These have always been a puzzle to the student. A young friend to whom we lent the volume assured us that he now for the first time had a clear notion of what they were all about, that he found it fully as interesting reading as Gibbon, and that he meant to go on and peruse the whole work. As there is no branch of history about which the general student is less informed than that of the Christian Church, especially the period narrated by Mr. Robertson, that previous to the Reformation, the importance of a correct and full, yet readable, Church History will be felt. This "new and revised edition," cheaply but well printed, puts it within the reach of all. Every Public Library ought to have a copy; nor can a Private Library of any pretensions be considered complete without it.

MONUMENTAL CHRISTIANITY, *or the Art and Symbolism of the Primitive Church, as Witnesses and Teachers of the One Catholic Faith and Practice,* by John P. Lundy, *Presbyter.* NEW YORK: J. W. BOUTON, 706 BROADWAY. 1876. Large 8vo. pp. 453.

W. M. HUNT'S TALKS ON ART. *Edited by Helen M. Knowlton.* BOSTON: H. O. HOUGHTON & Co. Octavo pamphlet, pp. 75. 1875.

We notice this quaint pamphlet here not specially for its incisive and graphic instructions on art, though these are good enough to make it worth the buying by every lover of drawings and pictures, but for the wonderful aptness and beauty and force of Mr. Hunt's talks as applied to literary art or expression. All branches of high art are closely allied, and very much which Mr. Hunt says in regard to painting or sketching or drawing is equally true of writing, and may be applied especially to the making of sermons. The intense feeling for truthfulness, simplicity, reality, strength, is expressed in terse, brief sentences, with that felicity which belongs to the man who is absolute master of his art, as indeed Mr. Hunt is; and it is not surprising that artists in Europe as well as America have requested the publication of these pregnant sayings as they were jotted down on scraps or paper by a faithful disciple. Such sentences as these are specimens of his intelligent dogmatism: "Art is all that remains of man;" "Inspiration is nothing without work;" "Nothing is firm but the positiveness of truth;" "Ignore what Nature ignores;" "What we do best is done against difficulties;" "Chase your shadow—but *don't run after originality*;" "you can't help doing *your own way*;" but even these lose by being taken from their suggestive setting, and no quotations will do justice to the force and aptness and incisive power of Mr. Hunt's sharply outlined ideas.

A MANUAL OF ENGLISH LITERATURE, HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL. *With an Appendix on English Metres.* By Thomas Arnold, M. A. BOSTON: GINN BROTHERS. 12mo. pp. 549, \$2.

Gilman's *First Steps in English Literature* should precede the use of Mr. Arnold's book, which, to our mind, is the best work on literature for practical use in the language. It contains fully enough an historical sketch of authors and, what is of special importance, an explanation of the critical distinctions of literature, with abundant illustrations. The appendix on English Metres is an excellent idea, and altogether this is probably the book which any teacher or private student can use with most satisfaction. The American edition is well printed and published in an attractive shape. If such a work could always be followed by the late Prof. Reed's "*English Literature*," the benefit would be incalculable.

THE TEXT-BOOK OF POETRY. *By the Rev. Henry N. Hudson.* BOSTON :
GINN BROTHERS. 12mo. pp. 704. \$2.

THE TEXT-BOOK OF PROSE. *By the same.* 12mo. pp. 648. \$2.

Mr. Hudson has done a substantial service to the cause of the higher education in these beautiful volumes. They are intended for use in schools and classes, and are prepared upon the principle that it is best to become well acquainted with one author, and that the scraps which are put into ordinary reading books are worse than useless for the purposes of education. Few will deny that Mr. Hudson is right, and his work in these volumes is very thoroughly done and speaks for itself. In the volume of poetry, he extracts very largely from Wordsworth, giving even some of his longest poems entire. Coleridge is well represented, and Burns, Beattie, Goldsmith, and Thomson have a fair share of attention. He furnishes sketches of the authors' lives, with notes and glossaries in both volumes. The text-book of prose takes the largest space for Burke, and represents Webster and Bacon very liberally. In dealing both with prose and poetry one is struck with the wisdom and rightness of the selections. They are, indeed, made by one who has himself been taught, if not inspired by his most careful study of Shakespeare, and he constantly illustrates his catholic and right taste in these volumes. No man among us could have done his work better, and no man has more faithfully acted upon the principle which he so warmly commends to others. Himself a vigorous and incisive writer, he has had an instinctive feeling for what cultivates a literary taste in the young, and the practical use of these volumes is next to having the benefit of his personal guidance in English literature.

ÆS PASTORIA. *By Frank Parnell, M.A., Rector of Oxted.* LONDON :
RIVINGTONS. NEW YORK : POTT, YOUNG & Co. pp. 46.

The size of a book is not any evidence of its value. We have read large volumes on the ministerial work which, for real suggestive value and common sense, are not to be compared to this little book. It is as full of matter as an egg is of meat. It contains short and pregnant aphorisms on the Pastoral office, under the heads of, Management of a Parish; Hints on Sermons; Hints on Reading. These are, some original, others taken from authors ancient and modern, and all admirably selected, and tersely expressed.

LETTERS AND SOCIAL AIMS. *By Ralph Waldo Emerson.* BOSTON: J. R. OSGOOD & Co. 16mo. pp. 314. 1876. \$2.

Mr. Emerson as a literary man and as a thinker stands deservedly high. He must be taken as he is and not as we could wish him to be. His religious views are far from being those of Churchmen, and yet he is so healthy and true that up to a certain point we can fully agree with him. He is an outside, unshackled thinker. His place in American literature is a distinguished one. He has taught very largely the minds of the present generation, has worked clear of much of his early transcendentalism, has reached the ripe, mellow sense of advanced age, and his latest book is in some respects the best volume of essays which has come from his pen. Its literary character is very fine, and its ethical tone is warmer and more personal than heretofore. Each person will pick out what he most likes, and every thoughtful reader will here find something to his taste, but we have found the essays on Eloquence, Immortality, and the Progress of Culture, especially interesting. Mr. Emerson anticipates your thought and enunciates it in his own quaint, terse way, and these essays are full of this characteristic.

ADDRESSES TO YOUNG CLERGYMEN. *By C. J. Vaughan, D.D.* LONDON: MACMILLAN & Co. 16 mo. pp. 163.

Dr. Vaughan for fourteen years has been in the habit of taking candidates for orders under his special charge, that they might acquire practical knowledge of pastoral work. Himself a most successful parish priest, he has known how to teach others, and these addresses were given last autumn to those former students, over two hundred in number, who had passed under his hand into Holy Orders. They cover the ground of the clergyman's practical experience in his work. His sympathy, his encouragements and discouragements, his life in his study, and in his parish, his recreations, his pastoral office, are treated familiarly, profitably, wisely, and the addresses contain the fresh thought of a modern clergyman upon priestly life. They cannot but be helpful to any pastor, and especially to those who have recently taken Holy Orders.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF LAMB, HAZLITT AND OTHERS. *Edited by Richard Henry Stoddard.* NEW YORK: SCRIBNER, ARMSTRONG & CO. 16mo. pp. 348. 1875.

The Bric-a-Brac series has opened a new vein of that always interesting gossip which gives the personality of the great names in our literature. It is a modern imitation of Boswell's Johnson. Mr. Stoddard is an admirable editor. His preface is a model of pleasant writing. He knows how to give the cream of an old volume of memoirs in small space, and is himself a capital judge of a good story. No more entertaining volumes have been published during the past year, none which have more commended themselves to popular favor, none which have had the advantage of more tact and skill in the details of their making up, none which have been better published. Mr. Stoddard has here crowded into fifty pages more personal information about Charles Lamb—more of the spice and sparkle of his life, than Talfourd or Barry Cornwall put into their elaborate memoirs. He has brought the literary genius of Hazlitt to the light of day in all its quaintness and singularity. He pictures Thomas Campbell as editor of the "New Monthly Magazine," and gives delightful glimpses of the late Countess of Blessington. He is largely indebted for the materials of this volume to the reminiscences of Mr. P. G. Patmore, the father of Coventry Patmore, but they lose every bit of their occasional garrulity and dullness in Mr. Stoddard's hands.

VOICES OF COMFORT. *Edited by Thomas Vincent Fosbery, M.A., Hon. Chaplain to the late Lord Bishop of Winchester, etc. Second Edition* LONDON: RIVINGTONS. NEW YORK: POTT, YOUNG & CO. pp. 360 1875.

This book of devotional readings, the Editor tells us in the preface, had its beginning in selections made from her readings and written thoughts during hours of sickness and weariness, by a lady. To these additions were made from his own readings and writings, and so "the book has grown to its present dimensions." It is intended "to minister specially to the hidden griefs and sorrows of the soul, as they are silently weaving their dark threads into the web of the seemingly brightest life." The volume is so divided as to afford daily readings for a month. We commend it to those who are seeking an appropriate gift to suffering friends.

FAMILIAR QUOTATIONS. *Being an Attempt to Trace to their Sources Passages and Phrases in Common Use.* By John Bartlett. *Seventh Edition.* BOSTON: LITTLE, BROWN & Co. 16mo. pp. 880. 1875.

Some books grow and some are made. This is a growth, and it has also been made. It was first published many years ago and at once became a necessity. The compiler found that he had met a want among readers and literary people. The work grew upon his hands, and edition after edition has been published to accommodate the book to its fresh accumulations. Every addition has been made for a practical reason. The book has thus grown out of real studies and meets the actual wants of cultivated people. The present edition is certainly one fourth larger than any previous one. There is an index of authors, an index of words and lines, and every quotation is traced by reference to the place from which it is taken. It is thus a remarkably complete and useful volume, and Mr. Bartlett has earned the very hearty thanks of all who write and speak, for the industry and scholarship which have been applied to so worthy an object.

MY YOUNG ALCIDES: *A Faded Photograph*, by Charlotte M. Yonge, *Author of "The Heir of Redclyffe," etc.* NEW YORK: MACMILLAN & Co. 1876. pp. 376 \$1.75.

Miss Yonge has been a most voluminous writer, and a popular one. Her books are all of excellent tendency, inculcating the highest religious and moral truths. This last work does not strike us as being equal in interest or merit to some of the others, and the story is a very improbable one. It is an attempt to allegorize the labors of Alcides (Hercules), as illustrating the contests with "temptation without and corruption within" which every true Christian has to undergo. This is done by narrating the adventures of the hero, a young Australian of gigantic stature and strength, who comes to England to inherit his ancestral property. His victories over self are set forth as parallel to those of Hercules in almost too literal a manner. But we must refer the reader to the book itself for the story, which, if not equal in interest to some of its predecessors, is yet sufficiently so to warrant us in saying that all who begin it will be sure to finish it, and we may add, ought to be the better for it.

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THE RECIPROCAL INFLUENCE OF CHRIS- TIANITY AND LIBERTY.

By Christianity we understand, no ecclesiastical hierarchy or organization; but the religion instituted by Christ, promulgated by his Apostles, set forth in the Holy Scriptures, propagated and preserved in the world by the preaching of the Gospel and the power of the Holy Ghost. By liberty we understand, neither lawlessness nor license in Church or State. While the end of civil government is to secure that order which is necessary to the largest attainable measure of free activity for all, the end of civil liberty is self-government; and it implies that the civil government should give to every man as full an opportunity for attaining and enjoying that end as the rights of others and the good of all will admit. Civil liberty may exist under any form of civil government, but it seems plain that it is best secured when a popular constitution can be permanently and quietly maintained. Religious liberty is neither Cæsarism, nor secularism, nor individualism, nor indifferentism. It does not abate one jot of the claims, the

absolute claims, of God and His truth ; but it leaves those claims to be addressed to the mind and heart and conscience of every man, not to his bodily sensibilities or to his temporal interests. It relies upon moral and spiritual influence, not upon physical force. It is consistent with the profession and maintenance of the most minute and prolix creed, but is most fully enjoyed where the symbols of communion, retaining all that is essential and fundamental to true religion, are the most comprehensive and simple.

Christ's religion was embodied in Himself, in His character and work and teaching. Who, then, was He, and what did he teach ? The Son of God was born in a stable, and died on the cross. He was known by His neighbors as the carpenter and the carpenter's son. His daily life was among the poor and the lowly. He gathered a company of fishermen as His bosom friends in His earthly ministry, and took a penitent thief as His companion to Paradise. He taught that the poor shall possess the kingdom of Heaven, and the meek shall inherit the earth ; that God watches over the humblest of His children with more than paternal care, that the angels who always behold the face of the Father minister to them, and that woe is to him who despises them. "The princes of the Gentiles," said He, "exercise lordship over them, and their great ones exercise authority upon them ; but so shall it not be among you ; but whosoever will be great among you shall be your minister, and whosoever of you will be the chiefest shall be servant of all." So much for His followers among themselves. To them He directs all His precepts—not to kings, or rulers, or magistrates, or any in authority ; and should His followers be called to discharge such functions, He has left the spirit of these same precepts, and these only, to guide them. Yet, He never utters a word to make the poor discontented or turbulent, to render them jealous or envious of the rich and great ; or hostile to them, or ambitious to reach their places. He never says a syllable to stir up a spirit of sedition against the constituted government, even though it was the iron despotism of Rome. His command is "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," as well as "to God the things that are God's." But it must be remembered that Cæsar and his deputies and officials, and all the

machinery of the Roman government then lay, and were regarded as lying, beyond the bounds of His Kingdom—that kingdom of the truth for which He was giving laws. To His kingdom that government as a system was a foreign element.

The Apostles renew and re-echo the teachings of their master. They declare that God is no respecter of persons, but that whatsoever any man doeth the same shall he receive from the Lord, whether he be bond or free. They teach that all Christians are brethren, as children of a common Father and redeemed by a common Saviour, and that by love they should serve one another. It is the man, and not his accidents, that fills their view; the soul for which Christ died, and not its external circumstances of worldly dignity or of worldly insignificance, that measures their interest and regard. "Let the poor," says St. James, "rejoice in that he is exalted; but the rich in that he is made low;" and he emphatically condemns the contemptuous treatment of "the poor man in vile raiment." "Ye see your calling, brethren," says St. Paul, "how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called;" "we are all one in Christ Jesus; where there is neither Greek nor Jew, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all and in all."

Yet the Apostles, after the example of their Master, taught distinctly that "every soul should be subject to the higher powers," to the lawful government; that Christians should submit to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; as free and not using their liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God." They taught, too, that there should be order and government in the Church itself; that we are members in one body, and that all members have not the same office. But it is to be observed, that, though "God hath set in the Church *first* the Apostles," yet St. Paul says, for himself and his colleagues in that office, "We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus, the Lord, and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake;" "not for that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy." And St. Peter exhorts presbyters, as being himself their fellow-presbyter, to conduct themselves "not as lords over God's heritage, but as examples to the flock." Indeed, the ministers of God were approved *as such* by special toils and privations, abuse and contempt, "for, I

think," says St. Paul, "that God hath set forth us, the Apostles, last, as it were appointed unto death; for we are made a spectacle to the world and to angels and to men; even unto the present hour we both hunger and thirst, and are naked and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling place, and labor working with our own hands; being reviled we bless, being persecuted we suffer it; being defamed we entreat; we are made as the filth of the world and are the offscouring of all things unto this day." Such was the highest dignity to which men were called in the Apostolic Church.

Such was the religion which Christ and His Apostles established. So far as the influence and spirit of such a religion should leaven human society, how is it possible that it should fail to promote liberty, brotherhood and equality among men; to develop manhood, to relieve the oppressed, to elevate the degraded, to humble the proud, to restrain the selfishness of ambition, to temper the exercise of authority, to check the insolence of power and the domineering of despotism; and to make both the high and the low unspeakably happier, according to the noble sentiment of St. James, in their mutual approximation! Christianity lays the only secure foundation for permanent civil liberty. It is utterly unlike any mere doctrine of the rights of man. It inculcates duties rather than rights. By its doctrine and spirit of meek humility and brotherly love, it is quite as inconsistent with the coarse and violent and insolent demands of a reckless mob as it is with the cool and cruel and cunning policy of an aristocracy or the ruthless despotism of an autocrat. Christianity alone effectually represses that spirit of human pride and selfishness which tends alike to crush and to undermine the rising fabric of civil freedom. Christianity is popular without being revolutionary; submissive to wrong, but not conservative of evil. Doubtless, as there always have been, so there always will be, in every community, men of inferior mental capacity and moral character; but while these may need to be, in various degrees, guided and restrained, Christianity forbids that they should ever be trampled upon or used merely as means for the elevation or aggrandisement of others. Christianity teaches us to support the weak, and not to make them support us; to love them as brethren,

to be pitiful, to be courteous, honestly to desire that our inferiors should become our equals, to respect their humanity, and to seek by all possible means their speediest elevation and improvement. Christianity is hopeful. She does not despair of the elevation of the masses of mankind or give them up to a hopeless and interminable degradation. "But they are mere children," it is said. Be it so, and she would have us treat them as children. But children are guided and governed, not that the parents may enjoy the honor and dignity of governing, not that their despotic spirit may be justified, not that their wealth and consideration may be increased, not that they may live at their ease on the labors of their children, not that their parental sway may be perpetuated, but always with the express hope and aim that those children may soon learn to guide and govern themselves, and eventually to guide and govern others in their turn. Such, Christianity would teach, should be the treatment of all inferior classes in society. The highest ideal of the Christian state, is, "a government of the people, by the people, for the people."

When we pass from theory to fact and inquire of history what has been the actual influence of Christianity upon civil liberty and civil life, it is necessary to remember that this divine religion exerts its influence through human agencies and organs, and that its proper effects are liable to be modified or obstructed, and even perverted or annulled by the imperfection or reaction of the medium through which it is transmitted. This religion is pure only at its source, and it is only by constantly recurring to that source that its lost purity is to be restored. Let us be thankful that in the Holy Scriptures we have the means of thus revisiting that source and making fresh drafts from the pure waters of life and truth. Indeed, it is one of the most striking proofs of the truth and divinity of the Christian religion, that, though, in the progress of enlightenment and knowledge we may reach higher and larger views of divine and spiritual things and of the economy of the Kingdom of God than those of Jerome or Origen, or Tertullian, of either of the Gregories or Clements, or of Irenæus or Ignatius, and may have a more thorough and critical knowledge of the meaning and the doctrine of the Scrip-

tures than the most learned and excellent of the early Fathers possessed, yet we can never get above or beyond, nay, we can never attain to the full height and depth and length and breadth of the original doctrine of Christ and His Apostles. As our minds and knowledge, our science and culture expand, we only come to understand that doctrine better, and at the same time to apprehend more distinctly its unfathomable riches, its unapproachable, super-human character. Assuredly Jesus Christ and His religion are not a product of the development of humanity, but come into that development from a higher source. It is true they did not come into the world by chance. No one who recognizes a universal plan of Divine government in the world, who discerns in history the unfolding scheme of a wise and holy Providence, can fail to see that a preparation was made for the coming of Christ, not only in the Jewish history and economy, but in the language and literature, the philosophy and polity, the civilization, culture and conquests of the Greeks and Romans. Christ came in the fulness of the times. In Him a Divine element was brought into immediate contact, into permanent and visible conjunction with human history. But this divine element thus entering into the evolution of humanity, the historical results must be determined by the action and reaction of the divine and the human elements upon each other; and whatever may have been the Providential preparation for this influx of the Divine, there still remained on the human side manifold oppositions and obstructions to be overcome and surmounted.

Christianity had to cope with the narrow and groveling prejudices of Judaism, with the desperate scepticism, the proud and perverse disputations of Greek philosophy, with the brutal violence and iron vigor of Roman despotism, and with the rank licentiousness and leprous vices of a corrupt and decaying society. Even before the decease of the Apostles the results of the reaction of these human elements, the leaven of human corruption began to show themselves, at Jerusalem, at Antioch, Corinth, Rome, among the Galatians, among those to whom St. Peter and St. Jude wrote their epistles, and in the seven churches of Asia. After the death of the Apostles there followed a rank luxuriance of strange doctrines, a very Babel of monstrous heresies, through

which the truth of the Gospel owed its preservation, humanly speaking, to two things, the pressure of persecution and the faithful care of the governors of the church. But the very prestige of the services of these latter, such is the weakness of human nature, led to their corruption and degeneracy, to a vast expansion of the pretensions and power of the hierarchy—an evil, in its consequences, almost as great as that which had just been escaped. And, again, when the persecution ceased, upon the conversion of Constantine, the corrupting worldly element only gained a firmer foothold in the Church. Hierarchy and people, clergy and laity alike fell under the control of the imperial power, no longer an external force assailing the Church from without, but wielding its domination within with an insidious and irresistible sway. The Bishops of the Church and the very doctrines of religion became the footballs of court intrigue. Notwithstanding all this, no impartial student of history can fail to acknowledge that the spirit of Christianity wrought many social reforms and ameliorations; but it is not to be wondered at, that, under such circumstances, it could not produce all the beneficent effects of its proper character. With the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, Christianity, in the West, was driven to take up its home among the hordes of barbarian invaders. Such was the new stock on which it must be engrafted, such the mass of ignorance and violence it had to leaven, of such rough and uncouth materials it had to reconstruct the Christian Church. Of course the practical result was modified by the character of these materials. As the imperial power declined and was withdrawn, that of the hierarchy increased, until the Papal domination, with all its pestilent corruptions and its secularization of the Kingdom of God, was established throughout Europe. Coming off victorious from its struggle with the bastard empire of the West, allying itself with the spirit of the feudal system, it proudly trampled under foot the temporal sovereignty, and, with a blasphemous assumption of the attributes of Deity, it ruled over the kings of the earth. Truly, if there were not in our holy religion, an indestructible power and life, it would have been at length crushed out of existence, under such a load of corruptions and perversions, varied and multiplied and accumulated from age to age. But instead of that, the spirit of

Christianity roused itself at last to throw off with one mighty effort the crushing incubus—and then came the glorious Reformation. Yet, even here, there appeared the perversion of an encroaching human element. The character of this heavenly religion was not manifested in its purity, for, as was natural, in resisting the corrupt domination of the Romish hierarchy, too close and too subservient an alliance was made with the civil power. This has been the great drawback upon the full working out of the proper influence of Christianity under the Protestant Reformation. Still, with this drawback here, and the vastly greater drawbacks elsewhere, the grand result as to the actual influence of Christianity upon civil liberty, is this: that under its influence, and under that alone, has civil liberty ever anywhere in the world been enjoyed by whole communities; nowhere else have purely popular governments been established with permanent success. The ancient republics were really oligarchies, the mass of their population being slaves, or, at least, destitute of the rights of citizenship; they were based upon force; they subsisted upon war, piracy and plunder; and the freest of them were always in an uncertain and fluctuating condition. Under the influence of their religion, all modern Christian governments, of whatever form, repose, in a greater or less degree, upon a free and enlightened public opinion as their basis, and make it avowedly their great object to promote the general good and advancement of the people by the arts of peace. Under the influence of Christianity alone have castes and classes disappeared, and the dignity, the moral claims and inherent rights of man *as man*, been acknowledged. Under her influence alone have slavery and serfdom been abolished. But, in the working out of this abolition, we have especially to note that it has been the latent spirit of our divine religion, and not the ecclesiastical hierarchy—the spirit of that religion, often, in spite of the hierarchy, which usually allies itself with the aristocratic tendencies—the spirit of that religion working up from the general Christian heart, that has accomplished the grand result. Christianity is manifestly not of the earth, not a mere natural result of human progress, but a factor and a force introduced from above. Men lived for ages in the same latitudes and longitudes which are now the seat of Christendom, in the same climates,

under the same general physical conditions; yet, without Christianity they never worked out these results. Men still live under similar favorable external conditions in Japan, for example, and yet they do not reach these results. To make Jesus Christ, as Mr. Buckle would do, a mere product of His times, and the Christian religion a mere result of the natural evolution of mankind under the given external circumstances; to deny to it the credit of having sensibly affected the production of the modern culture and freedom which distinguishes Christendom, or, indeed, the production of any good whatever; and yet to labor through whole volumes in a systematic effort to heap upon it the odium of having caused most of the evils and created most of the obstacles that modern civilization has had to encounter, is one of the most astonishing specimens of perversion of sentiment, distortion of facts, and sophistry of reasoning, to be found in the whole compass of modern literature.

As to the effect of Christianity upon *religious* liberty, it is manifest that the persecutions which disgraced its history during the middle ages, and for a long time after, among Protestants, even, as well as among Romanists, find not the slightest foundation or sanction in the character or teaching of Christ or His Apostles. Our Lord knew that His religion would be exposed to the malignant persecutions of Jews and Gentiles; He often foretold it, and warned His disciples to be prepared for it; but He never suggested a retort. The contrary was the precise characteristic of His whole spirit and doctrine. The Apostles met the persecutions which had been predicted, but they never had the most distant thought of retaliation. Of course, discipline was exercised within their own flocks, but it was spiritual discipline by spiritual methods, never with the use of physical force, which in those times they could not have used if they would, and would not if they could. Among St. Paul's many journeyings after his conversion we hear of none undertaken on any mission like that upon which he was stricken down on the way to Damascus. For the schismatic or the heretic, as well as for the evil liver, the highest punishment was the being cut off from the communion of the faithful. The right of expelling refractory members must be inherent in every society, and is perfectly consistent with the

truest conception of religious liberty. The upbraidings of conscience and the fear of God's future judgments are perfectly consistent with religious liberty. The question of moral right and the reality of the Divine threatening is a question of truth or fact, and not a matter of religious liberty. But there is not in all the life and teaching of Christ or His Apostles the slightest hint of punishing misbelieving or misbehaving brethren with torture and imprisonment, the faggot and the stake, or the cool, diabolical farce of delivering them over to the secular arm for the execution of such inflictions. It is true the faithful are forbidden by the Apostle to keep company with an excommunicated person, even so much as to eat and our Lord Himself had said, "let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican." But it must be remembered that, when those rules were given, their application would not expose the party offending to any physical suffering or hardship, and certainly it was not intended that they should; it was not intended that a man should be forced to believe the truth in order to avoid being starved to death. And if, in subsequent times the application of these rules led or would lead to great physical privation, to cold and nakedness and famishing and death, then, their literal execution was as gross a perversion of Scripture as Satan himself could have suggested. The coarsest Infidelity has been guilty of no greater blasphemy. Let us be thankful that the spirit of Christianity has thrown off the incrustations of ages of corruption, and brought a large part of Christendom to the distinct consciousness, to the full and hearty acceptance of religious liberty. It is true that intolerance and the duty of persecution are still preached in some quarters, and the infallible, unchangeable Church of the Middle Ages must perforce continue to preach it and practice it as far as her crafty estimate of expediency and present safety will permit. But for such assailants of religious liberty to attempt to brand the object of their attacks as heathenish indifferentism, is a proof either of great obtuseness of perception or of a conscious perversion of truth for the sake of a plausible argument.

Religious liberty does not hinder the Church from effectually insisting upon the preservation of pure doctrine in her bosom. But her doctrine is addressed to the minds and consciences of

men, under the motives presented by sound reason and Divine authority, and not those drawn from the Inquisition and the Auto-da-fè. Every man has a right to accept her doctrine or to reject it—not an absolute right, for no man has such a right to reject any truth or to maintain any falsehood—but a relative right, *i. e.*, the Church has no right, and her Founder never intended that she should exercise or claim the right, forcibly to compel acquiescence. Christianity fully recognizes man's mental and moral freedom, and his personal accountability to God for the exercise of that freedom. She may say with Christ, you must believe or be damned; but she may not say with Charlemagne, you must be baptised or be drowned. God has revealed His mercy that we too might learn to be merciful; He has so revealed His vengeance that we might learn to refrain from its exercise. [Rom. xii: 19.]

In short, persecution originated in human corruption, not in Christian principle; in human passion and self-will, or at best in the mistaken judgment of human infirmity, not in the spirit or teaching of Jesus Christ. It was not introduced into the world by Christianity, but has been engrafted upon it by the spirit of the world in days of darkness and violence and hierarchical domination. It is manifestly inimical to the interests of true religion. It engenders and encourages hypocrisy, or stolid ignorance, or the abnegation of thought and reason and personal accountability; and thus tends to destroy proper, personal, rational faith, the faith of a reasonable man, the faith that leads to a reasonable service. True faith and true religion absolutely presuppose a free action of the mind and will of man. No other religion has so fully recognized this fact as Christianity; and a return to the principles of religious freedom is but a return to the first principles of Christ's religion, the disentanglement, after ages of perversion and corruption, of its true spirit and proper influence.

Now it is but an identical proposition to say that wherever the tendencies of Christianity have the freest scope, and its proper results most thoroughly worked out, there Christianity will exist in its most complete and characteristic form. And every stage of progress towards such a consummation must be so much vantage ground for further advancement. If Christianity tends to promote civil liberty, or naturally to coalesce with it, then the exist-

ence of civil liberty must react advantageously upon Christianity. They must be mutual friends; and that though each may have many other friends besides. There may be many other influences favorable to civil liberty besides Christianity—and among them may even be some of an utterly irreligious and anti-Christian character—as, on the other hand, there certainly are many influences favorable to Christianity besides civil liberty. The same is true of the relation of Christianity to general light and knowledge, to civilization and social culture. It is among its divine credentials that it falls in and harmonizes with whatever tends to the elevation and happiness of man, or to the unfolding and enlargement of his powers, to the perfecting of humanity in any of its aspects or relations. Christianity has its proper spiritual purpose, which is no other than to lead man on to the attainment and accomplishment of the highest end of his being, in his relation to what is above and beyond this present world. But notwithstanding this, or, rather, precisely because of this, it is in conscious harmony with all that is true and beautiful and good, with all that is pure and honest and virtuous, with all that is lovely and noble and manly. The more perfectly man is developed as man, in all his normal faculties and relations, the better vehicle he becomes for the manifestation of the full power and glory of the Christian religion. Such a development, from whatever causes proceeding, is, humanly speaking, a preparation for Christianity; for if this religion comes to raise the fallen, to elevate the degraded, to guide the erring, to enlighten the dark, to ennoble the mean, to reform the vicious, she cannot but welcome whatever will help her in her benign mission. But light and liberty and love cannot but help her. Christ did, indeed, once say, "he that is not with Me is against Me;" but it was of Satan He then spoke. Again He said, "he that is not against us is on our part," and then it was of well-intentioned but partially enlightened men He spoke.

It is true, man's nature is radically perverted, and the best things may, by abuse, become the worst. Without the aid of Divine grace, without an influence from on high, without the leaven of Christ's religion, man can never reach his highest development in relation either to the future world or to this. Every

right and good tendency in him, is, in its normal evolution, ready to welcome and embrace Christianity. Scientific superciliousness and philosophic pride and prejudice are no part of man's true development. But though the evil of man's nature crops out everywhere, yet, on the whole, intellectual light and culture are more favorable to Christianity than brutish darkness and ignorance. Ignorance may be the mother of superstitious devotion, but knowledge is the foster parent of true religion. Christianity does not fear knowledge or frown upon it; rather she both commends and commands it. "Be not children in understanding," is her injunction, "howbeit, in malice be ye children, but in understanding be men;" *be men—men* is what Christianity wants; not ignorant children, but intelligent men. Every soul may be, in the sight of God, equally precious, yet the conversion of one St. Paul was of more consequence to the advancement of the Christian religion—such are the law and movement of Divine Providence—than the gathering in of whole masses of ignorant heathen at Laodicea, at Sardis, or even at Rome. And, as civil liberty must naturally help to produce, in a given community, a greater number of men, of real, intelligent, *manly* men, it cannot fail to exert a favorable reflex influence upon the promotion both of the truth and of the power of Christianity. Moreover, civil liberty must give Christianity a freer scope for exerting and diffusing its own benign influence.

We have but to glance at the history and geography of Christendom to find this view abundantly confirmed by facts. We shall find that whenever and wherever civil liberty has become quietly and permanently established, then and there has Christianity had its purest and noblest realization, has exerted most widely its transforming spiritual influence; in Germany, in Holland, in Switzerland, in England and Scotland, in America, in France. The old French Revolution is often thrown back upon us as settling the whole question against us; but it is strangely or studiously forgotten that all the horrors of that revolution and all its atheistic orgies resulted not from civil liberty, but were the natural and necessary fruit of the preceding ages of civil and religious despotism, of grinding and intolerable oppression. The Atheism and the spirit of license already existed; they caused the

evils of the revolution, and were not its effects. Voltaire had already come upon the scene, and had completed his career. Meantime, so far as civil liberty has resulted from that revolution, even though Atheism may have had a hand in producing it—for God often brings good out of evil—it has been an inestimable blessing to France and to Europe. Our greatest temporal benefits commonly proceed from a variety of causes; and it is sometimes through the crisis of a violent and dangerous disease that the system is most thoroughly purified and invigorated. Had not men perversely insisted upon associating the idea of infidelity with the spirit of liberty, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, had not quite too much of the old religious and civil despotism been retained and restored in the conservative reaction, the blessing resulting from that revolution had been greater still. But, after all, at this present moment, is there not vastly more of intelligent practical Christianity in Hungary than in Austria, in France than in Spain or Italy or in any country of Europe where civil liberty has always, or until recently, been suppressed? Those professed friends of Christianity, who, in the fanatical zeal of blind conservatism, insist upon associating civil liberty with infidelity and Atheism, and Christianity with despotisms and oligarchies, inflict upon the cause of true religion a sorer wound than could ever have been inflicted by Infidelity and Atheism themselves. They furnish Infidelity and Atheism with their most effective weapons; they put the greatest stumbling-block in the way of religion; they make zealous Infidels and Atheists of thousands who would otherwise, by God's grace, be as zealous Christians. The lovers of freedom will be Infidels, because Christians will be lovers of absolutism, defenders of slavery, and advocates of caste.

That religious liberty reacts advantageously on Christianity needs no further argument but the simple appeal to history and facts. The religious despotism of Roman Catholic countries serves merely to keep out the light and truth which might lead to a reformation of old and festering corruptions; and to educate, or rather to leave uneducated, masses of men semi-atheistic, semi-heathen, superstitiously devout but morally and intellectually weak and childish. And in Protestant countries religious intoler-

ance has uniformly resulted in dwarfing and paralyzing the religion it was designed to protect. This is abundantly illustrated in the religious history of England and of America. Intolerance has always been followed by religious declension and doctrinal superficiality. To pass at once to the present time, compare the energetic, intelligent, aggressive spirit of Protestantism in England, or Switzerland, or America, with the cold and lifeless state of the same religion in Denmark and Sweden. Error, corruption, conscious weakness may be intolerant; but truth needs no such protection; she rejoices in her own strength and in her perfect adaptation to man's nature and wants. She does not treat man as a maniac who must be laced in a strait jacket in order to be kept in the true religion.

Had Christianity needed the protection of an intolerant religious despotism, what would have become of her in the earliest and purest periods of her history, when all the powers of the world, both civil and religious, were arrayed in deadly hostility against her. And how can she now hope to subdue the world which still lies in wickedness, to prevail over the Brahminism, and Buddhism, and Confucianism which hold possession of India and China and Japan, containing about half the population of the globe? When she asks of the Chinese and Japanese a free entrance among them, shall she plainly tell them that so soon as she gets the upperhand there she will strip of their goods and banish from their homes, or consign to prison, torture and death, all who refuse to receive her teaching and conform to her rites. Surely, if she prefers her petition with such an intention, she ought in honesty and fairness to announce it beforehand. In no such spirit did Jesus and His Apostles preach the Gospel of the Kingdom of God; in no such spirit did He open His great commission in the synagogue at Nazareth; and in no such spirit is the world to be subdued to His obedience. When James and John would have called down fire from Heaven to consume those who refused to receive Him, He meekly rebuked them, saying, "ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of, for the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them." Christianity is not to convert men as Charlemaigne converted the Saxons and Philip II the Moriscoes; her festivals are no longer to be St. Bartholomew's

Eves' and Sicilian Vespers; her Easters are not to be made more joyous and solemn by holocausts of hundreds of human beings in Auto-da-fès; her heroes and champions are not to be Torquemadas and Philips, and Bloody Marys, and Dukes of Alva; her tender mercies are not to be exhibited in Albigensian and Waldensian crusades, in Dutch massacres, in Huguenot expatriations, in Inquisitorial tortures and Smithfield fires. No; turning away from such scenes, let us listen to the words of Jesus: "Come unto Me all ye that labor, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest; take My yoke upon you and learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly in heart; and ye shall find rest unto your souls." And hear the Apostle, saying, "by the gentleness and meekness of Christ, I beseech you." Such is the spirit in which Christianity is to go forth to her future and final victories. Such is the spirit in which she is to grapple with the free thought and the free and vigorous activities of the present and the coming age. The weapons of her warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds. Civil and religious freedom are the conditions of her real and complete success. Yet how slow has she been to learn this lesson, a lesson lying among the first principles of the doctrine and spirit of her Divine Founder! or, rather, to unlearn that other lesson which the hierarchial perverters of that spirit and doctrine had been busy for ages in inculcating. The instances of persecution to which allusion has just been made, are all chargeable to Roman Catholics; but it is not intended to be denied or concealed that instances, many instances, of similar persecutions are not wanting on the Protestant side. The others alone have been signalized for two reasons: (1) The early Protestants in this respect did but inconsiderately and blindly copy the example of their Roinish brethren and predecessors. The right and the duty of persecution had been preached and prac-

¹ It is little to the purpose to apologise for the Pope—the infallible Pope—who ordered a Te Deum to be sung upon hearing of this massacre, by saying that probably he had been misinformed in regard to the nature of the facts. Had his infallibility expressly made the apology *for himself* when he was better informed, the case might be otherwise. Did he ever make it? The apology from any other party is neither authoritative nor conclusive.

ticed all along, as a thing of course—it was an inveterate prejudice—an heirloom received from the maternal home. To preach and practice it was felt to be necessary in order to substantiate a claim to earnest faith and piety. Later developments have shown the true spirit of the two systems. There may have been individual instances of toleration on the side of Romanists—*not of Rome*—just as there may have been individual instances of persecution on the side of Protestants. Lord Baltimore may have established universal toleration in his colony of Maryland,¹ while Calvin burnt Servetus, and the Puritans maltreated the Quakers. Far be it from us to think that there have been no good men in the Church of Rome. She has had in her bosom a Fenelon and a Xavier and some of the noblest saints that ever lived; but it is a striking and significant fact that many of those whom she has canonized after they were dead she persecuted and harassed unmercifully while they were living. They were saints in spite of her system and in spite of her ruling powers. On the other hand, there have undoubtedly been very bad men among Protestants, even among those of great pretensions to religion and piety. But they have been such in spite of the system which should have made them better. In like manner, heathenism has had its Socrates, its Regulus, its Lucretia and its Cæsar Marcus Antoninus; whilst Christianity has had her John xxiii, her Alexander vi, her Cæsar Borgia, her other Lucretia, her Richard ii, her Charles ii, her Catharine ii, her Benedict Arnold and her George iv. But a system must be judged by its general results and revealed tendencies and not by sporadic and exceptional cases. (2) We have cited instances of Romish persecution exclusively, because those instances have been in degree and character incomparably more flagrant, cruel, horrible, systematic and persistent than those which can be alleged on the other side; and they have never been disowned or condemned by any Papal bull or syllabus or encyclical letter; but rather have been implicitly or expressly applauded and approved by the highest authorities of the Roman Church to the present day, and sanctioned in their principle by

¹ And yet it appears from a careful examination of the history of the time that this was done not from choice, but because it could not be helped.

the express definitions of the present infallible Pope himself. But to the credit of Protestantism it may now be said, that, whatever may have been its incidental shortcomings in the past, it has generally learned at length, in a greater or less degree, the simple apostolic and Christian lesson of *religious freedom*.

By religious freedom we mean that there should be, under the law of the land, freedom of thought, of speech and of the press, for all kinds and modes of religion, including not only all denominations of Christians but Judaism, Mahometanism, Paganism, Pantheism and Atheism. Of course the State may have its own religion, while it tolerates all others; and malicious blasphemy, or immoral practices, or foul and reckless assaults upon Christianity, however they may seek to clothe themselves in the guise of religion, may be restrained by law as being offensive to the moral sense and the well-being of the community. Precisely at this point nice questions may be raised; and here, as in all complex practical matters, it may be difficult so to frame the rule as definitely to provide for all real or supposable cases. But the *principle* should be, *universal religious freedom*. Some may think so broad a toleration inconsistent with earnest loyalty to Christian truth. But suppose Christ to have told the Scribes and Pharisees, and Herod and Pilate, that He proposed, as soon as He and His followers should be able so to do, to put them all down by force and crush them with a strong hand! (But then what of the "more than twelve legions of angels?") And suppose Peter to have told Simon Magus that, if the law allowed it, he would send him forthwith to torture and the flames; or Paul to have told the magistrates at Phillippi that, if he had the power, he would scourge *them*, and, instead of thrusting their feet into the stocks, would bind them to the stake and burn them upon the spot; or to have announced to the Athenians on Mars' hill, that, as soon as the Christians should grow strong enough, they would drive them out of their temples, throw down their altars, and compel them to worship in Christian Churches, or strip them of their goods and banish or immolate them all!

No; Cortez and Pizarro are not the representatives of the Apostles, nor the models of Christian missionaries. Such was not the spirit in which the Gospel was preached at the first, and such

ought not to be the spirit in which it is to be professéd and propagated now. Surely, it has greater advantages for preserving itself and making progress now, than it had then. If it succeeded then without the protection and aid of intolerance, still more may it succeed without such aid and protection now ; for it will hardly be suggested that the fires of intolerance are intended by Divine Providence as the appropriate modern substitute for the primitive miracles ; or, that what the suffering of persecution did for the purity of the early Church the exercise of persecution is to accomplish for the later Church.

Christianity needs only a fair and open field ; with really earnest and faithful adherents, who believe in their Lord with all their hearts, who love His blessed name as St. Paul loved it, and who love the souls of men even as He loved them who died for their redemption. Going forth in such a spirit, there is no danger of defeat, no doubt of success. Our help is in the name of the Lord ; and a strong tower is our God. Our hope and confidence are in the truth, in the presence of Christ, and in the power of the Holy Ghost.

DANIEL R. GOODWIN.

L A T I N H Y M N O D Y .

No. III.

MATHIÆ FLACII ILLYRICI—*Varia doctorum priorumque virorum de corrupto Ecclesiæ statu Poemata*¹

DR. ABRAHAM COLES—*Dies Iræ, in thirteen original versions. Fifth edition. New York: 1868.*

DR. F. G. LISCO—*Dies Iræ, Hymnus auf das Weltgericht. Berlin. 1840.*

DR. PHILIP SCHAFF—*Translations of Dies Iræ. In "Hours at Home" for May and July, 1868.*

Also, other works cited in previous articles.

BERNARD OF CLUGNY AND THOMAS OF CELANO.

It is a remarkable fact, that the Mediæval centuries—" *The Dark Ages*," as we are wont to call them—have given us some of the sweetest and purest Christian hymns. Perhaps Dean Goulburn's theory is the correct one. At the present day Christian principles are more widely diffused; but at the same time they seem more superficial in their influence on the hearts and lives of the professed followers of Christ. In the Middle Ages there was great ignorance and corruption; but walking amid this surrounding darkness we discern the forms of great and eminent saints.

¹A very rare work, in the library of Dr. Philip Schaff. It is probably the only copy in the United States. Published at Basel, 1556.

"There were giants in those days," but the present age, with all its boasted culture and piety, is not prolific of saints!

At the era of which we write, *two* figures stand boldly out in grand relief—two Christian poets have left succeeding ages a priceless heritage of sacred song, and have then vanished into the surrounding darkness, leaving no other trace of their existence. One sings in rapturous strains of the joys of Heaven—the other tunes his lyre to deeper music; so that we hear, as it were, the awful Trumpet of the Day of Doom.

BERNARDUS CLUNIACENSIS.

was a monk of the Twelfth Century. The date and place of his birth are unknown. Some claim that he was born at *Morlaix* in Bretagne, of English parents; others assign his nativity to *Morlas*, in the lower Pyrenees; while still a third party believe that he was born in England. Of course he is to be distinguished from the more famous Roman Saint, Bernard, Abbot of *Clairvaux*, who was his contemporary. Concerning our author, Bernard de *Morlaix*, all that we know is that he was a monk of Clugny under Peter the Venerable, (1122–56), and that he has left us this poem. Even the precise date of his death is unknown.

The greatest of his five poems is the one entitled

DE CONTEMPTU MUNDI.

It was written about A. D. 1145, (four centuries before the Reformation), is divided into three books and contains nearly three thousand lines. The greater part of it is a bitter satire on the vices and corruptions of the age, especially such as had invaded the precincts of the Church. But the opening stanzas, by way of contrast, are a glowing description of the purity and joys of Heaven; and this part of the poem alone concerns the translator. Its verse is very difficult and peculiar, being what is called "*Leonine*" and tailed rhyme, with lines in three parts, between which

¹*Leonine verses*, in which the cæsura rhymes with the end of the line, were so called because invented by *Leon*, a monk of the twelfth century.

a cæsura is not admissible." So difficult is the verse, that the author believed his successful effort the result of the special inspiration of the Holy Spirit. He says in his preface: "I may then assert, not in ostentation, but with humble confidence, that if I had not received directly from on high the gift of inspiration and intelligence, I had not dared to attempt an enterprise so little accorded to the powers of the human mind." From this poem of 3,000 lines, Archbishop Trench, in his "Sacred Latin Poetry," made a cento of ninety-six lines; and on this cento most translators have tried their powers. A few lines of the original may serve as a specimen to those who are not already familiar with it.

Hora novissima, | tempora pessima | sunt, vigilemus.
Ecce minaciter | imminet arbiter, | ille supremus.
Imminet, imminet | et mala terminet, | æqua coronet,
Recta remuneret, | anxia liberet, | æthera donet,
Auferat aspera | duraque pondera | mentes onustæ,
Sobria muniat, | improba puniat, | utraque justæ.

The most familiar translation, (or rather *paraphrase*), is the beautiful "*Celestial Country*" of Dr. John Mason Neale; from which are taken our well known hymns, "Brief life is here our portion;" "Jerusalem the golden," and others in the Hymnal.

But Neale's version is not in the metre of the original, and is on the whole a very free rendering of Bernard's verses.

DR. COLES gives a version of Trench's Cento in a metre somewhat different from the original, beginning:

*"The last of the hours, iniquity towers,
 The times are the worst, let us vigils be keeping!
 Lest the Judge Who is near, and soon to appear,
 Shall us at His coming find slumbering and sleeping.
 He is nigh, He is nigh! He descends from the sky
 For the ending of evil, the right's coronation,
 The just to reward, relief to afford,
 And the heavens bestow for the saints' habitation."*

He also gives us (but less happily) a few lines in the original metre:

*"Last hours now tolling are, worst times unrolling are ;
 Watch ! there is danger.
 Lo ! in sublimity, threatening proximity,
 Hover' th th' Avenger !"*

In "The Seven great Hymns," the opinion is uttered, that the "verse is so difficult that the English language is incapable of expressing it." (p. 3) This "impossible" task, however, has been attempted several times. MR. S. W. DUFFIELD gives a version of the Cento, and with what success our readers must judge from this specimen :

*"These are the latter times, these are not better times :
 Let us stand waiting.
 Lo ! hoo with awfulness, He, first in lawfulness,
 Comes arbitrating.
 Land of delightfulness, safe from all spitefulness,
 Safe from all trouble,
 Thou shalt be filled again, Israel built again ;
 Joy shall redouble."*

Gerard Moultrie, (who ranks next to Edward Caswall as a translator of Latin hymns), meets with better success :

*"Fast fall the sands of time, high fills the cup of crime: watch! For the warning
 Light through the gloom is shed, showing to quick and dead the Judgment morning !
 The world is waxing old, the sum of days is told, the Judge is seated
 On the white throne of doom: at last the end is come, the work completed.
 At length the day draws near, the day of woe and fear, the term of ages,
 That fearful reckoning day, when God to man shall pay his meted wages."*

Having before me the entire poem of Bernard in its Latin original, I had hoped to prepare a translation, in season for this number of the REVIEW, of *all* the verses relating to the Celestial Country; but other imperative engagements have hindered the work, and I must content myself with a few lines, not following the order of Trench's Cento.

I beg leave in this connection to acknowledge the great kindness of the learned and venerable Dr. Schaff, who has placed at my disposal his valuable library of Hymnological works in the Bible-house, where these lines are written.

BERNHARDVS CLVN.

DE CONTEMPTU MUNDI, AD PETRUM ABBATEM SUUM.

These are the latest hours, Now reign the evil powers,
 Let us be waking.
 Lo! in the eastern sky. Comes the Great Judge on high,
 Just vengeance taking.
 Nearer and nearer draws He, Who will try our cause,
 Rectitude showing;
 Sin's strife to terminate, Sad souls to liberate,
 Heaven's crown bestowing.
 Making rough places straight, Lifting the heavy weight
 Of the mind's burden;
 Chaste souls He fortifies, Guilty hearts terrifies
 With His just guerdon.
 Grand in His power and Love, Comes the King from above
 Just ones to gather:
 Rise, guilty man, appear! See, the GOD-MAN is near,
 Judge from the Father!
 Rise now and swiftly run In the strait way and shun
 Sin, while thou mayest.
 Quickly the King doth come, Speaking thine endless doom,
 If thou delayest.
 * * * * *
 Rise, man of GOD, arise! Shun error's subtle guise,
 Seek things immortal.
 Let tears of sorrow flow, Still weeping onward go—
 On to Life's portal.
 There light shall meet thy gaze, Light without evening rays,
 Or moonbeams shining:
 New light shall o'er thee stream, Light golden, in its beam
 All rays combining.
 There power and wisdom reign In a land, free from pain,
 Blest in its beauty;
 Kingdoms the Lord bestows On him, who forward goes
 In paths of duty.
 There a new glory shines, Tracing in fairest lines
 Light on the lowly;
 Making dark places plain—While there shall ever reign
 True Sabbaths holy.
 There the glad Hebrew goes Free from his cruel foes,
 Joyfully singing—
 Sings the blest Jubilee, setting sin's captives free—
 Heaven's arches ringing.

That glorious land of light, Safe from the tempest's blight,
 Free from contention,
 Folds in its fond embrace All of true Israel's race,
 Just in intention.
 Land of celestial bowers, Country of fadeless flowers,
 Safe from all danger,
 Thou art for faithful men—There dwells Heaven's citizen,
 Here but earth's stranger.
 Gazing with pious awe On Him, Who gave the Law
 'Mid flames and thunder,
 Knowledge and power are given To the blest sons of Heaven—
 Peace passing wonder.
 Peace for the faithful soul, Reaching salvation's goal
 Through paths of sorrow—
 Peace ne'er to pass away, Knowing no change of day,
 Knowing no morrow.
 Peace, for all sin is past; Peace from the tempest's blast;
 Peace, without striving;
 For weary feet a rest, Anchor for souls distrest,
 Safely arriving.
 Peace shall be given to all. On whom shall peace then fall?
 Souls that live purely,
 Gentle and good in life, Armed for the holy strife,
 Speaking truth surely.
 There bowers with odors teem, There flows God's holy stream,
 Faithful souls cheering,
 Souls full of grace and joy—Anthems their tongues employ
 Sweet and endearing.
 There full redemption lives, God full refreshment gives,
 Heaven's joy is given:
 Force, sin and grief are fled, Sorrow and strife are dead,
 Pain hence is driven.
 Nought there is weak in years, Nought there is full of tears,
 Nought rent by sorrow.
 There peace forever lives, There joy forever gives
 An endless morrow.
 Here sinful passions rage, Here crimes their warfare wage,
 Peace hath no pity;
 There peace is free from strife, There peace hath endless life
 In Syon's city.
 O sacred stream of joy, O food without alloy!
 Peace, in thy vision
 Sad souls are soothed to rest, Hearts rent by grief are blest
 With joys elysian.

* * * * *

Here brief is mortal life, Here brief our pain and strife,
 Here brief our weeping:

Not a brief harvest there Of life and life's short care
Shall we be reaping.

O retribution! how Brief is our action now—
Life is eternal.

O retribution! then Stand for polluted men
Mansions supernal.

What shall be given? to whom? Skies to the sons of doom
Of a cross worthy:

Stars to the worms of dust, Blessings to men unjust,
Heaven to the earthy.

Now are our battles fought, Then gifts of glory brought:
What are these prizes?¹

"Seek you to *guess*? Hence * *
* * —from his bright *Presence*."

Full of refreshment's joy—Passion can ne'er annoy,
Pain ne'er arises.

Now we but live in hope, Fair Syon scarce can cope
With Babel's malice.

Now is her sorrow's hour—Then shall she reign with power
Crowned in God's palace.

Soon endless day shall dawn, Night flee before the morn,
Strife yield to order.

To him, who purely lives, There joy celestial gives
God, the Rewarder.

Then shall the holy hear That blessed sentence clear—
See, thy King standeth!

Look on the Prince of day—Ancient laws pass away
When He commandeth.

My King my joy shall be, His Sovereign Majesty,
Brilliantly blazing,

Shall I behold in love—Nought shall my soul remove,
Rapturously gazing.

Jacob as Israel, Leah as fair Rachel
There shall be greeted.

Then shall bright Syon's halls, Girt 'round with beauty's walls,
Stand all-completed.

O noble Fatherland, For thee we waiting stand,
Watching, unsleeping.

Hearing thy sacred name, Love kindles into flame,
Fond hearts are weeping.

Mention of thy sweet rest Unction gives to the breast,
Healing all sorrow,

¹Gerard Moultrie indulges himself here in a most extraordinary rhyme:

Thought of Thy glory bright Sheds heaven's celestial light
 On earth's dark morrow.
 Thou art the one fair spot Sin hath polluted not,
 Dear land of Heaven.
 Tears are not found in thee, Joy dwelleth calm and free,
 Rest shall be given.
 Bright laurel decks thy bowers, Where the grand cedar towers
 Hyssop is growing :
 Carbuncles grace thy halls, Jasper thy radiant walls,
 Evermore glowing.
 Sardius and topaz blaze, Amethyst sheds its rays ;
 But best and rarest
 Of pure gems found in thee, Fair are the saints to see—
 CHRIST is the fairest.
 He is thy Life and Light, He by His Cross in might
 Crushed foes infernal :
 Praises that never cease Ring to the Prince of Peace,
 Praises eternal.
 He is thy golden Dower, Nazareth's Gem and Flower,
 King of the lowly,
 Jesus, both Man and God, Golden Ring, mystic Rod,
 Garden all holy,
 Door and Door-keeper fair, Harbor and Master there,
 Food all-sufficing ;
 He giveth safety free, He bringeth light to thee,—
 Pledge, Bridegroom, Rising.
 Thou art without a shore, Mount flowing evermore,
 Ocean unbounded.
 There stands thy living Rock, There the wild tempest's shock
 Falls back confounded.
 God is that living Stone, God on His sapphire Throne,
 Shield from disaster,
 Rampart inviolate, Ruler of Time and Fate—
 Nought is His master.
 Laurel wreaths crown thy brow, Rich golden dower hast thou,
 Spouse rich in blessing.
 Sweet is thy Prince's kiss, Filling thy soul with bliss,
 God's Love possessing.
 Thy locks white lilies deck, Living pearls on thy neck
 Shine, ever gleaming.
 See, the Lamb by thee stands, Clasps thee with piercéd hands
 In glory beaming !
 He is thy Peace, Reward, Maker, Redeemer, Guard,
 Life's sacred Portal :
 Thine is to praise His Name, Tell of His Power and Fame
 Through Life immortal.

Thy sweetest, best employ Is to rehearse thy joy,
 Blest anthems singing,
 For sorrow passed away, For joy's eternal day,
 Fond praises bringing.

* * * * *

O golden Syon, blest, Milk-white,¹ in beauty dressed,
 Fair to the vision,
 All hearts must sink oppressed, Could they but see thy rest,
 Thy joys elysian.
 I know not, cannot know, How sweet thy song shall grow,
 What light is shining,
 What social joys are there, What special glory fair
 With love combining.
 Striving to know that joy, Pure, sweet, without alloy,
 Faint grows my spirit.
 O glory fair and blest, Vainly my heart seeks rest
 Thee to inherit.
 There are dear Syon's courts, Ringing with hallowed sports,
 Blest martyrs praising;
 Gleaming with golden throngs, Praising their Prince in songs,
 Light o'er them blazing.
 There is their pasture land, There drink they waters bland
 From Life's still river.
 There God His Throne shall place, There feed His just with grace,
 Praising the Giver.

* * * * *

O lovely Fatherland, Shall I within thee stand,
 Charmed by thy beauty?
 O lovely Fatherland, May He, Who holds my hand,
 Lead me in duty!

THE DIES IRÆ.

A brief sketch of this poem with its wonderful history has been already given in the CHURCH REVIEW.² To it I would add here an

¹Dr. Neale's well-known and pretty version,
 "With milk and honey blest,"

does not convey the true meaning of the original,

Patria lactea. Also, Moultrie, "flowing with milk thy fold."

²See my monograph, "*The Dies Iræ*," with a cento and paraphrase, in the *American Church Review* for April, 1873.

interesting incident, somewhat similar to my own experience in the Franenkirche of Dresden, described in that article. Dr. Schaff¹ quotes "the remark of Tholuck, as to the deep sensation produced by the singing of this hymn in the University Church at Halle: 'The impression, especially that which was made by the last words, as sung by the University choir alone, will be forgotten by no one.' An American clergyman, present on the occasion, said: 'It was impossible to refrain from tears, when, at the seventh stanza, all the trumpets ceased, and the choir, accompanied by a softened tone of the organ, sang those touching lines,'

quid sum miser tunc dicturus."

Since the appearance of the REVIEW article alluded to, Gen. Dix has prepared and published (*Scribner's Magazine*, April, 1876) a revision of his translation, which commences:

Day of vengeance, lo! that morning
On the earth in ashes dawning,
David with the Sibyl warning.

I have prepared a new translation; or, (more properly speaking), will add another to the many preceding failures to render into English verse this untranslatable hymn.

I.

Day of wrath, that day undying!
David and the Sybil, sighing,
Tell of worlds in ashes lying.

What dread fear man's heart benumbeth,
When the Judge in glory cometh,
And all actions strictly summeth!

Then the Trump, with voice astounding
Through earth's sepulchres resounding,
Gathers all, God's Throne surrounding.

Death stands dumb, and nature quivers,
When the creature, earth delivers
To its Judge, 'mid flaming rivers.

He, the written book explaining,
Shows all actions guilt containing,
Thence the world for sin arraigning.

¹ "Hours at Home," May, 1868.

When that awful Judge is seated,
Hidden things appear completed,
All have justice duly meted.

What shall I, poor wretch, be saying,
To what patron saint be praying,
When the just scarce safe is staying?

King of majesty and splendor,
Who to saints free grace dost render,
Save me, Fount of love most tender!

Think, kind JESU, how my sinning
Caused Thine earthly path's beginning;
Let me not death's doom be winning!

Seeking me Thou sittest tired,
On the cross for me expired:
Not in vain be this required!

Righteous Judge of just decision,
Grant the gift of free remission
Ere that Day of dread division!

As a culprit stand I grieving,
Flushed my face, my bosom heaving:
Spare me, GOD, my errors leaving!

Thou, Who Mary hast forgiven,¹
Heardst the thief with anguish riven,
Me true hope hast also given.

Worthless is my best petition,
Pity Thou my lost condition,
Save from endless flame's perdition.

To Thy chosen sheep ally me,
To the guilty goats deny me,
On Thy right a place supply me.

When the wicked are accursèd,
In hell's bitter flames immersèd,
Be my name as blest rehearsèd!

Hear Thy suppliant to Thee crying,
See my heart in ashes lying,
Grant Thy peace to me when dying!

* * * * *

¹The Hymnal of 1874, (which as a work of art is beneath contempt), among its other "improvements" has "tinkered" Dr. Irons' version of the *Dies Irae*. What evil genius could have prompted this disgusting and execrable line,

"Thou the *harlot* gav'st remission,"

as a rendering of the beautiful original,

Qui Mariam absolvisti?

On that tearful day of burning,
Guilty man, from dust returning,
To Thy judgment comes in terror:
Spare him GOD, forgive his error!

JESU, Lord of mercy blest,
Grant them Thine eternal rest!

Amen.

II.

Day of wrath! That awful day
Shall all worlds in ashes lay,
David and the Sybil say.

Oh! what fear shall strike man dumb,
When th' omniscient Judge shall come,
All to mark and all to sum!

Then the trumpet, scattering sound
Through earth's regions underground,
Makes the dead GOD's Throne surround.

Death stands mute 'mid nature's gloom,
When creation, from its tomb,
Answers to the Judge's doom.

See the written Book appear
With all sins in letters clear;
Thence the world shall judgment hear.

When the Judge sits throned in light,
Hidden things shine forth all bright,
Nought unmarked escapes His sight.

What shall I, frail man, then say?
To what guardian creature pray,
When the faithful fear that Day?

King of awful majesty,
Giving grace and mercy free,
Save me, Fount of piety!

JESU blest, in pity think,
Thou for me Death's cup didst drink;
Let me not to ruin sink!

Thou for me didst suffer pain,
On the Cross my life didst gain:
Let such labor not be vain!

Righteous Judge of just decree,
Grant Thy pardon unto me,
Ere that day of agony! (destiny!)

As a culprit doomed I groan,
 See my blushes, hear my moan :
 Spare, O God—Thy suppliant own !
 Thou, Who Mary didst forgive,
 Bad'st the dying robber live,
 Me Thy hope canst also give.

Worthless are my prayers and tears—
 Let Thy mercy still my fears,
 Lest I burn through endless years.

With Thy blest sheep bid me stand,
 Save me from the goats' vile band,
 Place me on Thine own right hand.

When the accurst to ruin fall,
 Hidden by the fiery pall,
 Me amid thy blest ones call !

Suppliant at Thy feet I cry,
 See my heart in ashes lie,
 Grant me mercy ere I die !

On that tearful day of doom,
 When man rises from his tomb,
 Guilty man must meet Thee there :
 Spare him, GOD, in mercy spare !
 Holy JESU, meek and blest,
 Grant, Oh ! grant, eternal rest ! Amen.

DIES ILLA.

AN IMITATION.

Think, dear souls, while yet ye may,
 Of that swift-approaching Day,
 When this world shall pass away :
 When the awful Trump shall sound,
 When the dead beneath the ground
 Rise to meet their Monarch crowned !

He, Who did for sins atone,
 Seated on His Judgment Throne,
 Shall His faithful people own.

On His right the blessed sheep,
 Who their sins on earth did weep,
 Shall in joy their harvest reap.

On His left the goats shall stand,
Banished by His just command
From the fair Celestial Land.

Open lies the Book of Doom,
Where the Judgment fires illume
Sins now risen from their tomb.

Oh ! that Book—what hand shall hide
Deeds of wrath and thoughts of pride,
Sins that loud for vengeance cried ?

One blest Hand can blot that page,
Pierced for guilt of every age
On the Cross by Satan's rage.

Hark ! the Voice celestial cries :
" Come, ye blessed ones, arise
To your mansions in the skies.

Ye did bless Me when in need,
Did the poor and hungry feed ;
Ye are Israel's chosen seed ! "

But to sinners shall He cry :
" Go, ye cursed, from the sky,
Into flames that never die.

Ye no grace nor love did show
To the poor on earth below ;
Hence depart to endless woe ! "

Down they rush to flaming fire,
Where their worm shall not expire,
Nor their fierce tormentors tire.

Then to fair Jerusalem's halls,
Girt by everlasting walls,
God His faithful people calls.

There the light of Peace they see,
Taste of Life's unfading tree,
Drink the crystal waters free.

Blessed JESU, meek and mild,
Born the Virgin's spotless Child,
Holy, harmless, undefiled :

Think upon Thine earthly years,
Think upon Thy griefs and fears,
Save me by Thy bitter tears !

Thou Who didst o'er Syon weep,
Wake the dead from death's long sleep,
Still with me Thy covenant keep.

Weeping at Thy feet I lie,
 Still for aid and mercy cry;
 Hear, oh! hear the mourner's sigh!
 On that Day of doom and grace,
 When I meet Thee face to face,
 Grant me with Thy saints a place!

Other versions of the *Dies Iræ* are by *Dr. Abraham Coles, of Newark, New Jersey*:

- (1) Day shall dawn that has no morrow,
 Day of Vengeance, day of sorrow,
 As from Prophecy we borrow.
- (2) Day of vengeance and of Wages,
 Fiery goal of all the ages,
 Burden of prophetic pages!
- (3) Day of Prophecy! it flashes,
 Falling spheres together dashes
 And the world consumes to ashes.
- (4) Day of vengeance, end of scorning,
 World in ashes, world in mourning,
 Whereof Prophets utter warning!
- (5) Day of wrath and consternation,
 Day of fiery consummation,
 Prophesied in Revelation!

Dr. W. R. Williams, New York, 1851:

Day of wrath! that day dismaying;—
 As the seers of old were saying.
 All the world in ashes laying.

Henry Mills, D. D., of Auburn, New York:

Day of wrath—the sinner dooming,
 Earth with all its work consuming,
 Scripture warns—that day is coming.

Robert Davidson, D. D., Huntingdon, L. I.:

Day of wrath! that day is hastening,
 All the world in ashes wasting.
 David with the Sibyl testing.

Epes Sargent, Esq. :

Day of ire, that day impending,
Earth shall melt, in ashes ending—
Seer and Sibyl so portending.

Anonymous :

Day of wrath ! that day appalling !
Words of ancient Seers recalling :
Earth on fire, in ashes falling.

Erastus C. Benedict, Esq., of New York :

- (1) Day of threatened wrath from heaven,
To the sinful, unforgiven !
Earth on fire, to ashes driven !
- (2) Day of wrath, with vengeance glowing !
Seer and Sibyl long foreknowing !
Earth and time to ruin going !¹

The hymn has been often translated into *German*. Lisco's book, with *eighty-one* versions lies before me. The best is that given by Dr. Schaff in his *Gesangbuch* : (484)

An dem Tag der Zornesfülle
Sinkt die Welt in Aschenhülle :
So zeugt David und Sibylle.

I know of but one translation in *French*, and a very poor one ;
not in the metre of the original :

O jour du Dieu vengeur, où pour punir les crimes
Un déluge brûlant sortira des abîmes, etc.

There is a translation in modern *Greek*, (Daniel ii., 105) :

Ἡ ὀργὴς ἐκεῖν ἡμέρα,
Καθ' ἣν τέφρα γίν' ἡ σφαῖρα.
Δὲν ἐπρέθη φρικτωτέρα.

And another in Hebrew, (p 387).

The hymn was shamefully parodied in 1700 by a *Priest* in Holland :

Dies iræ, dies illa
Solvat foedus in favilla,
Teste Tago, Scaldi, Scylla.

¹For these versions I am indebted to Dr. Schaff. See several others, given in full in *Church Review* for April, 1873.

The Mantuan slab opens the hymn with four stanzas, which are generally believed to be spurious.

Cogita } anima fidelis, Quæso }	Think, } dear soul, as earth grows hoary, Ask }
Ad quid respondere velis Christo venturo de cœlis.	What will be Thine earthly story When from Heaven Christ comes in glory
Cum deposcet rationem Ob boni omissionem, Ob mali commissionem.	When He maketh inquisition For good earthly deeds' omission, And thy wilful sins' commission.
Dies illa, dies iræ, Quam conemur prævenire, Obviamque Deo iræ, (iræ;)	O that day, that day of wailing! Heart and flesh in sorrow failing! Meet thy God, by grace prevailing;
Seria contritione, Gratiæ apprehensione, Vitæ emendatione.	By a sure and true contrition, By a meek and mild submission, By thy life's new, pure condition.

And it concludes with,

Consors ut beatitatis Vivam cum justificatis In ævum æternitatis. <i>Amen.</i>	Let me live, my Saviour pleasing, With the just, my joy increasing In a life of bliss unceasing. <i>Amen.</i>
--	---

The Hämmerlin text ends with these stanzas :

Lacrymosa die illa, Cum resurget ex favilla, Tanquam ignis ex scintilla, Judicandus homo rous; Huic ergo parce, Deus, Esto semper adjutor meus!	On that day of tears and crying, When from ashes, mutely lying. Comes, like fire from embers dying, Man, the guilty, doomed law-breaker, To Thy Throne, my God and Maker;— Make me of Thy grace partaker!
Quando cœli sunt movendi, Dies adsunt tunc tremendi, Nullum tempus pœnitendi.	With the skies in ruin falling On that Day of Doom appalling, Man in vain for help is calling.
Sed salvatis læta dies, Et damnatis nulla quies, Sed dæmonum effigies.	To the saved it opens Heaven, To the doomed no rest is given, Into shape of demons driven.
O tu Deus majestatis Alme candor Trinitatis, Nunc conjunge cum beatiss!	God of Majesty most tender, Trinity's eternal splendor, With the blest my portion render!
Vitam meam fac felicem, Propter tuam genetricem, Jesse florem et radicem.	Let my life be free from sighing, For Thy Parent's sake now crying: Jesse's flower and root undying.

Præsta nobis tunc levamen,
Dulce nostrum fac certamen,
Ut clamemus omnes, *Amen!*

Aid Thy weak and struggling laymen,
Fight for them with sin's highwaymen,
That our souls may answer, *Amen.*

NOTE.—I beg leave to add here *S. Hilary's* famous morning hymn, which belongs properly to my *first* article, but is of more recent translation.

HYMNUS MATUTINUS.

Lucis largitor splendide,
Cujus sereno lumine
Post lapsa noctis tempora
Dies refusus panditur;

Tu verus mundi Lucifer,
Non is, qui parvi sideris
Venturæ lucis nuntius
Angusto fulget lumine,

Sed toto sole clarior,
Lux ipse totus et dies,
Interna nostri pectoris
Illuminans præcordia:

Adesto, rerum conditor,
Paternæ lucis gloria,
Cujus admota gratia
Nostra pateant corpora.

Tuoque plena spiritu,
Tecum Deum gestantia,
Ne rapientis perfidi
Diris pateant fraudibus,

Ut inter actus sæculi
Vitæ quos usus exigit,
Omni carentes crimine
Tuis vivamus legibus.

Probrosas mentis castitas
Carnis vincat libidines,
Sanctumque puri corporis
Delubrum servet Spiritus.

Hæc spes præcantis animæ
Hæc sunt votiva munera,
Ut matutina nobis sit
Lux in noctis custodian.

Majestic Fount of endless Light,
Whose calm and never-fading Ray
Dispels the noxious shades of night
And pours on earth the joys of day,

Thou, the true-Morning Star of earth,
Not that faint-gleaming, orient star,
The messenger of daylight's birth,
That ushers in Aurora's car,

But, brighter than its brightest gleam,
Thyself all Day, all perfect Light,
Illuminating with Thy Beam
Our hearts' recesses in Thy sight:

Come with the dawn, Creator blest,
Bright Glory of the Father's face,
And pour within each darkened breast
The rich effulgence of Thy grace.

Let not our hearts a temple meet
Where Thou as God shouldst ever dwell,
Be victims of the dire deceit
Of Satan and the hosts of hell,

But 'mid the busy cares of life.
While still we walk as pilgrims here,
Teach us, released from sin and strife,
To do Thy will with holy fear.

May perfect chastity divine
Vanquish each hateful, carnal lust,
And make Thy Spirit's sacred shrine
The hallowed bodies of the just.

This hope inspires each suppliant soul,
This prayer we offer, Saviour blest,
That morn's fair light may onward roll
And guide us safe to night's sweet rest.

JOHN ANKETELL, A. M.

BISHOP JOHNS.

It would be impossible within the limits of an Article in this REVIEW, to do justice to the personal character and work of Bishop Johns. To form any just idea of what he was, we must have before us the events of his life in detail, his familiar letters given, and both arranged, if possible with the skill of Dean Stanley in his life of Arnold.

As the Bishop requested that his manuscripts should not be published, there is no hope of his life being written, and this makes it the more fitting that he should not be allowed to sink into the grave without some imperfect memorial and tribute to his character.

It is a remark as old as Thucydides, that "it is difficult to speak with moderation of the departed, for the hearer, who knows and loves them, will think that you fall short of what he knows, while he, who is unacquainted with them, will think that you exaggerate;" so to those, who never knew Bishop Johns, it is difficult to give any adequate conception of the man.

Bishop Johns, at the time of his death, had nearly completed his eightieth year. He was born in 1796, in the town of Newcastle, Delaware. I am indebted to his classmate in Princeton College, Rev. Dr. Hodge, for some information as to his early life. He was, undoubtedly, by his natural gifts, "fashioned to much honor." It would be very desirable if we knew more of the elements, which, in early life, contributed to the building up of his character. It is just here that most biographies are deficient. The youth of a man, who has lived to old age, is forgotten by his few contemporaries who survive, and many things have even faded from his own memory, and been effaced by nearer and more exciting events.

The character of a man depends so much upon the circumstan-

ces of his birth and education, that John Locke said, that "the difference to be found in the manners and abilities of men, is owing more to their education than to anything else. I think, I may say, that of all the men we meet with, nine out of ten are what they are—good or evil, useful or not—by their education." Bishop Johns was placed in the most favorable circumstances for the best early training. He was brought up in the bosom of a refined and highly cultivated family. His father, Judge Johns, was Chancellor of the State of Delaware. In his native town, there were two churches, the one Episcopal, of which the Rev. Mr. Clay was Rector, and the other Presbyterian. Each of these ministers had an additional country parish, and they so arranged it, that they never officiated in the town the same part of the day on Sunday. Hence it was that the same congregation went in the morning to the one church, and in the afternoon to the other. In Judge Johns' family some of the children were Presbyterians, and others Episcopalians. Under these circumstances, it was not surprising that the Bishop in the early part of his preparatory course, was undecided as to the church in which he should minister. The late Rev. Dr. James P. Wilson, afterwards an eminent Presbyterian minister, was a distinguished lawyer, and an intimate friend of Judge Johns. It is not a little singular, that under his advice the Bishop decided to enter the ministry of the Episcopal Church, Dr. Hodge says:

This decision, although neither of us at the time knew anything about it, determined my whole course in life. When Dr. Archibald Alexander was appointed Professor in the Seminary at Princeton, he had under his care the departments of didactic, polemic, and pastoral theology, together with instruction in Hebrew. He soon found that this was too burdensome, and therefore determined to select some young man, on whom he might devolve the Hebrew department. He selected Johns. When he decided to enter the Episcopal Church, he took up with me. Johns was always first, first everywhere, and first in everything. His success was largely due to his conscientious determination always to do his best. He was always thoroughly prepared for every exercise in the College and in the Seminary. When in the Seminary, he would be able, day after day to give what Turretin, our text book, calls the state of the question—stating that the question is not this or that, until every foreign element is eliminated, and then the precise point in hand is laid down with unmistakable precision. Then follow in distinct paragraphs, the arguments in its support; then come the answers to objections. Dr. Alexander was accustomed to give us from twenty to forty quarto pages in Latin to read for a recitation. When we came to recite, the professor would place the book before him and ask, What is the state of the question? What is the first argument, etc? Then, what is the first objection

and its answer? Dr. Johns would be able, day after day, to give the state of the Question, all the arguments in its support in their order, all the objections and the answers to them, through the whole thirty or forty pages, without the professor saying a word to him.

As I have quoted Dr. Hodge's letter, I cannot forbear giving further his beautiful tribute to the memory of his classmate for seven years, first in the College, and then in the Seminary.

In the great day of penitential sorrow, predicted by the prophet, it is said, "Every family shall mourn apart." So when such a man as Bishop Johns is taken away, the whole land mourneth, his own household, his church, the community, each apart, so I mourn alone. He was an honor and blessing to his Church, but he was to me, what he was to no one else. With the single exception of my own and early brother, I never had such a friend. For nearly sixty-four years we were as intimate and confidential as though we had been born at one birth. In all this time, to the best of my recollection, there was never an angry word passed between us. I feel like the last tree of a forest. Two of our college vacations of six weeks each, I spent with him in his home at Newcastle. We prayed together, and in social religious meetings told the people the little we knew of Christ, helping each other out. He was only eighteen months my senior, yet his feeling towards me was always somewhat paternal. He used to say, "that he brought me up, and if I did not take care he would bring me down." If he approved of anything I had written, his usual way of expressing it was, "Charles, I think I wrote that." Alas! alas! he is gone, I cannot speak of him, except as to what he was to me, so good, so kind, so loving, without a shadow of change for sixty-four years. Our last interview in May last, was the most loving of our whole lives. The recollections and love of sixty years were gathered into those few hours. Our parting was solemn, tender and lingering. We looked steadily at each other with tearful eyes, knowing that possibly and even probably it was for the last time, but in the calm hope that in any event the separation could not be for long. I have no such friend on earth. I mourn apart.

After his ordination by Bishop White,¹ in 1819, he began his ministry in Frederick, Maryland. From the start, he took a high rank as a preacher. Dr. Hodge says, that he told him, that he always began to write his sermon on Monday morning, got it done by Wednesday evening, and began to commit it on Thursday morning.

Bishop Johns as a *preacher*, had a rare combination of natural

¹ Bishop Johns entered Princeton College in 1812; the Theological Seminary in 1816; was ordained by Bishop White in 1819; began his ministry in Frederick, Md., became Rector of old Christ Church, Baltimore, 1829; was consecrated Assistant Bishop of Virginia, 1842; became Bishop by the death of Bishop Meade, in 1862.

gifts. He had a well modulated voice, an earnest and impassioned delivery, with much and graceful gesture, a memory so tenacious, that all he knew was at his command and never seemed to fail him, and the rare gift of unction. He never, to my knowledge, used a manuscript, nor any notes whatever, not even when preaching on that grand and solemn occasion, before the General Convention in 1871, in Baltimore. He told me, that he would be as much embarrassed by the use of a manuscript, as a person who was in the habit of using one would be without it. Of his Sermon before the General Convention, Bishop Selwyn said "we heard words which should bind us all together in one heart, and in one soul, from the one simple principle so clearly pointed out to us by that reverend pastor, who addressed us yesterday *that the love of Christ constraineth us.*" Dean Howson further said :

I could not help thinking of the Apostle Paul during the concluding words of that most effective, most serious sermon, which we had the advantage of listening to from the Bishop, who was the preacher yesterday. I felt that he had concentrated in that sermon, the main spirit of St. Paul's life and character, and it seemed to me as he spoke (evidently showing the traces of long experience and hard work), that there was a persuasiveness in his language and his manner of speaking, which was extremely like what must have been witnessed and heard by those who listened to the great Apostle, and I felt deeply thankful that you care for the spiritual religion of each individual soul in communion with our living and personal Saviour. The impression at the close of that sermon was simply this, that I never before had fully understood the depth and breadth of those words which we are constantly using in our public worship, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church, the communion of Saints."

Bishop Johns began, as we have seen, by memorizing his sermons, which he had previously written. This habit, after a time, he discontinued, and in its place he wrote his sermon on his mind, and to assist him in pursuing the same train of thought and language, he wrote down on a scrap of paper the first word of every sentence. This he carried with him into the pulpit, though he made no use of it. While such a method of preparation could not be judiciously recommended to every one, no doubt it was the best for him. He laid the foundation by a thorough study of his matter. He had that most valuable of all acquisitions, the methodical arrangement of his thoughts and words, grounded on the habit of foreseeing in every sentence the whole that he intended to communicate. In this way, he avoided the usual faults of what is

called extemporaneous speech, its shallowness, discursiveness, and wearisome repetition.

This habit no doubt contributed to his remarkable readiness of speech on all occasions, in which I never knew anyone in Congress, or at the bar to excel him. He never seemed to find any difficulty in expressing himself, and that by the most apt and felicitous words. No difference in his style could be detected when called upon unexpectedly to speak, or when he had time to study his subject previously. All these natural and acquired gifts gave him great reputation as a preacher. Whenever he preached, the people pressed to hear him. He had also the power, greatly to be coveted, of adapting himself to every audience. On one occasion he told me, that he had not decided what sermon to preach, till he had seen the audience. It need scarcely be said to all who have heard him, that like his great prototype, the Apostle Paul, he testified "repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ." He was of the mind of his favorite, Archbishop Leighton, that "to exhort men to holiness and the duties of a christian life without instructing them in the doctrine of faith, and bringing them to Jesus Christ, is to build a house without a foundation. And, on the other side, to instruct the mind in the knowledge of divine things, and neglect the pressing of that practice and power of godliness, is to forget the building, that ought to be raised upon that foundation once laid, which is likewise a point of very great folly."

Bishop Johns gloried in the Cross of Christ. He led his hearers there, and besought them to turn aside, and see the great sight of a crucified Saviour. He might have applied to himself the words, "when we rise, the cross; when we lie down, the cross; when we go out, and when we come in, the cross; at all times and in all places, the cross, shining more glorious than the sun." Whatever was his subject, he seemed to be led naturally by it to speak of Christ. His sermons were variations of one theme, which to him never lost its freshness and interest and power, but seemed to grow upon him, as though he was telling the good news of salvation as *news*, and not as a thrice told tale, as though he had received it fresh from heaven, as though he had himself believed it for the first time. On the fifty-fifth anniversary of his ordination, he

preached in the chapel of the Theological Seminary, and after expressing his gratitude to God that He had called him by His grace to the ministry of reconciliation, and granted him so long a continuance in it; he earnestly and affectionately exhorted his young brethren never to be weary in the service of their Lord and Master. He was a laborious preacher, and labored to the last. It was no uncommon thing for him to preach twice a day, and that for a fortnight together. His favorite subjects were, The martyrdom of Stephen—In My Father's house are many mansions—Compel them to come in—Who of God is made unto us wisdom, etc.,—Many shall seek to enter in and shall not be able—My heart is fixed—Serving the Lord.

It may be expected, that something should be said of Bishop Johns position as to the questions which agitate our church. To urge his own words, in speaking of the Seminary at Alexandria, "the ecclesiastical polity inculcated and maintained here has been that set forth in the preface to the ordination service—so much, no more, no less." He held with Bishop White, that "while the Church of England decidedly set her foot on the ground of the Apostolic origin of episcopacy, she carefully avoided passing a judgment on the validity of the ministry of other churches." In his letter to the Rev. Mr. Latanè, he quoted with approbation Archbishop Usher's declaration, "However I must needs think, that the churches which have no Bishops are thereby become very much defective in their government, but I do love and honor these churches as true members of the Church Universal."

In the same letter, he interprets the canon, "of persons not ministers of this Church, officiating in any congregation thereof," "as not declaring that no persons are *Ministers* except those ordained to minister in this church, but simply that such only are allowed to officiate for our people." Adopting these views, he felt it his duty to act with those out of our church in the Bible Society, and thus promote a good understanding among christians of different denominations, and cultivate peace and good will among all christian people. He was unwilling, so far as he had influence, that our church should assume an isolated attitude towards the great mass of fellow christians. He was of opinion that there was a common ground of co-operation, and a centre of union in such a

cause as that of the American Bible Society, and he advocated its cause, a few years ago, in a powerful speech at its Anniversary. He did not believe that in doing so he sacrificed the attachment he owed his own church, nor surrendered the *smallest atom* of his own opinions and practices. He loved in truth the good of every name, and his prayer was that of the Apostle, grace be with all them, who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity!

As *Bishop*, in the administration of the affairs of his own Diocese, and of the general church, he manifested wisdom, faithfulness, promptness in the exercise of discipline and love. In his first Address to the Council of his Diocese, he said, "my heart's desire and prayer to God is, that I may be blessed with the faithful and affectionate spirit, with which Bishop Moore served Christ, and be honored to sustain the church in this Diocese." He did not boast of the authority which the Lord had given him for the edification of his church, nor assert any claims of prerogative, which would be called in question, and lead to controversy, but exercised his office with such gentleness and prudence, that due obedience was rendered willingly by all.

In his letter to the Rev. Mr. Latané who withdrew from the church, after showing that his reasons for so doing were invalid, he closes in this affectionate manner.

"Paul and Barnabas departed asunder—that was all—neither of them *withdrew from the church*. If, however, you think you must make the experiment, I trust you will only depart for a season, and if my already prolonged life is extended so far, you will find me ready, or rather hastening, as fast as my tottering steps will permit, to welcome you to your early home."

In his opposition to Ritualism he was firm and decided. He was one of the twenty-eight Bishops who signed a declaration against it,¹ and in one of his Annual Addresses he expressed his disapprobation of floral decorations in churches.

¹The Declaration of twenty-eight Bishops, drafted by Bishop Cox, January 10th, 1867, contains the following: "We therefore consider, that in this particular National Church, any attempt to introduce into the public worship of Almighty God usages that have never been known, such as the use of incense, and the burning of lights in the order for the Holy Communion, *reverences to the Holy Table, or to the elements thereon*, the adoption of clerical habits hitherto unknown, or material alterations of those in use, is an innovation which violates the discipline of the church."

In the General Convention of 1871, he had an important influence in the all but unanimous adoption by the Bishops of the Declaration, touching the meaning of the service for Infant Baptism, that "we declare, that in our opinion, the word 'Regenerate' is not there so used as to determine that a moral change in the subject of Baptism is wrought by that sacrament." He told me, that the word "*determine*," occurred to him as the best word, while passing a sleepless night before its passage. On the question of some alternate form in the Baptismal service, he thus expressed himself in his last Address to his Diocese, May 1875.

The concession as to the use of the Baptismal office, though not accorded to the memorialists,¹ by the General Convention, received a consideration, which does not discourage the hope, that the day is coming when this occasion of complaint will be satisfactorily removed. Meanwhile, as the faulted phrase is no innovation, but the language of the formularies of this church from its organization, and of the Reformers in England and on the continent, and as it has been judicially decided, that its import harmonizes, as I verily believe it does, with the views of Baptism, maintained by the school of theology to which the memorialists belong, I can see no reason why they may not with good conscience minister as their fathers have done.

It is well known, that Bishop Johns was a Professor in the Theological Seminary of Virginia. He gave instruction to successive senior classes in Pastoral Theology and Homiletics. His facility of communication, his vivacity of manner, and his ready utterance gave the greatest value to his instructions. Many of his pupils will never cease to remember with reverence and love his kindly and discriminating criticism of their first attempts at sermonizing. His sympathetic and loving heart made him the friend and father of the young men, with whom he was brought in contact.

We hasten on to speak of Bishop Johns as a *man*. Here so much depends upon the presence, the voice, the eye, the whole "manner of the man," that it is difficult to represent his character to those who did not know him. His personal character endeared him to his friends, and shed a grace and dignity over every circle in which he moved, and drew all hearts to him. His colloquial animation,

¹ The memorialists in 1874, had "expressed the hope and earnest desire that liberty be allowed, *without change in the text of the office, to omit the phrases in the post baptismal service in which the word "regenerate" occurs.*

his warm and cordial greeting, the indescribable charm of his manner, his playful humor, the bright twinkle of his eye, the culture and deportment of a perfect gentleman, made him a delightful companion. What Tacitus said of his father-in-law was true of him. *Nihil metus in vultu; gratia oris supererat, bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter.* We have seen from Dr. Hodge's letter what a friend he was. So tender and lasting was his love to his parents, that he told a friend that from the day of his parents' death there never was *one* day he had not thought of them, and recollected how they looked when he last saw them.

But the time drew nigh when Bishop Johns must die. He had filled his days, and attained the age of which the Psalmist says that it is but labor and sorrow. Time had dealt gently with him, and impaired but little, apparently, of the vigor of his frame, nor could it be perceived, that the activity of his mind was diminished. He was interested in the new books of the day, nor did he give up his love for the old Theology of the Church of England. On Ash-Wednesday, he took out of the library two volumes of Bishop Bull's works, and was deeply interested in Henry Roger's *Supernatural Origin of the Bible*, Goodell's *Life*, and Ker's *Sermons*. He preached for the last time, February 19th, 1876, and soon after had a slight attack of paralysis, and felt and said, that his work was done.

He bore with gentle patience the wearisome nights appointed him till "the voice at midnight came." Some of his last words were gathered up by those who were with him, and we give them for the comfort and encouragement of those who have yet to meet the last enemy, and to walk through the valley, which separates the land of the living from the untried hereafter. Among much that he said in solemn, earnest tones were these words. "I would not raise a finger to dictate; it is all well. If the Lord had ordered it, I would willingly have labored on in this service. I *loved my work*, but God has ordered it otherwise. If the Lord raises me up, I would strive to preach Christ with more zeal, and His love, more impressively. I have preached it all my life, and if I were to get up to-morrow, I could preach nothing better than that." Often would he repeat the couplet,

"I'm a poor sinner and nothing at all,
And Jesus Christ is my all in all."

saying afterwards, "That's enough, that is the Gospel," again, "The sting of death is taken away, Victory! Victory!" When told how his people were praying for him in all the churches, he said, "May the Great High Priest take them all, and present them before God. What a comfort to have the prayers of God's people! May God answer them all, unworthy as I am." The Sunday morning before he died, as he was raised up in bed, he exclaimed, "Oh, beautiful dawn of day! What will it be when the day dawns that has no end! Glory be to God on high, on earth peace, good will towards men! A glorious day. He rose this day! O God, send down Thy Holy Spirit upon Thy church and Thy ministers. May they proclaim Thy Gospel with power this day to the salvation of souls! God bless my church, my ministers, my people," (opening his arms as if he would embrace them all) "and fold them in the arms of the everlasting covenant." He was often heard praying aloud for "humility" for "grace to bear and be benefited by this trial," "to be kept from the tempter's power." When too weak to speak aloud, his whispers were heard, "Guide me—wash me—clothe me—help me—under the shadow of Thy wings." In his last conscious moments, with all his dear family kneeling around him, his youngest son a clergyman, read the prayer, commending the soul of this servant of Christ "into the hands of a faithful Creator, and most merciful Saviour."

JOSEPH PACKARD.

THE SECOND REUNION CONFERENCE AT BONN, AUGUST, 1875.

A PERSONAL NARRATIVE.

Early in the morning of the first Saturday in August, 1875, we met by appointment at the Victoria Station, in London, the Secretary of the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the Rev. Prebendary Bullock, and the Secretary of the Anglo-Continental Society, the Rev. Prebendary Meyrick, who were to be fellow travellers on the journey to Bonn. We passed in swift succession the Cathedrals of Rochester and Canterbury, and were soon looking regretfully at the receding cliffs of Dover, as we experienced the roughness of the Channel passage. Once across, the journey to Brussels was neither tedious nor disagreeable, and the rest of Sunday in this lovely city proved an agreeable preparation for the exciting and exhausting duties of the week. We lingered on our way to visit the shrines and shops of Cologne, and here were joined by the Lord Bishop of Gibraltar, Dr. Sanford, with whom we proceeded by steamer up the Rhine to Bonn.

Already the Conference had begun, although our little party, reinforced at the last moment by the arrival of the Dean of Chester, Dr. Howson, was the van-guard of the English and American delegation. A number of the Orientals had arrived early in the week, with a view to conference among themselves, and with the Old Catholic theologians. On the morning of the 10th of August, there was a preliminary meeting of Easterns and Old Catholics, at the Episcopal residence of Bishop Reinkens, and it was agreed, after an informal interchange of views, that Pro-

fessor Ossinin, of St. Petersburg, than whom, as it proved, no keener dialectician was in attendance, should formulate the opinions of the Easterns on the dogmatic questions to be considered, and present the result at a similar conference on the following day. The Oriental element present was not only large, embracing as it did upwards of a score of names; but it was composed of prelates, dignitaries and counsellors of State, representing various geographical divisions of the Greek Church. Among these delegates, constituting by far the greatest and most distinguished representation of Eastern theologians the West has seen since the Council of Florence, four centuries ago; we may name first and foremost the late Venerable Lycurgus, Archbishop of Syra and Tenos—alas! that he has passed to rest!—clad in the rich Oriental costume betokening his rank, with an *icon* set in precious stones on his breast, and bearing traces in his enfeebled walk and almost inaudible voice, of his nearing the last of life. The presence of this Prelate, whose visit to England and conferences with dignitaries of the Anglican Church, will be remembered by all who have taken an interest in the questions connected with Eastern intercommunion, gave especial dignity to the conference, in the progress and results of which he continued to show interest till the close of his honored and useful life. On either side of the Archbishop sat two Roumanian prelates, Gennadius, Bishop of Argesu, and Melchisedek, Bishop of Dunarej-de-jom; forming in their Episcopal habits and with their Oriental features, a singularly picturesque grouping, quite striking to Western eyes. With them were three Archimandrites, Sabbas, from Belgrade, Anastasiades and Bryennios, from Constantinople, deputed to represent the Patriarch; the Archpriest Janyschew; a Doctor in Theology from Macedonia; Professors from Dalmatia, Athens, the Shores of the Euxine, Kiew, and St. Petersburg, together with several laymen of rank and theological attainments. Thus notable was the Eastern representation at this Second Reunion Conference.

Later on the day of our arrival we found our numbers increased by the presence of Canon Liddon, confessedly the leading theologian, as he is certainly the most brilliant preacher, of the English Church. With him came the well-known Malcolm MacColl, a

trenchant writer, as we already knew, and a forcible speaker as well, as we shortly found out. The Master of University College, Durham; the Rev. F. S. May, the well-known editor of the Colonial Church Chronicle; the Rev. Lewis M. Hogg, for years a leading member of the Anglo-Continental Society, with a score or more of other clergymen of the English Church, two or three from Scotland, and the Rev. Lord Plunkett, and the Rt. Hon. Master Brooke, from the Church of Ireland, made up the representation from the United Kingdom, to which were now added, of the American Church, Rev. Dr. Henry C. Potter, of New York, Secretary of the House of Bishops, the Rev. Dr. Robert J. Nevin, rector of St. Paul's, Rome, the Rev. Dr. Wm. Chauncy Langdon, so long connected with the Italian Reform movement, the Rev. John B. Morgan, rector of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Paris, France, together with the Rev. Dr. Wm. P. Lewis, of Central Pennsylvania, the Rev. H. F. Hartmann, of New Jersey, the Rev. G. W. Hodge, of Philadelphia, and the Rev. T. A. Snively, of Albany.

In the evening of Wednesday, the 11th of August, the venerable Dr. Von Döllinger received the English and Americans at the Episcopal residence of Bishop Reinkens. Too numerous for the accommodations offered by the modest "palace," of this truly primitive Bishop, the guests were received in the gardens of the Bishop, which were brilliantly illuminated, and where we had the pleasure of meeting, face to face, not only the notabilities present from abroad, but the leaders of the Old Catholic movement. Where all were men of mark, the grand central figure of the venerable Von Döllinger was pre-eminent. Speaking English with the ease and perfectness of a native, he was especially the object of the interest and regard of the Americans present. To them in coming so far to show their sympathy in this reunion movement, the great theologian showed marked attention. His great familiarity with our ecclesiastical annals, citing volumes, of the existence of which he could scarcely be supposed to be aware, his firm grasp of the peculiarities of our organization, and his acquaintance with our present and prospective successes, proved the wide range of his observation and the universality of his knowledge.

Patient, considerate, with a friendly greeting for all, and a courtesy equal to the task of entertaining the crowd that ever surrounded him, we felt that in hearing him speak and in watching the changing expression of his scholarly, striking features, we were hearing and seeing the greatest man of his age.

Second only to the Nestor of the Old Catholic movement was the genial and attractive Bishop Joseph Hubert Reinkens, the fascination of whose presence was felt by all. Gentleness and goodness, purity and piety, added to courtly manners and a rare personal address, gave him the power of winning all hearts; and the interest of the Americans in the good Bishop, was not diminished when he vied with Von Döllinger in reiterating loving reminiscences, and in making earnest inquiries, respecting the Bishop of Pittsburgh, whose presence at the first reunion Conference, in 1874, had been so marked a feature in that most important meeting, and whose interest and sympathy in the Old Catholic movement had been marked from the first. Less widely known, but each a man of note, were Drs. Langen, Menzel, Reusch, the able secretary of the Conference, and Knoodt, Professors at Bonn, and Professor Herzog, of Switzerland, the Bishop-designate of the Swiss Old Catholics. These, with earnest and devout-looking *Pfarrers* from various parts of the Empire, and some laymen of high position and rank, made up the Old Catholic representation. Von Schulte, Huber, and Freiderich were unfortunately absent, but enough were present to impress each of us with the intellectual strength of the Old Catholic movement and the purity and piety of its leading men.

No more memorable evening has place in my remembrance; and in the profound feeling pervading the whole gathering and the deep earnestness of everyone present, whether from near or from far, there was good hope for the future of a religious movement springing, as Bishop Reinkens so well expressed it, "*from the Spirit of God by means of conscience.*"

The second preliminary meeting of the Orientals and Old Catholics was closed by the presentation of the following paper, prepared by Dr. Von Döllinger:

"Confession of Faith in reference to the Holy Ghost in the language of the fathers: "

1. The Son is with the Father the Fountain of the Holy Ghost (Athanasius).
2. All which the Spirit has He has from the Logos (Athanasius).

3. The Spirit does not unite the Logos with the Father, but receives from Him (to be understood of the immanent divine economy, according to Epiphanius).

4. The Spirit is partaker of the Son, *μέτοχον τοῦ υἱοῦ* (deducted from "He shall take of Mine," and evidently understood of the community in being). (Cyril of Alexandria).

5. The Spirit is related to the Son as the Son is related to the Father (Basilus; his expression is: *συντρέταται*).

6. The Son is Prototype (*πρωτότυπος*) of the Spirit (the so-named Confession of Faith of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus; the same expression used of the Father with reference to the Son).

7. The expressions which the fathers use of the relation of the Son to the Holy Ghost point decidedly to a substantial emanation; the Spirit is poured out (*προχέεται*) or wells forth (*πορεύει, ἀναβλύζειν*) from the Son. His going forth from the Son is according to Chrysostom, like that of water from the fountain.

8. It is only the same thought, otherwise turned, when Athanasius says: The Spirit has all that He has from the Son (therefore before all, Being itself).

9. That the Spirit actually has Being from the Son, even as the Son has His from the Father, stands in so many words in Gregory of Nyssa (at the conclusion of the first book against Eunomius).

10. We acknowledge with Gregory of Nyssa, that in the Trinity there is no other difference than this, that the one Person is the Principle, the others from the Principle. The Son is accordingly not Principle, but only from the Principle—namely, from the Father as the common Principle (*ἀρχὴ*).

11. We appropriate to ourselves the doctrine of Cyril of Alexandria:

- a. The Spirit is by nature (*φυσικῶς*) in the Son, as the Son is in the Father (springs therefore also from His Being);
- b. The Spirit inheres substantially in the Son;
- c. By means of both (the Father and the Son) the Spirit goes forth;
- d. The Spirit is the own Spirit of the Being of the Son."¹

Such was the state of the discussion when the more general sessions of the Conference were opened on the morning of the 12th of August.

We assembled to the number of upwards of one hundred, full

¹ In our quotations from papers and speeches made at the Conference we have in general availed ourselves of the translation of the "*Bericht über die vom 10. bis 16. August, 1875, zu Bonn gehaltenen Unions-Conferenzen, in Auftrage des Vorsitzenden Dr. von Döllinger herausgegeben von Dr. Fr. Heinrich Reusch, Professor der Theologie—Bonn, P. Neusser, 1875.*" This translation, made by the Rev. Prof. Buel, D.D., of the Gen. Theological Seminary, New York, and prefaced by the Rev. Dr. Nevin, of Rome, is published by Mr. Thomas Whittaker, Bible House, New York City, and well deserves the reading of every intelligent Churchman.

half of whom were English or Americans, in the Music Hall of the University of Bonn. There was no question as to the presidency of the meeting. Every eye was turned to the venerable theologian at whose summons we had met together, and for whose lightest word each one waited in profound expectation. With characteristic modesty he had proffered the chair to the learned Dr. Wordsworth, Lord Bishop of Lincoln, but this eminent prelate, though in full sympathy with the object of the meeting, was unable to be present, and the invitation served only to show the good feeling existing between the Old Catholics and the Anglican Church. The simple organization being effected, Dr. Von. Döllinger opened the proceedings with an address, or rather an historical lecture, in which with masterly skill and perspicuity he traced the connection between the controversy, which, for centuries, had separated the Eastern Church from the West, with the revolutionary movement of to-day emanating from the Vatican. It would be impossible to present in other or in fewer words than in those of the great ecclesiastical historian himself, an address which gave the keynote to the Conference, and held the audience, even those but little versed in the language in which it was delivered, enchained from its opening sentence to the close.¹

Following this noble utterance, which we hope our readers will peruse in order that they may grasp somewhat the nature of the subjects treated and the mode of treatment pursued in this gathering of long parted Christian men, Professor Ossinin, after a graceful acknowledgment of the eloquence and thought of the opening address, offered a paper as embodying the views of the Orientals on the main question under consideration. This "Scheme" was as follows: ²

"We believe and teach, that in the Holy Trinity there is only one Principle (*ἀρχή*), and that this Principle, of the Son as well as of the Spirit, is the Father—the word *ἀρχή* taken according to the interpretation of John of Damascus, that *ἀρχή* is that only, which is *ἀναρχον*.

¹ We have not space for quotation—the address in full will be found on page 26 of the "Bonn Conference of 1875."

² Bonn Conference, p. 35.

We profess that the Eastern Church is wholly right in holding fast to the expression, "The Spirit goes forth from the Father," while it understands by the Procession (*ἐκπορεύεσθαι*) that primordial divine activity by virtue of which the Son is endowed with the capability of sending forth, and the Spirit is also immediately from the Father.

We grant that the relation of the Son to the Spirit is not wholly the same as that of the Father to the Spirit, because Paternity, in the wider sense, or the property of being the Fountain of the Divine persons, does not appertain to the Son, but only to the Father. In so far, therefore, the Eastern Church is justified in rejecting the *procedere ab utroque* or a *Patre Filioque*, as it connects with the *ἐκπορεύεσθαι* a sense different from the *procedere* of the Latins—namely, that of the causality which appertains only to the Father (*μόνος γὰρ αὐτός ὁ Πατήρ*), against which the Latins disregard the difference between the action of the Father and that of the Son, with reference to the Spirit, and only have in view the common concurrence, the co-operation of the Father and of the Son, in their *procedere ab utroque*.

In regard to the temporal sending forth of the Spirit through Son and Father, there is no difference of doctrine between East and West.

A discussion of the various points of this "scheme" followed, in which the patience, forbearance, wisdom, ready acquaintance with every phase of this controversy of a thousand years duration, and the absolute mastery of the whole range of patristic theology and thought, displayed by the untiring President were most fully displayed. The morning session, the debates of which had been in German, which had been ascertained to be the only common language of the Orientals and Occidentals, closed with the feeling on every side that God's Spirit was with His servants, in their efforts to lead the way to a fuller realization of the Lord's high-priestly prayer in behalf of His people—"That they all may be one!"

The afternoon discussions were conducted in the English language, and were prefaced by the reading of two important communications, one from the Lord Bishop of Winchester, Harold Browne, and the other from no less a personage than the late Premier of England, Mr. Gladstone. The impression made by the reading of these letters was so marked, and the interest excited so great, especially the latter, which, on account of the peculiar chirography of the writer, was first essayed by Canon Liddon, and finally and successfully by Mr. MacColl, that we call especial attention to them, and express a hope that our readers will peruse them.¹ Both will be found of value, especially in view

¹ They will be found on pp. 43-52 of the translation referred to.

of the persistent misrepresentations of the aims and results of the Conference, which for a time filled the press in England, from the "Times" and the "Westminster Review," down to the most obscure journals of the day, and were to a certain extent reproduced on this side of the water. The interest shown by the Lord Bishop of Winchester (then of Ely), in the visit of the Archbishop of Syra and Tenos to England, and the share his Lordship, in common with the Bishops of Lincoln and Maryland, had earlier taken in the Old Catholic movement, made his words of the greatest moment.

Leaving these weighty communications to the grave consideration of the various representatives present, the President alluded to the question of the validity of Anglican Orders, left unsettled the year before. He proposed, in view of the presence of Oriental theologians in greater numbers than at any Western assembly for centuries, to set forth in detail for their information, as they had scarcely had occasion to occupy themselves with the subject, the grounds which had led the Old Catholics to the full acceptance of the Anglican succession. The Bishop of Gibraltar for the English, and the Rev. Dr. Chauncy Langdon in the name of the Americans, and reiterating the manly language of the Bishop of Pittsburg in 1874, deprecated any *discussion* of the validity of Anglican Orders, but united with Canon Liddon and Dean Howson, in the wish that Dr. Von Döllinger would give in detail the historical facts of the question, for the information of the Orientals, who had been for several centuries dependant upon the Romish theologians for their knowledge respecting the consecration of Archbishop Parker. Reserving this explanation for a later period in the Conference, the discussion, which had now become of absorbing interest, was continued by Prebendary Meyrick, whose dignified bearing, persuasive manner and complete knowledge of the subject, secured marked attention for whatever he proposed, and by Canon Liddon, who ably sustained his reputation for theological learning and pre-eminent eloquence. The session closed with the presentation of two propositions; one that of Canon Liddon, set forth in a speech of great power; and a second, offered by the Dean of Chester, the Rev. Dr. Howson.

Canon Liddon's proposition was as follows: (p. 58.)

"The Holy Ghost proceeds eternally from the Father alone, in the sense that the Father alone is the Fountain of Deity. but He also proceeds eternally, as we believe, through the Son.

While for ourselves—subject to the future decision of a truly Œcumenical Council—we retain the formula, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, we do not believe that there are two principles or two causes in the Godhead; but we believe in one principle and one cause.

So we begin with a concession, since we accept the *ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μόνου* of the *Confessio orthodoxa*. This expression belongs not to the patristic, but to the period of the Oriental theology, which one can name the scholastic. But it can be taken in the sense, in which, in fact, it is not impugned, in the sense that in the mystery of the divine life, the Father alone is the Fountain of Deity. It is entirely accordant with this, when we add, that the Holy Ghost goes forth eternally THROUGH the Son, and when we even abide by our Western formula, according to which He goes forth FROM the Father and the Son. For He goes forth from the Son, not as from a second cause, or a second principle, but as from the Co-essential with the Father, through whom He ceaselessly goes forth from the Father. The proposed formula concludes with a rejection of the thought of two principles or causes in the Deity. The West has at an earlier period repeatedly rejected this error, but the rejection can not too often be repeated, since many Orientals, as it seems, cannot free themselves from the idea that this error stands in a necessary connection with our doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son."

Dr. Howson's formula was briefer : (p. 61.)

While the Orientals retain their customary formula *ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς*, and while the Westerns retain their longer formula *ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ*, both agree that the formula *ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ* expresses accurately the theological truth held by both.

While the days at Bonn were thus given to the German and the English discussions, the members of the English, Scottish, Irish and American Churches assembled every morning and evening, and often at noontime as well, in the apartments of the Lord Bishop of Gibraltar at the "Golden Star" Hotel, which was the head-quarters of our party, primarily for prayer, and after our acts of united worship, for mutual interchange of opinion respecting the public discussions. No more courteous or agreeable prelate could have been selected to represent the English hierarchy than the learned and amiable Dr. Sanford; while his personal relations with the Primate made his presence and opinions of great weight. It was at one of these gatherings in the Bishop's rooms, and at that stage in the proceedings we have reached in our narrative, that it devolved upon the Anglicans and Americans to

choose members of a committee of the larger body to meet for freer discussion, and, if possible, to settle upon some basis of agreement to be presented to the General Conference. Of this committee Canon Liddon and Prebendary Meyrick were almost without discussion chosen by the English. The Rev. Dr. Nevin, our accomplished Chaplain at Rome, was selected to represent the American Church, both from his long and intimate relations with the Old Catholic leaders, as well as in view of his perfect familiarity with the German tongue. It was at another of these private conferences of the representatives of the various branches of the Anglican Communion, that the action of the American Church, in many of its Dioceses, memorializing the General Convention for the removal of the *filioque* from the Nicene creed, was brought prominently to the notice of the English theologians in speeches by the two secretaries of the Convention; exciting, particularly in the mind of the learned Canon of St. Paul's, the gravest apprehensions as to the claim thus in effect set up by the American Church, of being autonomous. Forgetful that the Mother Church had communicated to us the succession after our rejection of the "Creed of Athanasius;" and, in fact, when the use or disuse of the Nicene Creed was hanging in an almost even balance, and when the omission of a clause of the Apostles' Creed was further allowed by the radical innovators of the period of the American Church's organization; Dr. Liddon took exception, both in the private session and on the floor of the Conference, to the removal of a confessedly interpolated expression in the Nicene Creed, which was a bar to union with the East, and, in this country at least, a means of impairing confidence in the faith itself. It was in his opinion within the province only of an Œcumenical Council thus to rectify an acknowledged wrong; and even the pertinent inquiry as to the probability or even the possibility of such a Council in this age of the Church, failed to effect more than an unwilling modification of his original proposition—that the Western representatives present should agree to a statement which pledged them definitely to the perpetual retention of the *filioque*. The previous action of the American Church, whether right or wrong, precluded the acceptance of such a pledge by the Americans present; and their refusal secured the modification of the

Anglican proposal to which we have referred. It is but due to the learned Canon of St. Paul's to add that his aversion to the removal of the *filioque*, shared, as it afterwards appeared, neither by all his fellow theologians nor by the Old Catholics,¹ arose from a fear that its removal would prove a stumbling block to believing souls at the West, as giving "the impression that God had not actually revealed a relation of the Son to the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father."

It would be but a repetition of names and arguments with which the reader is now thoroughly familiar to proceed in detail with the narrative of the proceedings of the Conference day after day. The work was now practically confined to the committee; and in the informal meetings of the Anglicans at the Bishop of Gibraltar's rooms, the topics discussed in secret session were reported and reviewed with unflagging patience and zealous determination to attain the truth. One incident, the appearance of Dr. Philip Schaff, of New York, on the floor of the Conference deserves notice. In a speech listened to with evident impatience the Doctor pronounced it "a bold undertaking to wish to settle in a few hours the strife of a thousand years, which to-day yet parts the two greatest Church Communities into two hostile camps," and, after proposing to ignore the authority of the Fathers in the question under discussion, offered the following proposition as a basis of agreement:

"We believe and confess in agreement with the Sacred Scriptures that the Holy Spirit 'proceeds from the Father,' 'and is sent by the Father and the Son.' (St. John xiv.: 26; xv.: 26; xvi.: 7), and that this scriptural truth is sufficient as the substance of a dogma and a basis of Church Union."

The patience of the President had never failed him before, but

¹ It is almost unnecessary to add that the Orientals, and especially the learned Archbishop Lycurgus, strongly repudiated, in the private sessions of the committee, the notion that it required an Ecumenical Council to expunge the *Filioque*. It is not too much to say that the presence of the Americans at this Conference, few in number though they were, and though lacking the presence of a member of the Episcopal order, availed to prevent the opposite view, maintained with great ability and determination by the leading English Theologian from proving a stumbling block in any further progress in the work of reunion.

with a most expressive gesture he remarked, that if these were the views of the Conference, its members would have been more usefully employed at home; and Dr. Langdon most happily allayed the evident indignation of the meeting at this intrusive speech by calling the assembly to remember the need of general prayer on behalf of the committee that God the Holy Ghost might be especially with them while they discussed the mystery of His outgoing.

One other matter already referred to demands our attention ere we proceed to sum up the work accomplished at the Conference. I allude to the noble utterance of Dr. Von Döllinger respecting Anglican Orders. In a matter of so much interest we give his words, wishing that it were possible to reproduce in our readers' minds the convincing impression made by his singularly effective and earnest address.

I desire, according to an understanding with the gentlemen from the East, to say some words on the question of the validity of the Anglican Orders which has been already spoken of in the former year.

The English Church, in the Sixteenth Century, completed its Reformation without renouncing the Ancient Episcopal Constitution. Under Queen Elizabeth, Parker was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, and the historical controversy turns upon the question whether his consecration was valid. Into this controversy, all manner of trifling things have been drawn, and it has, from strange motives, been thrown into confusion. The fact that Parker was consecrated by four validly consecrated Bishops, *ritè et legitimè*, by laying on of hands and the words which are to be regarded as essential, is confirmed by such ample testimony, that one, if he should doubt these facts, could with the same right doubt one hundred thousand facts; or, as some one, after the appearance of the Life of Jesus by Strauss, has done in derision, could represent the history of the first Napoleon as a myth. The fact is as well attested as can be desired for any fact. Bossuet has acknowledged the validity of Parker's consecration, and no critical historian can dispute it. Ordinations of the Romish Church could be impugned with more show of justice. Besides the re-ordinations of the Tenth Century, the following may, in this view, be recollected.

At Florence, a peculiar formula of belief was drawn up in the first instance for the Armenians, with the pretended assent of the Council, which was nevertheless properly at an end. In this so-named *Decretum pro Armeniis*, the doctrine of the Seven Sacraments is especially developed for the instruction of the Orientals; it is the only detailed statement of the kind before the time of the Trent Council. There is found there in regard to ordination the perfectly astonishing declaration that, the matter of this Sacrament is—not the laying on of hands, which is not even mentioned, but—the *porrectio instrumentorum*, the delivery of the chalice and the paten. The form also is unexact, drawn out at great length. This decree was to be forced upon the Orientals. Clement VIII. even ordered the Orientals to observe this decree in regard to

the Sacraments. And yet the *porrectio instrumentorum* is purely a ceremony, and, in truth, such a one as first arose after the year 1000, and only in the West. How would it be now if bishops, on the ground of this decree, should have viewed the laying on of hands, which is essential to the validity of ordination, as a mere ceremony, and should have discontinued it.

The English theologians have only right energetically to hold this *Decretum pro Armeniis* before the Romish theologians in England, who attack the validity of the Anglican ordinations, and remind them that those who live in glass houses should not throw stones.

At a later sitting the venerable President returned to this subject as follows:

In reference to my explanation on Anglican orders, I have heard the objection: though all may be correct which I have said of the historical facts, yet nevertheless the validity of the Anglican and American orders will be always at least doubtful, because the question may be asked, whether the English and American Church recognizes the sacramental character of ordination.

Many misunderstandings arise from the fact the same words can be taken in different significations. An Anglican can answer the question, "Do you esteem orders a sacrament?" with both "Yes" and "No." The English Church uses the word "sacrament" in another sense than the Roman Catholic Church the word *sacramentum* and the Greek the word *μυστήριον*. The English Church names "sacraments" only those actions which have been ordained by Christ for the communication of grace to all believers. Whether this limitation of the conception is justifiable may be left undecided. But when the word is taken in this narrower sense, the English Church must omit in its creeds and liturgical books ordination in the enumeration of its sacraments, because it is appointed only for certain persons, not, like Baptism and the Eucharist, for all. The word is of no consequence; what conception the Anglicans connect with the word "sacrament," and whether they name ordination a "sacrament," is to the Orientals indifferent. The important thing is, that, in ordination, laying on of hands be used, that the words besides be uttered in which the communication of the grace of orders is expressed, and that it be assumed there is conveyed through ordination a grace of the Holy Spirit. In this respect, English ordination can not be questioned.

I have already mentioned that the validity of Roman Catholic ordinations can perhaps be questioned with more appearance of justice. If so great ignorance had not prevailed, the *Decretum pro Armeniis* mentioned day before yesterday must alone have sufficed to hinder the declaration of Infallibility; for here undoubtedly a Pope has erred in a solemn dogmatic decree, in that he has marked the unessential ceremony of the *porrectio instrumentorum* as the essential in ordination, and not mentioned the essential laying on of hands. Actually, indeed, laying on of hands is retained in Roman Catholic ordinations; but, in the foregoing century, it was declared from Rome that ordinations held in a French diocese were invalid, and to be repeated because the *porrectio instrumentorum* had been omitted."

Sunday intervened, and the opportunity of attending the Old

Catholic Service in the Chapel of the University was improved by a large number of the Orientals and Anglicans alike. The noticeable feature in the congregation was the predominance of men—a spectacle unusual on the Continent in Romish places of worship—and the favorable impression made at the outset by this complexion of the audience was confirmed by their devout participation in the service, and their rapt attention to the Preacher's homily. At the English services, held in the same place and without the removal of any of the ecclesiastical "ornaments" of the Old Catholic worship—even the large crucifix remaining untouched on the pulpit—the Bishop of Gibraltar preached, and the Holy Communion was administered to a large number of the faithful. At this service and at that later in the day there were many Old Catholics and Orientals in attendance as interested spectators.

The following day witnessed the close of this interesting meeting. I cannot tell the result in other words than those of the President, whose very tone of voice and the play of his striking features expressed the joy with which he spoke. It was at the end of six days of ceaseless intellectual exertion, and yet this wonderful man seemed unwearied with his labors and was only solicitous that every one should share his satisfaction with the agreement which had been attained. He spoke as follows:

"The result of the continued conferences of the commission chosen by you is an agreement which far exceeds my hopes, which I have cherished on my way hither. With regard to the main matter we are one. The conviction has forced itself during the conferences, at least upon us of the West, that, in the essence of the thing, in relation to that which should be an article of faith, an actual agreement exists. Also the Orientals here present partake for themselves this conviction, and we are permitted to hope that the authorities of their churches will agree with them.

We have formulated our consent in the words of John of Damascus. We have chosen him on the following grounds: he stands at the end of the whole chain of patristic tradition; he has put together in short compass the doctrine of the old Church on the Trinity, the Incarnation, etc., and the result of theological development till the council of the year 680; he has, about 750, composed the first complete textbook of the theology of the fathers, especially the Greek fathers. Experience has shown that we have rightly done in placing ourselves on the ground of John of Damascus. We have united on the six Articles, which I will presently read. With regard to the third article, the Orientals had reserved to themselves the definite declaration; but they will now assent to the same without reserve when to this third article there are added a further citation from John of Damascus, to be immediately read, and to

the introductory proposition, the words "in the sense of the doctrine of the old, undivided Church," against which, on our side, there is nothing to allege.

The articles run thus:

We accept the doctrine of St. John of Damascus on the Holy Ghost, as the same is expressed in the following paragraphs, in the sense of the doctrine of the old, undivided Church: ¹

The Holy Ghost goes forth out of the Father (*ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς* as the Beginning (*ἀρχὴ*), the Cause (*αἰτία*), the Source (*πηγὴ*) of the Godhead. (*De recta sententia* n. 1. *Contra Manich.* n. 4.)

2. The Holy Ghost goes not forth out of the Son (*ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ*), because there is in the Godhead but one Beginning (*ἀρχὴ*), one cause (*αἰτία*), through which all that is in the Godhead is produced. (*De fide orthodox.* I, 8: *ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα οὐ λέγομεν, Πνεῦμα δὲ Υἱοῦ ὀνομάζομεν.*)

3. The Holy Ghost goes forth out of the Father through the Son. *De fide orthodox.* I, 12: τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκφαντορικὴ τοῦ κρυφίου τῆς θεότητος δύναμις τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐκ πατρὸς μὲν δι' υἱοῦ ἐκπορευομένη. *Ibidem*: υἱοῦ δὲ πνεῦμα, οὐχ ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον; c *Manich.* n. 5: διὰ τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῦ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον. *De Hymno Trisag.* n. 28: πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ λόγου προῖόν.

Hom. in Sabb. s. n. 4: τοῦτ' ἡμῖν ἐστι τὸ λατρευόμενον . . . πνεῦμα ἅγιον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς, ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον, ὅπερ καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ λέγεται, ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ φανερούμενον καὶ τῇ κτίσει μεταδιδόμενον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔχον τὴν ὑπαρξιν.²

4. The Holy Ghost is the Image of the Son, who is the Image of the Father (*De fide orthodox.* I, 13: εἰκὼν τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ υἱὸς, καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα), going forth out of the Father and resting in the Son as the force beaming forth from Him. (*De fide orthodox.* I, 7: τοῦ πατρὸς προερχομένην καὶ ἐν τῷ λογῷ ἀναπανομένην καὶ αὐτοῦ οὖσαν ἐκοφαντικὴν δύναμιν. *Ibidem*, I, 12: πατήρ . . . διὰ λόγου προβολεὺς ἐκφαντορικοῦ πνεύματος).

5. The Holy Ghost is the personal Production out of the Father, belonging to the Son, but not out of the Son, because he is the Spirit of the Mouth of the Godhead, which speaks forth the Word. (*De Hymno Trisag.* n. 28: τὸ πνεῦμά ἐννύστατον ἐκπόρευμα καὶ πρόβλημα ἐκ πατρὸς μὲν, υἱοῦ δὲ, καὶ μὴ ἐξ υἱοῦ, ὡς πνεῦμα στόματος Θεοῦ, λόγου ἐξαγγελτικόν.)

6. The Holy Ghost forms the mediation between the Father and the Son, and is bound together to the Father through the Son. (*De fide orthodox.* I, 13: μέσον τῶν ἀγεννήτου καὶ γεννητοῦ καὶ δι' υἱοῦ τῷ πατρὶ συναπτόμενον.)

So far, therefore, we are one, and theologians know the question of the Holy Ghost is therewith exhausted; a dogmatical opposition is consequently, in reference to this question, no more between us. God grant that that which we have here agreed upon may be accepted in the churches of the East in the spirit of peace and of dis-

¹ The words, "in the sense of the doctrine of the old, undivided Church," are, in accordance with the remark made above, added.

² The citation from *Hom. in Sabb. s.* was added as supplemental by the Orientals on the morning of the last day of the Conference to enable them to accept this article.

inction between dogma and theological opinion. What we have accomplished gives us new ground for hope that our efforts will be blessed by God, and that we shall be yet more successful, whilst the spirit of the earlier union transactions creates the impression that the blessing of God has not rested upon them. I think that it is not rash to believe that here we see the blessing of God, there His malediction. Let us only remember how at Lyons and Florence, illusion, deceit, a complication of falsifications, the lust of tyrannical power were employed; how both parties always had the consciousness of having something else specially in view than agreement in the great truths of Christian faith. I hope we will be able in the next year, to continue these international conferences. What joy if then the Orientals can proclaim to us: our bishops, synods and churches have assented to our agreement!"

No one with the slightest theological attainments can read this formula without the conviction that something real was accomplished by the patient discussion of this deep and mysterious subject. That such a perfect accord should have been attained was hardly to have been expected at the outset. Indeed, we may note as the turning point of the discussion the eloquent appeal of Bishop Reinkens, at the close of the third conference, for mutual forbearance; and the broad basis of agreement laid down by the Archpriest Janyschew, in the speech directly following the Bishop's earnest words. These propositions were as follows:

"1. The Godhead, the divine attributes, the divine Being, are the same in all three divine Persons. In this point of view, any separation whatsoever between the Father and the Holy Ghost can as little be asserted as a separation between the Son and the Holy Ghost. In that we are all one.

2. The special property of the first Person is this, that He alone is the *πρῶτος, ἀρχαίος*, or *ἀρχή*, as well of the Son as of the Holy Ghost, and that Himself is *ἀπαρχή*. In this sense the two other Persons are the production of the first, the Son through the birth, the Holy Ghost through the procession.

3. The special property of the second Person is, that He is the Son, the Only Begotten, the Logos, who is eternally with God, and is sent, as also the Holy Ghost, into the world.

4. The special property of the third Person, the Holy Ghost, is, that He, according to His existence, goes forth from the Father, according to His operation or manifestation—be it in eternity, be it in time—not only from the Father, but also from the Son."

Following this happy beginning Dr. Von Döllinger at the opening of the seventh Conference announced the agreement of the Committee on the following fundamental principles:

"1. We agree in the reception of the Ecumenical creeds, and of the determinations of faith of the old undivided Church.

2. We agree in the acknowledgment that the addition of the *Filioque* to the Creed did not take place in an ecclesiastically legitimate way.
3. We own on all sides the statement of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, as it has been presented by the fathers of the undivided Church.
4. We reject every representation and every mode of expression in which any acceptance whatsoever of two principles or *ἀρχαί* or *ἀντίαι* in the Trinity is contained."

Thus we have the documentary history of the mode by which the final result was attained.

Nothing remained but the parting words of the President, in which he discussed the Romish view of Purgatory, dating the origin of that error to the beginning of the seventh century, and passing into an eloquent review of the state of the religious world. Of this comprehensive address, a single paragraph, pertinent because relating to our own land, must suffice :

"Turn we now our views to another part of the world. America is divided into a Latin, Spanish-Portuguese, and an Anglo-Saxon half. In this exists a great Protestant State. Certainly there are in the United States six to seven millions of Roman Catholic inhabitants, mostly from Ireland. But the number of the Catholics is much reduced through the influence of American Protestantism. The Irish themselves estimate the loss which Catholicism has suffered through the Protestant education of the children of Catholic parents at three millions. Less numerous than the Irish are the Catholic Germans, and they assimilate themselves in the second or third generation rather to the American Protestants than to the Irish. I do not believe that the situation of the Catholics in North America will essentially form itself more favorably, although their Church there enjoys all the freedom which they can desire, with the exception, indeed, of the one freedom which she specially prizes of being permitted to suppress with force the Heterodox. The Catholics in the United States do not form a significant and influential element; they contribute as good as nothing to the intellectual cultivation and to the intellectual life of the nation. Therefore, Roman Catholicism, I believe, will win there, in the long run, no power and no political influence."

Adding the expression of his longing for the realization of Christ's prayer for the union of His followers, that the world might be converted to Christianity, the farewell words were spoken, coupled with urgent invitations to the meeting of the Conference the following year. The Archbishop of Syria and Tenos responded for his Oriental co-religionists, and the Bishop of Gibraltar for the Anglicans, after which Bishop Reinkens recited the *Te Deum*, with the whole assembly standing, and the *Pater Noster*, to which the Bishop added as follows :

"Dabit autem nobis omne bonum, imprimis quod nunc maxime desideramus, pacis bonum inter ecclesias, pacis quidem in veritate. Confirma et sanctifica nos in veritate. Sermo Tuus est veritas. Conserva nos quoque, sive ex Oriente, sive ex Occidente venientes, ad te caritatis vinculo semper conjunctos. Et benedicas nos, Deus omnipotens, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus. Amen.

It would be unwise to hazard predictions as to the results of this gathering of members of the various Churches of Christendom at Bonn. It was but natural that the proceedings there should have been on the one hand studiously misrepresented, and on the other dismissed with supercilious contempt. The organs of Rome, and the "Times;" the "Pall Mall Gazette," and "Westminster Review;" the prevailing indifferentism and rampant Ultramontanism, for once met on common ground. It was but an illustration of the words of the far-seeing Von Döllinger in his "Lectures on the Re-union of the Churches," published years before. "At the beginning of any eirenic movement, its opponents will outnumber its friends and helpers." But the work has advanced since the friendly leave-takings on the Rhine bank that bright August evening in 1875. Already, the tone and temper of the Eastern Church authorities toward the Anglican Churches has been materially changed. The opposition of the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol to any plans of inter-communion with the Easterns has been significantly rebuked by the signatures of Bishops and Clergy, nobles and men of all ranks and callings to the address of thanks to Dr. Von Döllinger from members of the Mother Church. Even the trenchant letter of Dr. Pusey, which at the first threatened to impair confidence in the Bonn resolutions, has been modified and its force destroyed by a later communication practically abandoning the ground earlier assumed. Even in Convocation, both in that of Canterbury and York, the interest shown in the Bonn proceedings, and in the old Catholic movements as a step in the direction of a return to unity, has been marked and encouraging. There are still misconceptions to correct and difficulties to be removed, not only in the various Churches of a divided Christendom abroad, but at home. No one need fear that the unofficial representatives of either the English or American Churches

at Bonn sought, or would for a moment support, any measures tending towards the subordination of their respective Churches or the surrender of their Church doctrines to Romish or Oriental assumption or error. The effort was not for Church comprehension, but for that mutual good understanding, recognition and inter-communion compatible with that measure of diversity which would naturally be expected of antonomous Churches of various races and with varying traditions received from the past. It was believed that with much diversity on confessedly minor points, and without seeking to make Occidentals of Orientals, or Anglicans of Old Catholics, or *vice versa*, there might be attained in God's good time and way, and solely on the basis of God's immutable truth, the closer, and, in fact, the full realization of the high-priestly prayer of our Lord Jesus Christ. The baptised throughout the world might and should be in visible fellowship one with another, and each alike with Christ the Church's Head. To effect even the beginnings of unity there must be found some starting point, and we believe it has been found in an agreement confessedly existing, since, to quote the words of the "English Church Quarterly Review :"¹

"The Eastern Church, the Anglican and the Old Catholics are all agreed on three fundamental questions, the Constitution of the Christian Church, the authority of the first six Ecumenical Councils, and the necessity of believing in the Catholic Faith as propounded in the Creed and interpreted by the Fathers of undivided Christendom."

This is, historically, the American Church's ground. At Lambeth, in 1867, the Anglican Episcopate affirmed the authority of the six Ecumenical Councils. The Episcopal Constitution of the Church is affirmed in the indispensable requirement of Episcopal ordination for ministering at our altars; and the recognition of the Fathers of the Church as giving us the Catholic Faith might be supported by a *catena* from the works of Reformers and Doctors of the Anglican Church from the earliest days of that Church's return to primitive faith and purity. It was in accordance with these principles that the first re-union Conference, in 1874, agreed upon a series of propositions which have received well nigh universal approbation. They have been spread again and again be-

¹ Vol. 1, p 388.

fore the theological world, and from that basis of agreement the work has gone on. God grant it may increase more and more.

"The fruits of unity," says Lord Bacon,¹ "(next to the well-pleasing of God, which is all in all) are two: the one towards them that are without the Church, the other towards those that are within." These "fruits of Unity" are shadowed forth in the words of our Lord's last prayer. Towards those who are without the Church, the unity of Christendom will bring the conviction that Christ's mission was Divine. "As for the fruit towards those that are within," continues Bacon, "it is peace, which containeth infinite blessings; it establisheth faith; it kindleth charity." We may well remember this; and we who day after day, year after year, with but shadowy longings and with but little faith have put up the prayer that "all who profess and call themselves Christians may be led into the way of truth and hold the faith in unity of spirit and in the bond of peace;" and have besought our God "to inspire continually the Universal Church with the spirit of truth, unity and concord," may be pardoned if in this wonderful drawing together of members of long alienated divisions of Christendom we begin to hope that Christ's prayer has been heard: "Neither pray I for these alone but for them also which shall believe on Me through their word; that they all may be one; as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us; that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me."

WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY.

¹ *Essays*, Ess. III.

NEALE AND LITTLEDALE ON THE PSALMS.

"If we keep vigil," says S. John Chrysostom, "in the Church, David comes first, last and midst. If early in the morning we seek for the melody of hymns, first, last and midst is David again. If we are occupied with the funeral solemnities of the departed, if virgins sit at home and spin, David is first, last and midst. O marvellous wonder! Many who have made but little progress in literature, nay, who have scarcely mastered its first principles, have the Psalter by heart. Nor is it in cities and churches alone that at all times, through every age, David is illustrious. In the midst of the forum, in the wilderness, and uninhabitable land, he excites the praises of God. In monasteries, amongst those holy choirs of angelic armies, David is first, midst and last. In the convent of virgins, where are the bands of them that imitate Mary; in the deserts, where are men crucified to this world, and having their conversation with God, first, midst and last is he. All other men are at night overpowered by natural sleep: David alone is active; and, congregating the servants of God into seraphic bands, turns earth into Heaven, and converts men into angels."

It is with this beautiful quotation from S. Chrysostom that Dr. Neale begins his Commentary on the Psalms,¹ a commentary which, as completed by his intimate friend Dr. Littledale, is unique in our day, amid the multitude of works devoted to the marvellous collection of sacred songs known to us as "The Psalms." If the Psalms were merely ancient writings in a language remote

¹A COMMENTARY ON THE PSALMS: from Primitive and Mediæval writers; and from the various Office-books and Hymns of the Roman, Mozarabic, Ambrosian, Gallican, Greek, Coptic, Armenian and Syriac Rites. By the Rev. J. M. Neale, D. D., some time Warden of Sackville College, East Grinstead; and the Rev. R. F. Littledale, LL. D., sometime Scholar of Trinity College, Dublin. Third Edition. London: Joseph Masters & Co., 78 New Bond street.

from modern use, if they were only like the records now deciphered from the burnt-brick library of Sardanapalus, then the mode so prevalent with modern writers would be the true one. It would be all-important to know the exact meaning of every word at the time it was originally written, as interpreted by the circumstances of that age, and that alone. But the Psalms, though originally written in what is called a dead language, have been the least dead of all the words that have ever been written. They have never been buried out of the sight and knowledge of men under the rubbish of three thousand years of total ignorance. More than even the Gospels, they have been perpetually alive upon the tongues and in the hearts of unnumbered millions of Christians, as of countless thousands of pious Jews before the coming of Christ. They have been woven into the very warp and woof of the clothing of the King's daughter. As Dr. Neale beautifully says of the Church, "The love, the veneration, the delight which she has ever expressed for the Psalter, have almost turned it into a part of her own being." And even our own branch of the Apostolic Church, though less ardent in its temper of devotion, gives the same practical preponderance to the Psalms; for, while in her daily services she orders the Old Testament to be read nearly through once in a year, and the New Testament two or three times, the entire Psalter is to be used no less than *twelve* times.

Dr. Neale's idea, then, was to form a commentary, not made up of modern speculations upon remote antiquities, but gathered together from the richest treasures of the Church's continuous and living *use* of the Psalter, as the chief element in her ordinary worship, throughout all the ages. The "spirit of the Psalter permeates and kindles every other part of the Church's service. Its principal features have received a new and conventional character, have been transfigured from the worship of the Synagogue to that of the Church." Or, "to use the mediæval metaphor, the trumpets of the Tabernacle have given place to the Psalter and the New Song of the Christian ritual." Dr. Neale, therefore, assures us "that scarcely any of the interpretations given" are his own. "They have every one been handed down to us," he says, "with greater or less authority; they have been taught to many genera-

tions of those to whom every sentence of the Psalms was a household word; and when they shall appear most strange and most fanciful, the reader will do well to remember that the life-long study, not of an individual, but, if I may use the expression, of the Church, directed to one subject, is likely to disclose mysteries, and to develop beauties, which cursory perusals would utterly fail to discover." The margin of the whole commentary, therefore, gives us the initials or names of the authors, liturgies or hymns, from whose treasures the text is made up.

But it will be impossible to give any adequate idea of this exquisite mosaic without some examples. We select, *ad aperturam libri*, Ps. xviii. 28: "Thou also shalt light my candle: the LORD my GOD shall make my darkness to be light." (We omit the marginal references.):

My candle. It is beautifully said: for, like a candle, no true servant of GOD can shine without at the same time consuming. "He was a burning and a shining light," but the burning first, and then the shining. Or take it of the faith of the Church: a light kindled upon her—a light that it over and over again seems as if some blast of temptation would extinguish—a light, if small in itself, the faith as a grain of mustard seed, yet sending out its beams far and near in the darkness of this world. *Thou also shalt*—when none else can; and notice, too, how here, as so often, the Psalmist begins with speaking of GOD, and ends with speaking to Him. So the Bride in the Canticles, "Let HIM kiss me with the kisses of HIS mouth, for Thy love is better than wine." *Shall make my darkness to be light.* So also the promise: "Who is there among you that . . . walketh in darkness, and hath no light? Let him trust in the name of the LORD, and stay himself upon his GOD." . . . *My darkness to be light.* Shall we take it of the darkness of that night and of that garden when they came to seek Him with lanterns, and torches, and weapons? Or of that darkness which was over all the earth from the sixth hour until the ninth hour? Or rather of that darkness—a darkness which might be felt—which came in even to our LORD's soul, and attained its most fearful blackness when He uttered that cry, "My GOD, my GOD, why hast thou forsaken me?" However we take it, if never such darkness to precede, never such brightness to follow. "At the brightness of that light," says the Eastern Church, "let the heavens rejoice, let the earth be glad; because the LORD hath showed strength with His arm, hath trampled down death by death, hath become the first-begotten from the dead, hath dispersed the darkness of Hell, and hath poured glorious brilliancy on the world." And notice how beautifully the description in the text rises. In this world, after all, our faith, our knowledge of GOD, are but as a candle; it remains for the next world to do away with these shadows for ever, to bring the light of happy morning after the dark and sad night, *The Lord my God shall make my darkness to be light.*

To all this Dr. Littledale adds, in the last edition :

The Targum expounds this verse of exiled Israel, whose candle was indeed quenched in captivity, but to be kindled again by Him Who is the Light of Israel, making His people see the consolations for the righteous in the world to come. Many of the Western commentators see here the Apostles, Martyrs, and early preachers of the Gospel, who are the light of the world, bright with the knowledge and warm with the love of God, and dispersing the darkness of heathenism. Others again will have it that man's heart or intellect is the *lantern* or *candle* (as it is written, "The spirit of man is the candle of the LORD") to be enlightened by grace. And yet once more, a holy writer bids us look from the darkness of this world to the glory to be revealed in the Heavenly Country.

There no cloud or passing vapor
Dims the brightness of the air;
Endless noonday, glorious noonday,
From the Sun of suns is there :
There night needs not rest from labor,
For unknown are toil and care.

Let us try another random example, Ps. xix. 3 : "There is neither speech nor language: but their voices are heard among them."

We may take the verse in two senses : either, no *speech nor language* among the nations of the earth to which these voices did not go forth ; which must be the sense if we refer the clause to the Apostles ; or, no *real speech* in the preaching of the stars, and yet their language is intelligible to all nations. The great Portuguese theologian, Vieyra, referring to this verse, says, "The most ancient preacher in the world is the sky. If the sky be a preacher, it must have sermons, and it must have words. So it has, says David. And what are these sermons and words of the sky ? The words are the stars ; the sermons, their composition, order, harmony and cause. * * * The stars are very distinct and very clear ; so must the style of preaching be. And have no fear that on this account it should appear low. What loftier than the sermons of the heavens ? The style may be clear enough, and yet lofty enough too ; so clear, that the illiterate may understand it ; so deep, that the philosopher may learn from it. In the stars, the countryman finds instruction for his labor ; the seaman for his navigation, the mathematician for his observation ; so that the husbandman and sailor, who cannot read, can yet understand the stars, and the philosopher who has read every book that ever was written, cannot fathom their meaning."

We cannot resist the temptation to give a part of the comment on verses 5 and 6 of the same Psalm, "In them hath he set a tabernacle for the sun," etc :

* * * * As they who go out to war dwell not in houses, but in tabernacles or tents, so our LORD, going forth to His war with Satan, dwelt in the tabernacle of His flesh while he entered into the conflict with, and overcame, His enemy. *Which cometh*

forth as a Bridegroom out of his chamber. And here none ever failed to see the LORD's entrance into the world from the womb of Mary. The Bridegroom, hereafter, to be betrothed to the Church on the Cross, came forth, as it were, in the morning of that day of which the sufferings of Calvary were the evening. "That Eternal Light" says S. John Damascene, "which, proceeding from the Co-eternal Light, had His existence before all worlds, came forth corporeally from the Virgin Mary, as it were a Bridegroom from His chamber." *And rejoiceth as a giant.* They go back far for the full solution of this mystery. It was from the union of the Sons of God with the daughters of men that those ancient giants sprang, who may thus properly be called of "twofold substance." Like them, it was the twofold nature of our LORD which enabled Him to accomplish the work of our redemption, and thus this word "giant," in itself sets forth to us the whole scheme of salvation. "I see," says S. Proclus, "His miracles, and I proclaim His Deity; I behold His sufferings, and I deny not His humanity. Emmanuel opened the gates of nature as man, but burst not the bars of Virginity as God. So came He forth from the womb of Mary as by a word He entered; so was He born as He was conceived; without human passion He entered; without human corruption He came forth." S. Ambrose explains more fully the type of the giant. "Him, holy David, the prophet, describes as a giant, because He, being one, is yet double, and of twofold nature: partaker both of the Divinity and of a body: Who, like a Bridegroom proceeding out of His chamber, rejoiced as a giant to run his course. The Bridegroom of the soul, as the WORD; the Giant of the earth, because performing all the offices of our nature. Being eternal God, He undertook the Sacrament of the Incarnation." So in another hymn.

The offspring of the Might Divine,
He issued from a Virgin shrine,
Bridegroom, Redeemer, Stablisher,
And Giant of His Church.

"I came forth from the FATHER, and am come into the world; again, I leave the world and go unto the Father." Would you know, asks S. Gregory, the steps by which He thus came? From Heaven into the womb; from the womb to the cradle; from the cradle to the Cross; from the Cross to the sepulchre; from the sepulchre He returned to Heaven. Behold, that He might cause us to follow Him, He took these steps, that we might be able to say from our very hearts, "Draw me, we will run after Thee." And see the depth of the mystery in the sign that was given to Hezekiah. The shadow went backward ten degrees, by which degrees it had gone on; thus the LORD humbled Himself below the nine orders of angels, being "made a little lower than the angels," to the tenth degree, namely, man, before His glorified humanity took its place on the Right Hand of the FATHER. And see how beautifully those two are joined: *He runneth about unto the end of it again, and there is nothing hid from the heat thereof.* Because He whom we love has now ascended into Heaven, therefore it is that our hearts burn within us, while we think of the glory which is His, and which is to be ours. *Nothing hid from the heat thereof, for that Ascension—for that land—pertain no less to ourselves than to the angels:*

O common joy, O common boast,
To us and that celestial Host!
To them, that He regains the sky;
To us, that He to us is nigh.

Let us turn to a passage in Ps. viii., which ordinary readers interpret only in the literal sense; and yet the Epistle to the Hebrews shows us that the true interpretation of this Psalm refers to Christ, and therefore the Church orders it to be read on Ascension Day, thus fixing its meaning as setting forth His kingly exaltation at the Right Hand of the Father. What then is the true significance of "all sheep and oxen, yea, and the beasts of the field: the fowls of the air, and the fishes of the sea?"

All sheep. By sheep we understand those whose business in CHRIST'S Church is not to teach, but to learn. "My sheep," saith He, "hear My voice." By oxen, those who labor in His word and doctrine; according to that saying of S. Paul, "Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn." For by these great profit is obtained in His Church; as it is written, "Much increase is by the strength of the ox." *Yea*, the word shows that a change of subject is made; namely, from the good to the wicked. *The beasts of the field*: those who own no master, but follow their own heart's lusts, like "brute beasts," as S. Peter teaches, "made to be taken and destroyed." For the wicked, as well as the good, are made subject to CHRIST. * * *

The fowls of the air are the saints, who rise above the world, but only by means of the sign of the Cross. *The fishes*, ordinary Christians, regenerate of water and of the HOLY GHOST; and *whatsoever*, bad as well as good, unholy no less than holy, *walketh through the paths of the sea*, is exposed to the waves and storms of this troublesome world.

With such an interpretation there is a noble fulness of meaning in the closing exclamation, "O LORD, our Governor, how excellent is Thy Name in all the world!"

Here is another chance opening of the Book, at Psalm xxxiii. 2: "Praise the LORD with harp; sing praises unto Him with the lute and instrument of ten strings."

Here we have the first mention of musical instruments in the Psalms. It is to be observed that the early Fathers, almost with one accord, protest against their use in Churches; as they are forbidden in the Eastern Church to this day, where yet, by the consent of all, the singing is infinitely superior to anything that can be heard in the West. It is not easy to determine when they were first introduced into the West. S. Gregory the Great speaks of organs, but Amalarius, in the eighth (? ninth) century, describing the use of the Church of France, says that no instruments were employed. S. Thomas Aquinas seems to disapprove them, or at least barely tolerates them; and the Church of Lyons, which held more faithfully to primitive practice than any other in France, admitted them only in the sixteenth century. To what perfection they were brought among the Jews the whole routine of the Temple service abundantly shows. *The instrument of ten strings* they take to mean the music of the Church

Triumphant, ten being the symbol of perfection. * * * * Tropologically, all mediæval writers dwell on the similarity between the strings of musical instruments and Christian souls. Firstly, they are made of dead animals—so must we be dead to sins. Next, they require an equal tension, as our passions must be subdued and moderated. Thirdly, as all their sound depends on the air, so all that we can do is to be attributed to the HOLY SPIRIT. Adam of S. Victor sees a parallel between the martyrs and their sufferings, and the strings of the lyre which are drawn tight and stricken so that they may yield their sweetest sound. * * * So, again, Hildebert of Le Mans:

Sicut chorda solet dare tensa sonum meliorem,
Sic poenis tensus dat plenum laudis honorem.

[As the chord when at full strain gives forth its note more sweetly,
So the martyr racked with pain gives forth God's praise more meetly.]

Let us now turn to one of the darkest of the Psalms, the 88th, that which the Church appoints for the evening of Good Friday, and which is commonly described as being the only one of all the Psalms in which there is not one ray of joy: "This Psalm stands alone in all the Psalter for the unrelieved gloom, the hopeless sorrow of its tone." In our opinion this is a mistake, and arises from giving to that magnificent trio of questions, "Dost thou show wonders among the dead?" etc., a *negative* answer. But to those who believe the Patristic sense of the article of the Creed, "He descended into hell," it is impossible to give any but the *positive* or *affirmative* answer to these questions. Then we see the wisdom with which this Psalm is selected to be read at the time when we commemorate the great work wrought by the disembodied Spirit of Christ when He "preached to the spirits in prison," when "the Gospel was preached also unto them that are dead." Thus the selection of this Psalm is brought into full harmony with the first lesson for the next morning (Easter Even), "by the blood of thy covenant I have sent forth thy prisoners out of the pit wherein is no water;" and with the Epistle for the same day, which certifies us that Christ "preached unto the spirits in prison, which sometime were disobedient when once the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing." In this last connection, S. Jerome's reading, *Shall the giants arise?* ("There were giants in those days") instead of *shall the dead rise up again?* is very significant. We are rather disappointed that this strongest and fullest meaning of the Psalm is so lightly touched and tenderly alluded to:

For the most part, the expositors pass very lightly over the literal interpretation of these three verses, and prefer to follow S. Augustine in taking them allegorically of those who lie in the grave of sin, and asking what may be God's purpose toward them, whether He have provided any means of reaching and delivering them. In the tenth verse, the second clause * * * S. Jerome's reading, *Shall the giants arise?* is said by S. Augustine to imply that no skill or might of physicians, however gigantic, is enough; and by others, that the words refer to the antediluvian giants or any other, and thus they are explained of peculiarly grievous and obstinate sinners, respecting whose capability of repentance the question is asked. They remind us, too, that the *loving kindness* and *faithfulness* of God are only titles of the LORD JESUS, and that He did make His way into the very heart of the grave and of destruction, to show His wondrous work of salvation in the dark of Hades; though there are some found to suggest that the *grave* here means the "open sepulchre" of the tongue of the Pharisees and Chief Priests, and the *land where all things are forgotten*, not merely the abode of the finally lost, but that ungrateful Judea which kept not in mind either the testimonies of the prophets or the marvellous works of the Redeemer Himself, when it cried aloud for His crucifixion.

Our LORD's triumphal descent into Hell, though hardly prominent enough in the comment on the 88th Psalm, is, however, beautifully brought out elsewhere. On Psalm cvii. 16: "For He hath broken the gates of brass, and smitten the bars of iron in sunder," we find, among other good things, the following:

The favorite interpretation of the passage is that which has fixed this Psalm for the Matins of Easter Eve in the Ambrosian use; namely, that it tells of the victory over Death and Hell wrought by the passion and resurrection of CHRIST, and of His bearing away with Him to Paradise the once imprisoned Patriarchs. And this idea is repeated in more than one hymn. * * * * The simile is often heightened by reference to the history of Samson ending his sleep at Gaza by carrying off the gates, posts, and bars of the city to the hill before Hebron.

And, again, still more strikingly, on the magnificent 24th Psalm: "Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors: and the King of Glory shall come in."

* * * Very great authorities would refer it to our LORD's descent into Hell, His bursting the gates of brass, and smiting the bars of iron in sunder. To this the Latin Church would seem to appropriate it, by appointing this Psalm as one of those for the Second Nocturn for Easter Eve, with the antiphon from this verse. S. Epiphanius has a magnificent passage, in which he represents our LORD attended by an army of angels, Michael and Gabriel in the fore-ranks, demanding admission at Hell-gate, bursting open the unwilling doors, tearing them from the hinges, casting them forth into the abyss, commanding that they shall never be raised any more. "CHRIST!" he exclaims, "CHRIST, the door, is present; unto GOD the LORD, belong the issues of Death." * * * To the same effect the Eastern Church, on the Great Sabbath,

exclaims: "To-day, Hades groans and cries out, It had been profitable for me if I had never received Him that was born of Mary; for, coming upon me, He hath dissolved my strength, He hath broken the gates of brass; He, as God, hath raised up the souls which I before held. Glory, O LORD, to Thy Cross, and to Thy resurrection! To-day, Hades groans and cries out, my might is dissolved: I receive to myself a mortal, as one of the dead; Him I can in no way have strength to hold, but I lose with Him those over whom I rule; I detain the dead for all ages, but, behold, He raiseth up all. Glory, O LORD, to Thy Cross and to Thy resurrection! Of this day Moses beforehand spoke mystically, as in a type, 'And God blessed the seventh day.' For this is that blessed Sabbath, this is that day of rest, in which the only-begotten SON of GOD rested from all His works, keeping Sabbath in the flesh, on account of His device which He had devised concerning Death; and returning back again to that which He was by His resurrection, He hath bestowed on us the life which is eternal, as only good, and the lover of men." "Therefore," exclaims Gerhohus, "O infernal princes, at whose persuasion the Innocent One suffered unjustly, now ye must lose even them whom ye appeared to possess by a kind of justice. Away, then, with your gates! Speak no more of the cause which ye seem to have of justly detaining them! Keep silence when He is at hand, in Whom your prince, when He came, found nothing."

Exquisitely beautiful, too, is the interpretation of the dramatic repetition of the sublime challenge of this Ascension Psalm:

There remains but one observation to be made on the repeated demand and reply. In the first, the LORD, victorious over the grave, was ascending into Heaven, alone, so far as human nature was concerned—alone, so far as regards His faithful servants, yet bearing the burden and heat of the day, while He was entering into rest. But now we look forward to the end of the world. And behold, he re-ascends, not now by Himself, but with all the multitude of the redeemed, with all His saints, from the beginning of the world to the last that was written in the Book of Life. Well, therefore, was the reply to the first question, "The LORD, strong and mighty;" for what greater proof of might than the overthrow of Death and Hell? And with equal force the second reply is, *The Lord of hosts, He is the King of Glory*; when it is not a single warrior returning in triumph, but a mighty Chief, followed by the multitude of His victorious soldiers.

The glorious 104th Psalm, one of those appointed for Whitsunday, teems with beauties in the comment, but we can select only that on one verse, the 26th, "There go the ships, and there is that Leviathan: whom thou hast made to take his pastime therein."

These *ships* are the preachers which carry CHRIST into the hearts of men, or the local Churches which pass over the sea amidst storms and tempests, piloted by Christ with the wood of the Cross. And observe, that as the world is the sea, and temptations and persecutions the storms, so if the Church be the ship, the Cross is the mast, faith the sail, good works her yards, the Apostles and doctors her crew, the

HOLY GHOST the favorable wind, the harbor the end of the world, and the country reached, everlasting life. This is that vessel of which we read, "And when He was entered into a ship, His Disciples followed Him," of which it is true that "Except these abide in the ship ye cannot be saved." Every soul that has set out on the voyage for the Happy Isles is like a ship too, whereof some make shipwreck of the faith, and never reach the haven, while others, more blessed in their undertaking, come safe to land. And in saying *there* go the ships, we are taught that the way to Heaven must needs be over the waters of baptism. *Leviathan* (translated *dragon* by LXX. and Vulgate) cannot here mean, as it elsewhere does, the fresh-water crocodile, but stands for any sea monster, *taking its pastime* by sporting and playing freely in the waters. But the ambiguity of the Hebrew, reproduced by the Vulgate, makes another reading possible, *whom Thou hast made to sport with him*, a sense borne out by the similar language, "Wilt thou play with him (*Leviathan*) as with a bird? or wilt thou bind him for thy maidens?" And then the notion will be of the perfect ease with which GOD deals with the vast bulk of the monster as a mere toy in His hands. There is a wild Jewish tradition that the male *leviathan* is for three hours daily the plaything of GOD, while the female, slain to avert the multiplication of such huge creatures, is salted down for the food of Israel in the days of Messiah. * * * Mystically, they take it to mean the Devil, who, in despite of his power and craft, is made a mock of by GOD, by men and by angels; by GOD, when suffered to tempt men that they may advance in holiness; by men, whom he often finds stronger, like Job, the more he strives to weaken them; by angels, whom he knows to be fully aware of all the circumstances of his fall. The LXX. rendering of Job xl. 19, speaking of Behemoth, is, "This is the beginning of the creation of the LORD, made to be sported with by the angels;" whence S. Augustine, illustrating the present Psalm, remarks, "Wouldst thou mock the dragon? Be an angel of GOD. But thou art not yet an angel of GOD. Until thou be such, if thou do but hold the course towards it, there are angels to mock the dragon, lest he should hurt thee. For the angels of Heaven are set over the powers of the air." And thus, having lost his great power, he is made for a mock, so that any one who has CHRIST for his Head, can trample on the dragon, and bruise the head thereof, by refusing to yield to his suggestions, or to swerve from the right way. And so the Master Himself made a mock of the sea monster, luring him with the bait of Manhood which hid the Hook of Deity, and does so still by daily rescuing sinners from his grasp, through means of repentance.

From the inexhaustible 119th Psalm, which fills 161 pages of this Commentary, we must take one example, on a verse which to the ordinary reader presents no idea at all, or perhaps only a grotesque misconception: "For I am become like a bottle in the smoke: yet do I not forget Thy statutes:"

A bottle, that is, a *wine-skin*. The metaphor is taken from the blackened and shrivelled appearance of a skin exposed to the fire. But one object amongst the ancients of such exposure was to mellow the wine by the gradual ascent of the heat and smoke from the fire over which the skin was suspended: and thus the words

teach us the uses of affliction in ripening and improving the soul. For *smoke* the LXX. and Vulgate read *frost*, and the favorite interpretation based upon this is, the result of bodily austerity and mortification in cooling the hot passions of the flesh. S. Ambrose, coming very near the fullest meaning of the passage, although adopting the version *frost*, observes, "The righteous man, who hath mortified his body, is rightly called a wine-skin, seeing that he is found stripped, yet not naked, for a wine-skin is made of the spoils of a dead animal." Let us then die to sin, that we may live to God. Filled with the spirit of gladness and pleasantness of joy, we shall be spiritual spoils, free from bodily weakness, and holding within us in the unbroken folds of our soul that grace of divine mysteries which has been poured into us. Of these skins it is said that they put new wine into new bottles, who wish to keep both the body and grace. Let not this skin of thine leak, then, nor gape, nor grow decayed from lying on the ground, lest the new wine should burst the old skins, and grace be poured out where the skins are torn. Let them not dry up again with the sun of unrighteousness and the excessive force of heat, but rather let the various passions of the glowing flesh be calmed as though with the cold of snow, a snow which shines with the brightness of God's own word, which they who follow shall in the resurrection have raiment white as snow.

Again, taking snow as the type of earthly affliction due to sin, that "winter" which the LORD bid His disciples pray might not be the season of their flight; the Saint bids us note that we should be as insensible to the influence of sin as a dead skin is to that of cold; because we ought to bear about in our bodies the dying of the LORD JESUS. He then who chastises his body is a skin which maketh drunken not with wine but with the SPIRIT, in which there are no grapes of gall, no poison of dragons, no cruel venom of asps, but that inebriating cup which is so glorious. Others, reminding us of the heat of Eastern lands, suggest that the skin, whether containing water or wine, is placed in snow to cool its contents, on the one hand to prevent evaporation, and on the other to make them more grateful and cooling to the palate, which rejects tepid water with disgust and sickness, but delights in that which is cold. And this sense of affliction making that which is stored within us pleasanter to God and man, comes back to the literal meaning, albeit by a different road. The *yet* of the English versions, though not in the Hebrew, nevertheless seems required to complete the parallelism of the two strophes of the verse; and if we supply it, we must needs follow the translation *smoke*, and not *frost*. For too much heat would dry up and evaporate the contents of a skin; and so it is said "Despite the heat of my affliction, yet do I not forget Thy statutes, because Thou art careful not to try me beyond my strength." But cold would leave the quantity of fluid undiminished, and is thus a less suggestive rendering.

One more example, and we shall then turn to other parts of our subject. In that closing burst of praise, the 150th Psalm, how many are there who see nothing further than a catalogue of the various instruments employed in the temple service? But let us see what "trumpet," "lute," "harp," "cymbals," "dances," "strings," and "pipe" mean in *spiritual* language:

The *trumpet* is the warrior instrument, and either calls to the battle or proclaims a victory. Hence the trumpet praises CHRIST as He is our Captain and King. He is praised by the trumpet-voice of His great preachers, whom He bids "to cry aloud, and spare not, lift up thy voice as a trumpet," whom He sends to compass the walls of the spiritual Jericho to make them totter to their ruin, that the armies of the LORD may go up and take the city.

They thunder—their sound
It is CHRIST the LORD!
Then Satan doth fear,
His citadels fall!
As when the dread trumpets
Went forth at Thy word,
And one long blast shattered
The Canaanite's wall.

The trumpet needs to be held with the hand, and so the preacher must work as well as speak. And whereas the mouthpiece of the trumpet is much smaller than its bell, whence its voice finally issues, we learn the lesson that the preacher ought to be far stricter with himself than with his hearers. The trumpet is also the signal of victory, and thus when the sound of the Archangel's trump shall proclaim the final overthrow of Satan, death, and sin, the Saints will praise the LORD for His triumph.

The *lute* (or *Psalttery*, as LXX. and Vulgate have it), as specially used in religious music, denotes service to GOD. They take it as the decachord, and remind us that it sounds from above, so that it denotes the glorification of the soul.

The *harp*, a more secular instrument, used at weddings and other festivals, praises CHRIST the Bridegroom, and summons to His marriage-feast. Sounding from below, it praises Him for deliverance from sorrow, and rejoices in the glorification of the body.

Cymbals ought to be (in verse 4), as in A. V., *timbrel*, or *drum*, as LXX. and Vulgate; meaning the small tabret or tambourine played with the hand.

Drums clearly teach how mortal flesh ought to be mortified

In all its members, seeing they are made of dead beasts' hide.

Strained to the wood on every side, dry, and sounding under blows, they serve as a type of the martyrs, and of all who are crucified to the world, uttering praise to GOD most clearly when most severely afflicted.

And *dances*, or, as LXX. and Vulgate, *choir*, denoting peaceful fellowship, and joint harmonious action, which, S. Gregory reminds us, cannot be safely disregarded by those who play the drum.

Strings, as very thin, and strained with great tension, are types of all those who macerate the body with fasts and vigils, and are tightly fastened by the nails of the Cross, straining upward towards GOD, and giving forth sweet tones when touched by His fingers.

The *pipe*, or hand-organ, formed of several tubes of unequal length fastened together, signifies the harmonious concord of different graces and virtues, whether in one person or in many, united together by the band of charity.

The *well-tuned cymbals*—the *loud cymbals*. The difference of these instruments seems to be that the former were smaller and clearer-toned, intended to accompany the

voice; the latter louder and deeper, such as are used to clash in military music. Haymo very happily points out that as *cymbals* are always used in pairs, they may fitly denote those who "consider one another, to provoke unto love and to good works," and to the praise of God. They are *well-tuned*, from the holiness of their deeds and words in accordance with the Divine will; *loud* in their clear boldness and in their full rejoicing. The Old and New Testaments, too, in their wondrous agreement and harmony, are *well-tuned* cymbals; as are also the heart and lips of a Saint when in prayer or praise. And when the two great choirs of Angels and men shall join together, blending in concord, and filling heaven and earth with melody, then God shall be praised upon the *loud cymbals*.

In this great concert for the marriage feast of the Lamb, all the modes of producing musical tunes are named, breath for the trumpet and pipe, vibration of strings in psaltery and harp, blows for the beat of drum and clash of cymbals, all which are spiritual types of ourselves; and then, lest ought should be lacking, lest the understanding should fail to accompany the voice, the Psalmist ends his great song with the words: "*Let every thing that hath breath: praise the LORD. [Alleluia].*" When, at the creation of man, GOD made him a sentient and rational being, it is written that "He breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul;" and that same *breath* is meant here: so that the words ought to run, *Let every breath* [or with Vulgate *spiritus*] *praise the Lord*. It is with a most deep significance that these words form the Antiphon to this Psalm when it is used in the Office of the Dead, as teaching us that when the body is crumbling in the grave, the soul is alive to God, and the whole being of man can say, "I sleep, but my heart waketh," which stands as the noble epigraph over the tombs of the Kings of Spain in the Escorial. And as this vital breath comes directly from GOD, there is a deep truth in S. Augustine's interpretation, that those who live the true life of the soul, those who are spiritual, are chiefly called on here to praise the LORD, and to praise Him not here alone, where the drum and stringed instruments tell of mortification and suffering, and the cymbals teach the need of mutual aid, but in the full glory of heaven, where flesh, now incorruptible, and spirit are agreed, and the song of one is that of both.

If this quintessence of whole generations of spiritual commentators were all that these volumes contained, it would be enough. They would constitute a treasure priceless and unique. But there is more beside. There is an *apparatus liturgicus* which occupies comparatively a small space, but speaks of an enormous range of labor. Each Psalm has first a few words devoted to the *Title*, when there is one; then the *Argument*, or general drift of the Psalm is given from Thomasius, and one or more others, as Bede, Eusebius, Jerome, etc. For instance, here is this introductory matter as given to the Messianic Psalm xxii.:

TITLE. To the Chief Musician upon Aijeleth Shahar: a Psalm of David.

In the Vulgate: To the end, for the morning undertaking: a Psalm of David.

Most mediæval writers: To the end, for the morning hind: a Psalm of David.

Others: To the Supreme, in the midst of gloom.

In this variety of translations, it is better simply to give the meaning proposed to each. *The morning undertaking* is explained of the capture of our LORD in the morning by the Jews; the commencement of that Passion of which the Psalm treats. To this explanation S. Ambrose and Cassiodorus refer. But the majority of the Fathers understood it of the Resurrection, as having taken place very early in the morning; and to the Resurrection the end of the Psalm certainly alludes. Those who translate, *for the morning hind*, naturally see in this hind the type of our LORD, hunted by his enemies, driven into the snares, and so slain. The mediæval catalogue of the characteristics of the hind naturally led the authors of that time to prefer this meaning. The last translation, if it may be allowed, explains itself. The Chaldee paraphrase, varying from all the others, interprets it, "Concerning the powerful oblation of the perpetual morning:" which, at all events, affords a very beautiful mystical interpretation: the *powerful oblation* being the never-failing intercession of Him Who is indeed the everlasting Morning of His people.

ARGUMENT.

ARG. THOMAS. That Christ was pierced with nails, and that over His garments they cast lots. The voice of CHRIST when He was suffering in His Passion.

VEN. BEDÆ. Through this whole Psalm the LORD CHRIST speaketh. But in its opening, He complaineth that He was forsaken by the FATHER; to the end, namely, that He might undertake His Passion, according to the dispensation of GOD; commending His most powerful humility, brought to pass by the rejection of men, *My God, My God, look upon Me*. Next, He prophesieth His Passion under divers types, beseeching that He may be delivered from His raging enemies: *Many bulls are come about Me*. Thirdly, He exhorteth Christians to praise the LORD, Who, in His Resurrection looked upon the Catholic Church, lest if they heard of His Passion only, the hearts of men should tremble.

EUSEBIUS OF CÆSARÆA. A prophecy of the Passion of CHRIST, and of the vocation of the Gentiles.

S. JEROME. The context of the whole Psalm sets forth CHRIST.

It is worthy of notice, that Theodore of Mopsuestia was condemned in the fifth Œcumenical Council, and in the Provincial Synod of Rome under Vigilius, for asserting that this Psalm was to be understood of David only, and had no direct reference to our LORD: one of the few instances in which the Church has condemned or asserted a particular explanation of a particular text of Scripture. The most ancient explanations of the Jews themselves refer it to CHRIST: and Rabbi Solomon says that the Messiah in the midst of His sufferings would sing this Psalm aloud.

Besides the *Argument* thus fully and variedly given, there follows a couple of sections which to the ordinary reader will convey little or no idea, but to the student of "Hours" and "Breviaries" and "Uses," they will be simply invaluable. The first of these two sections in the case of Psalm xxii. is as follows:

VARIOUS USES.

Gregorian. Prime: originally on Sunday, now on Friday. [Good Friday: I. Nocturn.

Monastic. Sunday: Matins: I. Nocturn.

Parisian. Friday: Nones. [Good Friday: I. Nocturn.]

Lyons. Friday: Sext. [Good Friday: I. Nocturn.]

Ambrosian. Tuesday of the First Week: II. Nocturn. [Maundy Thursday: Matins. Good Friday: II. Nocturn.]

Quignon. Friday: Matins. I. Nocturn.

Eastern Church. Prime: Good Friday.

Then follows the other section, which gives some few of the great variety of *Antiphons* found in the different Uses, as follows:

ANTIPHONS.

Gregorian. Good Friday: They parted My garments among them, and for My vesture did they cast lots.

Parisian. Good Friday: They gaped upon Me with their mouths, as it were a ramping and a roaring lion: the council of the wicked layeth siege against Me.

Ambrosian. [Maundy Thursday: Deliver My soul from the sword.* My darling from the power of the dog. *Kyrie, Kyrie, Kyrie.* Good Friday: Many oxen are come about Me* fat bulls close Me in on every side. *Kyrie, Kyrie, Kyrie.*]

Mozarabic. My God, My God, look upon Me: why hast Thou forsaken Me?

Now all this liturgical information, in this condensed shape, is thus given in regard to every Psalm of the entire Psalter. And there is an after-piece to each Psalm as rich in its way, though of a very different character. There is, at the end of each Psalm, a group of Collects, gathered out of a vast variety of Liturgies and other devotional works, some being of exquisite beauty, depth and tenderness, and *all* being a rich gain to our Anglican branch of the Church Catholic, which has curtailed its public liturgical offices almost to the smallest conceivable minimum, and should therefore receive thankfully every contribution that may be made from the abundant storehouses of less niggardly branches.

One entire branch of this complex and admirable work still remains to be noticed. There are, in different portions of the four goodly volumes, five *Dissertations* on various subjects connected with the Book of Psalms.

The *first* Dissertation is on "The Psalms as employed in the Offices of the Church," and to the liturgical student is richly worth the whole price of the four volumes. It gives, in detail,

the Roman use, as finally arranged by S. Gregory ; the Monastic scheme, as first developed by S. Benedict ; the Mozarabic, as the only surviving example of the ancient Gallic rite ; the Ambrosian, as deriving its peculiarities from the great father of Psalmody ; and these are followed by the various schemes which characterized the different Gallican reforms of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Then is given the arrangement of the Psalter which has been adopted by the Church at Constantinople. Next is unfolded, with singular clearness and power, the whole marvellous system of *Antiphons*, as anciently practised both in the West and the East, with the gradual changes introduced by time and the decay of piety. This alone would furnish abundant subject matter for an entire Review article—to say nothing of the *volumes* which might be bestowed upon it without exhausting it. But in passing, we will throw out simply a hint, which may be of use in introducing Church worship among the Freedmen of the South, the Indians of the frontier, or the heathen in distant lands. The Church, in ancient ages, was made up of a laity of whom the bulk were illiterate, and even if they could have read, books were too costly to permit the idea of each worshipper having his own. The body of the *people* recited or sang in public worship only what they could *learn by heart*, and this, of course, was very little in quantity. It was made an important element, however, by dint of judicious repetition. It would be a tough task to teach an illiterate congregation to respond, verse about, through the special Psalms appointed for Easter Day ; and dull work for them to stand silent, hearing those glorious Psalms read (mumbled) or sung by other people. But it would be easy to teach them to sing the *one verse* which would give the key-note for the day, “The Lord said unto me: Thou art My SON, this day have I begotten Thee.” The small choir, composed of those who can read, would then lead off, by singing that one versè (the “*Antiphon*”), which the Congregation would repeat, thus getting their cue ; the Choir would then go on singing the first verse of the Psalm, when the Congregation would repeat their *Antiphon* ; then the Choir would sing the next verse, followed by the Congregation’s *Antiphon* ; and so on to the end of the Psalm. For instance, take the 2nd Psalm :

Choir.—The LORD said unto Me : Thou art My SON, this day have I begotten Thee.

Congregation.—The LORD said unto Me: Thou art My SON, this day have I begotten Thee.

Choir.—Why do the heathen so furiously rage together: and why do the people imagine a vain thing?

Congregation.—The LORD said unto Me: Thou art My SON, this day have I begotten Thee.

Choir.—The Kings of the earth stand up, and the rulers take counsel together: against the LORD and against His Anointed.

Congregation.—The LORD said unto Me: Thou art My SON, this day have I begotten Thee.

Choir.—Let us break Their bonds asunder: and cast away Their cords from us.

Congregation.—The LORD said unto Me: Thou art My SON, this day have I begotten Thee.

Choir.—He that dwelleth in heaven shall laugh them to scorn: the LORD shall have them in derision.

Congregation.—The LORD said unto Me: Thou art My SON, this day have I begotten Thee.

Choir.—Then shall He speak unto them in His wrath: and vex them in His sore displeasure.

Congregation.—The LORD said unto Me: Thou art My SON, this day have I begotten Thee.

Choir.—Yet have I set My King: upon My holy hill of Sion.

Congregation.—The LORD said unto Me: Thou art My SON, this day have I begotten Thee.

We are satisfied that some revival of some portion of this ancient Antiphonal system of the Church, is the one practical point which will enable unlettered congregations to be trained to a profitable use of Psalms in public worship. But the marvellous beauty of that ancient system is so great, so varied, so fascinating, and involves such a wealth of spiritual meaning and artistic elaboration, that we must stop here, or we shall be led far beyond our present length and breadth and depth. This Dissertation includes, also, some information about responsories, introits, etc., as well as Canticles. What will our lovers of Canticles in the words of Scripture say to a list of *seventy-seven* Canticles (outside the Psalms) being found in the Mozarabic Breviary, and nearly all from the Old Testament?

The *Second* Dissertation is devoted to the "Primitive and Mediæval Commentators on the Psalms," with brief notices of each. Besides S. Augustine, Cassiodorus, Bede, Remigius, Bruno, Euthymius Zigabenus, Gerhohus, Albertus Magnus, Ludolph, Ayguan, Dionysius the Carthusian, Jacobus Perez de Valentia,

Lorinus, and Balthazar Corderius, which are mainly relied on, we find also S. Hilary, S. Cyril of Alexandria, S. Prosper, S. Gregory the Great, S. Alcuin, Hugh of S. Victor, S. Bernard, S. Thomas Aquinas, John Gerson, and others, who have treated of only a portion of the Psalms.

The *Third* Dissertation is inserted after the 30th Psalm, and occupies less than fifty pages, but is of priceless value. It is on "The mystical and literal interpretation of the Psalms," and is a triumphant vindication of the rightfulness of the spiritual or mystical *principle* of interpretation, and the inherent absurdity of every ground upon which a condemnation of it can be based. In this dissertation Dr. Neale's extraordinary learning, his deep and thorough grasp of Catholic Theology, and his rare power of poetic fancy, are all twisted together in a threefold cord of strength and beauty.

The *Fourth* Dissertation is of less value than any of the others. It is inserted in the 2nd Volume, after Psalm lvi. It attempts to arrange the Psalms in the order of their true chronological sequence: a point in which there is not only much inherent uncertainty, but the power of getting at such truth as may be accessible requires a cultivation of verbal and historical criticism in microscopic detail, which was entirely remote from Dr. Neale's usual habit of mind and study.

Various other Dissertations were promised or contemplated by Dr. Neale, but were never written: one of which is particularly to be regretted, for it was to have treated the whole subject of the divisions, diction, and mystical character of the Psalter, and to have discussed the causes of the frequent discrepancies between the Hebrew, Greek and Vulgate. Dr. Littledale has himself supplied

The *Fifth* Dissertation, which is inserted in Vol. IV., after Psalm cxxxiv., and treats of "The Psalms as used in the Sacraments and Rites of the Church." In the compilation of this, many of the leading Oriental and Western Uses are set before us, with great fulness and clearness.

A few words as to the double authorship of this unique Commentary on the Psalms, and we have done.

It is not often that a brilliant beginning is taken up and com-

pleted with equal spirit and power, even by the author himself. Incomparably more rare is it, to find a very peculiar work begun well by one man, and finished well by another. And there were circumstances connected with the origin of this Commentary making it exceptionally peculiar in several ways. Dr. Neale tells us that from the time when, at College, he was called to attend on the Daily Service, he began to apply himself to a more special study of the Psalms. His first attempt, in a literary way, was a translation of S. Bernard's Commentary on the 90th (91st) Psalm, which, to his no small pride, he says, was thought worthy of a place in one of the ecclesiastical magazines of the day. In the December of 1843, he was admitted by the kindness of the Canons of Funchal, in the Madeiras, to the use of the Cathedral library there, which contained the best mediæval writers, as well as nearly all the Fathers; and he there began to carry out what had been for some time definitely in his mind—the preparation of a Commentary on the Psalms. He finished seven Psalms in the course of the winter, which, on his return to England, were published in the *Churchman's Companion*. Their reception was so warm as to encourage him to begin the more diligent study of the regular commentators on the Psalms, as well as to open a commonplace book to store all waifs and estrays that might come within his reach from other sources. Subsequently, his connection with the Sisterhood of S. Margaret's, at East Grinstead, involving the *weekly recitation of the Psalter*, roused him to persevere in the task he had set himself, with a more real and earnest interest; and the publication of the first volume of this Commentary, with three of the Dissertations, was at length the result. This work, then, took root in the earliest unfolding of his manhood, was penetrated with picturesque and tender associations of the tropics, was watered by the weekly recitation of the Psalter, was enriched by the continuous wakefulness and watchfulness of the mind through more than twenty years, was saturated through and through with the poetic glow, the devotional tenderness, and the graceful fervor, of a mind like Dr. Neale's. The very peculiar range of his reading through shelves of tomes forgotten by the moderns, and the industry of this honey-bee in extracting sweetness from every flower he touched, especially the culling of so

many fragrant fragments from the older Hymn-writers of Christendom : all these, one would think, would ensure it that an incomplete work begun by such a mind, never could be adequately finished by any other.

Very different were the circumstances under which Dr. Littledale took up the work for completion. At the close of the comment on the fifth verse of the 59th Psalm, there is a reference to this simple foot-note : " At this point the Commentary of John Mason Neale ceases. The pen, fallen from the hand of the great scholar, poet and divine, is henceforth taken up by the weak fingers of his disciple, R. F. L." At the time of Dr. Neale's departure, Dr. Littledale's hands were full of other work ; and before he could undertake the new task, it was essential to accumulate the necessary books, as only a few of them were then in his possession, and Dr. Neale's library was no longer accessible to him. It was thus late in the autumn of 1867 before he was ready to begin his part of the work. The graceful modesty with which Dr. Littledale excuses the " inferiority " of his continuation, is very beautifully expressed :

Continuations are proverbially unsuccessful, even when the artist himself makes the effort, and even when that artist is a Cervantes, a Bunyan, or a De Foe. Much more is failure to be expected when a feeble copyist takes up the pencil of a great master. It is true that as this Commentary is chiefly a mosaic from old writers, the peril seems at first sight less. But it is not really so. Two jewellers may have identical piles of gold and gems given them as materials, and the one will produce with them a wonder of art, while the other obscures their beauty by coarse and tasteless workmanship. Here, moreover, the heaps are not equal. The vast stores of Dr. Neale's learning were hardly less remarkable than the readiness and certainty with which he could draw on them, the ease with which he could illustrate any subject he treated, with apt classical allusion, parallels lying hid in history or legend, hymn or song, of ancient or modern times. Any one coming after him in the many paths of his labors is at a disadvantage in comparison, but especially in a field so peculiarly his own as the mystical interpretation of Scripture.

He trusts that, as he attempted the task only in fulfilment of the wishes of the departed, he may commit it " to the lenient consideration of those who will not expect a mere student to equal in a few months' labor that which cost a great teacher more than as many years."

Moreover, Dr. Littledale could not let the accumulation of material run on as a sort of accompaniment, for years, to other

labors—a sort of precipitate settling of its own accord at the bottom of an ocean of other activities—but was compelled to accomplish what he could in fierce spurts of concentrated and intense toil, between long and grievous attacks of illness, that have almost prevented locomotion, and at times render intellectual work an impossibility. It is under these drawbacks that he has gone on so successfully, that one would need *his* familiarity with the subject to detect any inferiority in any respect. He has added, moreover, more than a dozen to the long list of writers used by Dr. Neale; he has, in the latest edition, added a translation into English verse of many of the poetic excerpts given by Dr. Neale in their original language; he has added very considerably, in places, to the work as Dr. Neale left it, bringing it up to a more uniform fulness; and what is of still greater value, he has added not a little of the best of the results of modern critical research, and a spice of Hebraistic learning, oftentimes of singular force in illustrating the true meaning of the text. We will give only one example of this. In Psalm xlv. 10, on the phrase, “Upon Thy right hand did stand the queen in a vesture of gold, wrought about with divers colours,” which is interpreted of the Church, Dr. Littledale forcibly adds: “It is to be noted that the Hebrew word for *Queen* means a queen *consort*, not a queen *regnant*, thereby teaching us that her royal dignity is derived from CHRIST, and not inherent of her own right or merit.” And in the former part of the same verse we find another of the same sort: “In ‘Kings’ daughters were among thy *honourable women*,” says Dr. Littledale, “we lose the beauty of the original: ‘Kings’ daughters were among *Thy Jewels*:’” and he aptly compares the promise: “They shall be Mine, saith the LORD of Hosts, in that day when I make up My jewels.”

But we have said enough, we trust, to satisfy our readers that for devotional or homiletic purposes—for *every* purpose, indeed, except that of mere textual and archaic criticism—this *Commentary on the Psalms* is by far the most valuable that is now within easy reach in the English language, nor is it likely to be superseded for many generations. Let us close with the closing words of Dr. Littledale himself, at the end of the 150th Psalm. He has commented on the “Alleluia” with which that Psalm concludes, and then adds:

So, with the melody of heaven echoing around me, I, by the waters of Babylon, hang up this harp of the LORD, after striving to sing His song in a strange land, saying to Him as I do so: "And now, O LORD GOD, if in this work I have said any thing which is Thine, Thine own will recognize it; and if I have said any thing which is mine, do Thou and Thine forgive it." What I have said of Thine, receive; what I have ignorantly uttered of mine own, pardon; and bring us to that vision where we can no longer err, O LORD JESU CHRIST, to that happy life of praise and blessing where the unending Song is uplifted.

Now from all men be outpoured

Alleluia to the LORD;

With Alleluia evermore

The SON and SPIRIT we adore.

Praise be done to the Three in One.

Alleluia! Alleluia! Alleluia! Alleluia!

JOHN HENRY HOPKINS.

THE QUESTION OF IMMORTALITY.

If it be true in a general sense that the race is a unit in its life and progress; that every age is the inheritor of the whole past, and starts enriched by the acquisition and matured by the discipline of all time; it is also true that every age has its individual life to live, its individual training and experience to undergo. It has its own theories to form and put in practice; it has its own views, its own moral temperament and mental cast. Hence the abiding mystery that enshrouds the human condition—encompassing existence as an island is encompassed by the waters of an unknown ocean—presents varying aspects to mankind in different ages of their mental history. Each age confronts it from the stand-point of its own idiosyncrasy; is struck by the aspect that appeals most directly to its own feeling; seeks the solution that will satisfy the demands of its own mind, and cannot be entirely content with the solutions of former ages, because no former age has seen the problems precisely as it sees them, none has put precisely the same questions which it is led to put, or at least has not put them in precisely the same form.

The present is a deeply inquiring age; an age remarkable for high and widely diffused culture, and so peculiar in kind and degree are its intellectual demands that the results of former research and the formulas of past conclusions seem to it peculiarly inadequate to those demands. At many points we have broken with the past, and we are thrown into a temporary confusion. Beliefs are shaken; convictions unsettled; there is a clamor of contrary cries; we feel ourselves adrift on the flux and reflux of uncertainty.

Thus it is, to come to our present point, that the question of Immortality, in spite of Plato and the New Testament, is to-day a vexed question with many, and the old doctrine of future life widely doubted, disputed and denied. As we all know, the doubt

and disbelief on the subject is largely owing to those materialistic tendencies and habits of thought which have grown up under the influence of the modern study of nature. There is no need to enlarge on this point. It is a thrice-told tale. In these days scarcely anything is said in the intellectual world which does not bear some reference to that triumphant advance of physical science which has marked this century, like the fifteenth, as a great era of awakening for the human mind. We have entered deep within the arcana of the natural world, discovered its methods and surprised its secrets. Patient study of facts prepares the way for large inductions, mechanical action is traced to its dynamic sources, and the minds of men swell at the wider vision of the universe that greets them from the heights they have attained. Now this intense activity and immense achievement may be viewed with pure admiration or with pure dislike and dread, but to the impartial observer two things are evident; that it brings some present evil, and that it brings prospective good.

The evil comes from the one-sidedness. The scientist will know nature, and nature only, and thence the step is short to holding that there is nothing else to know. He believes in what he calls the "scientific method," and he believes in no other, contemning every other mental process as fanciful theorizing, and the subjects they are concerned with, as coinage of the brain. He appropriates the general term, science, to the results of his own labor, and this exclusive claim has long since gone by default. Christian believers acquiesce in it, and are content to admit with the poet:

We have but faith, we cannot know,
For knowledge is of things we see.

Thus the notion strikes deep and spreads wide that the sensuous and the material are synonyms for the real and the true. Men's consciousness of their own spiritual nature grows dim within them and their ancient faith in spiritual realities is slipping from their grasp. Religions interest them as creations of the "mythic consciousness," records of their mental childhood, but religious doctrines are as devoid of practical interest as speculations on lunar politics would be, for the modern nature-worship knows no gods but blind matter and brute force. Looking upon themselves as merely finer animals, these men are content to trace their pedigree

to the ape and seek no other ancestor ; and, stranger still, they are content to say, "That befalleth the sons of men which befalleth beasts ; as the one dieth, so dieth the other." Physiology is their passion ; thought and feeling are molecular changes of the nervous centres ; the basis of life is solely physical, and the belief in it apart from that, a dream. Knowing only and caring only for the human carcase, they see a matter-mote rise up by an easy process of evolution into a monkey, and thence into a man,—as man live its little day, then die, disintegrate, dissolve into the matter-mote again. They look forward to their own extinction with calmness, and even in some cases with something of enlightened pride. They see themselves "blown about the desert dust or sealed within the iron hills," and the prospect does *not* chill or sicken their hearts.

In view of this strange aberration of the scientific mind, in which the understanding tramples out the instinctive sentiments of the soul, it may well be asked where we find the prospect of any good to come from modern science ? We answer, in the settled conviction that all deep intellectual movement is ultimately intellectual advance. All roads lead to Truth. The progress may be on lines that seem to return upon themselves, but it is progress still. For all its retrogressive windings the river bears on surely to the sea. This popular materialism cannot last. It is a back-water in the great river of progress, and it is even now on the ebb. We can discern a break between the unthinking masses and their thoughtful leaders. While the one, exulting in their new-found "freedom" of thought, are eager to throw off their old convictions and with them their hope of immortality, the others proceed more cautiously. They will not decide the point ; they go no further than to call immortality an open question, one not proved nor disproved. For their earlier principles are changing color under their eyes. The new materialism even drops its old name. Prof. Huxley tells us : "I am no materialist ; I believe that system to involve grave philosophical error." Mr. Spencer tells us that the facts of existence may be described indifferently in terms of materialism or in terms of idealism, but that, for his part, he prefers the latter. Physical science in fact has advanced from perception to thought. It is no longer satisfied with salts and stones according to their appear-

ance; it inquires what they *are*. It has left phenomena for their forces and laws; that is, for something immaterial and hyper-physical. Its search for the principles of matter finds them to be principles of mind; the farther it advances the more purely intellectual becomes the matter of its quest, until it comes itself to the admission that "there is no sensuous objectivity of which intellectual elements do not constitute the essence." If then, as we believe, the ultimate reality is spirit, and science is the honest seeking for truth, what difference does it make that she begins with matter? The result must be the same, and perhaps the surer for being slowly reached.

We can see already how this advance of natural science brings the question of immortality face to face with large analogies. Our new learning teaches the indestructibility of matter and the persistence of force. No smallest atom perishes or is wholly lost. There is metamorphosis, there is no cessation. Decomposition is in order to recombination, and everywhere disappearance leaves behind it the promise to reappear. My body will perish in its existing form and turn to dust. But that dust itself is imperishable, immortal; it will take on new forms, and enter into new combinations to the end of time. And so force amid its infinite transmutations is self-existent and eternal. The ray of light that falls on the scattered seed, blooms in the way side flower, and after ages of long burial, is dug up in the coal-bed, and on the hearth-stone emits once more its latent, undying spark. Men have not failed to see how these analogies from the inorganic world point to the conservation and continuity of life, and there are many who exclaim to-day: We too believe in immortality—not indeed as you conceive it, a petty individualism, but the immortality of man, the perpetuation of the human race. Men die, but Man lives on—one great Being ever growing toward perfection through the service of all who have lived for its sake. In this lies our individual immortality; we contribute something to the stock of human thought or human effort, and we live forever in the life of humanity, in our share in the progress of the race, in the memory and gratitude of men to come. Such a creed may sound cold and comfortless to the Christian, yet it is worth his consideration. To devote ourselves to the service of a generalization, and to look for

after life only in our work interwoven with the progress of mankind, will scarcely satisfy the cravings and aspirations of the personal soul. Such impersonal immortality seems indeed but a fine name for annihilation. Yet the two main ideas of Positivism—that the race, as a whole, is advancing to perfection, and that the individual has higher duties to mankind than to himself—these must claim a Christian's sympathy. Consider this immortality of sacrifice, in which the social feeling is so victorious over self-love that one is content to merge his individuality in the unity of the common nature, and drop his separate being for the wider life of the undying race, and we must admit it to be a lofty and generous conception. Compare it with the narrow feeling too common among us, which makes men cling to immortality from desire of selfish happiness; which makes them dwell on their own future as their only interest; which shuts out social feeling and shuts them in to individualism; which narrows all their care to securing their own eternity, and makes them content to look on the life beyond as bringing to the few continuous union with good, and to the many continuous union with the evil, and we must admit that, some of us might well take a lesson from our enemies, if not as to the substance, yet as to the spirit of their faith.

We should learn then that we have not to argue with a crude and coarse materialism. The leaders of science have got past that and will bring those among whom it lingers, up to their own level. They admit the persistence of life in general, but deny the permanence of any particular form it assumes. The whole question of immortality as between Christianity and Science centres to-day in a single point: the continuity of individual consciousness—the permanence of the personal being which we are.

There are two general arguments to establish this point. One is the popular argument of appeal to the intuitions of consciousness. It is in common use with preachers and poets, for it is of a sort that comes home naturally to the minds of all men. We have an instinctive belief that we are made to live forever. We have looked on death; we know its outward signs, but we cannot believe that the whole truth of the matter is told us by our senses. We feel within us,

Those obstinate questionings,
Of sense and outward things,
Which, be they what they may,
Are yet the fountain light of all our day.

They may be stilled for a season, but cannot be silenced forever, and in their presence the idea of annihilation is as abhorrent to our natural reason, as to our natural feelings. Our feet are set within a world of finitude. A darkness that rises from the valley of shadow falls everywhere around us, and to our ears comes ever the sublime lament of things that die. And yet we walk this earth with the conscious bearing of a race of immortals. This short flutter of joys and pains, this brief glimmer of smiles and tears—this is not all our life. We feel,

That life shall live forevermore,
Else earth is darkness at the core,
And dust and ashes all that is.

If for a moment the thought crosses our brain that this human soul, "the roof and crown of things," could die and make no sign, the solid earth fails beneath our feet, and something seems to break within our heart. Now

Who forged this other influence,
This heat of inward evidence,
By which we doubt against the sense?

How shall we account for this voice within our soul, if it be not here to reveal a fact? What shall we believe or trust if not these innate convictions of our common consciousness?

The second argument we speak of is the philosophic argument from the nature of the soul. It shows that spirit, self-conscious being, is substance, and is the only substance. By substance is meant that which is permanent, indestructible and immutable, because it is not subject to any limitation or conditioning from without, but has its whole being within itself. Here is the difference between personality and individuality. The being of every individual thing is dependent upon the totality of the conditions surrounding it. Change them and you destroy it. A piece of iron rusts or oxidizes until it is a piece of iron no longer. A stone may

be pulverized, dissolved in water, chemically changed until its elements are united with those of other things, and its original identity is lost. But the being of a person is independent, it is self-existence. If the person *alters*, it must be through its own act. Alteration is Latin for "othering." In the case of the individual thing, alteration is effected by the influence of some *other* thing. Water alters in obedience to temperature; as water it ceases to be, becoming ice or vapor. But the person is self-determining; he is his own "other," his own limit, his own means and his own end. Thus personal being is beyond the reach of external event, is without the sphere of finitude. The existence of spirit is of necessity its existence forever. The existence of self-conscious beings is of necessity the existence of immortal beings. When therefore the naturalist tells the philosopher: On the whole we have given up the theory of immortality, the latter can only answer with a compassionate smile. It strikes him as it would strike the naturalist to be told, "on the whole we have given up the theory of gravitation." Indeed the phrase "immortality of the soul" seems to him an unintelligent expression; it is a pleonastic truism, and to argue it is as if one should argue the non-solidity of liquids, or the non-three-footedness of quadrupeds.

We have referred only briefly to these arguments, because, weighty as they are, they are not nowadays available. The argument from intuition is useless with those who are trained to distrust all intuitions and weigh everything by the critical understanding. The philosophic argument is equally useless with those who are ignorant of philosophy and prejudiced against its study. How then shall Christians to-day go about to establish their doctrine of personal immortality? There remains a method which may seem indirect and inconclusive, but which, it may be hoped, will be effective, for it puts the question on its true ground. And that is this: to rest the doctrine of immortality on the cardinal, elementary doctrines of Christianity—the nature of God, the nature of man and the relation between them; to cease to view it as an independent and isolated question, and to present it as an integral element of Christian truth; to cease to urge and argue it on its own merits as if it stood alone, and to hold and treat it as a corollary, a necessary consequence of Christian principles; so that

we are released from any necessity to prove it, if those principles are proved or admitted. When we have convinced men of the truth of the Christian revelation as it relates to the essential facts of the human condition, we shall find that immortality, and prayer, and providence, and such questions will take care of themselves; we shall have no further need to argue them. We are too apt to waste our strength in a desultory warfare over regions remote from the main strategic points we hold; and then those distant regions, covered by our extended lines, are converted into keys of our position. It would be wiser policy to maintain our entrenched camp and offer battle only there, for there victory will be decisive and give us easy mastery of all outlying territory in dispute. This, however, will oblige us to see to it that our entrenchments are kept in good order, proof against the newest inventions in artillery, and up to the highest level of military art, lest we perish under the fall of antiquated and neglected defences. To drop the figure, if we rest the question of immortality on the cardinal truths of Christianity, we must take care fully to apprehend those truths and to present them justly, so that their breadth and depth and living power, their comprehensiveness and their simplicity may be made known to men. And here that we touch, as we conceive, the main root of the difficulty, we shall venture to speak with freedom.

There is reason to fear that it is the simplest and most fundamental of Christian truths that would sound newest in men's ears to-day. We preach too often in place of Christ's Gospel a human theology which is neither reasonable nor Christian. Some of it is the product of the monkish, scholastic mind of a world that has passed away; some of it was shaped amid the violent excitements and reactionary strifes of the Reformation. It has lost influence over the world's mind. More than that, it has provoked a reaction. It is not too much to say that the current theological teaching is as largely responsible for modern disbelief as is the materialism taught by Science. If men to-day doubt of God and their future life it is because they can no longer believe many dogmas of an orthodox theology which is the only exponent of Christianity they know. Let us not be misunderstood. We do not write to attack theology or decri dogma; on the contrary we would defend them. But it is to be remembered that theology is not the faith. That



faith indeed was once for all delivered; it is unchanging and unchangeable. Theology is the measure of man's apprehension of divine truth. Its systems register the conceptions of their time. They give us the best thought and clearest vision their makers could attain to; they can do no more. Hence theology must change, must move with the movement of the human mind, and its history from Clement and Origen to Bull and Butler is only the record of its growth. It is our part to carry on its progress, and for this we must recognize its deficiencies. No science is injured by correction; if we clear it of errors, we strengthen it and do it service. Now for many years our theology has been holding up to men ideas of God and of man wholly inadequate to their enlarged and refined conceptions, and they reject them to-day as ignoble and untrue. These ideas were adequate to the past, for they were the product of the past, but they have fallen below the intellectual and moral level of the present, and theology must rise to that level before God and immortality can be a universal faith again.

We shall be told perhaps that the doctrines of the received theology are the teaching of Scripture; that we cannot have the Christianity of the Bible without them. This is of course the very question we raise. Wherever we hold theology to be erroneous, there we hold it to be unscriptural, and our point is that there are doctrines of this theology not taught by Scripture nor properly derived from it. At once we shall be met by an overwhelming array of proof-texts. But it needs no long study of the Bible to know that such a method can make it prove anything. The devil can cite Scripture for his purpose. These doctrines come from the misreading of Scripture. They spring from that blind literalism that kills, because it misses the *spirit* of truth; from that false and shallow theory of inspiration which has made an idol of the written word as before the Roman made an idol of the Church; which shelters itself behind men's misplaced reverence to numb and cramp the faith of Christendom. They are handed down from days when sound scholarship was unknown; when men's only aim was to find support for theories and their only study how to warp and bend the Bible language to make it fit with the hybrid philosophy of the Schools. They are not in Scripture; they contradict

its spirit. They are "Aberglaube," the human overgrowth which has buried and choked the simple truths of the Gospel.

Let us turn to one or two of these theologic doctrines which bear on the question of immortality and see if they are not as much at variance with the spirit of Christianity as with the dictates of an educated reason. There is a theological idea of God which cuts Him off from any close or constant relation to the universe or to mankind. According to this, six thousand years ago God made the heavens and the earth, and now He rests from all His work that He has done. The finished spheres rolled from His hands complete as the ship that glides from the dockyard when the builder launches it and leaves it. The universe is wound up like a clock to run by its natural laws, and there is no action left to the Creator but one of interference. When He appears in His own person, it can only be to interrupt the continuity of the natural order. There is a regular, settled course of things, but a special Providence occasionally interposes to make them go differently. And so the feeling grows up that somehow the material world is not God's own, and miracles are valued for proving the important truth that God can suspend the laws of nature at His will. It is no wonder that scientific men feel they can dispense with such a do-nothing God who sits apart from the world, a remote and misty phantom, supposed to possess a sort of disused veto-power. It is no wonder that in the necessity they find for some actual source of life and energy, they personify an abstraction and call it Nature.

This narrow and mechanical notion of the Creator is not Christian. He whom we know through Christ is about us and before us as well as behind us. God is in everything or He is in nothing. He is no "Supreme Being" of French Deism. He is to be conceived as *in* the universe, not as *out* of it. As we learn to know "Nature," we learn to know the methods of His working. Who is its indwelling life and ever-active power. St. Paul knows nothing of our distinction between natural and supernatural, as if both were not equally divine; although conservative theologians might well shrink from the seeming "Pantheism" of his language: "One God and Father of all, who is above all and through all and in you all." "Of Him and through Him and to Him are all things." Again, if the sole, all-working energy of the nat-

ural world is a personal will, there is nothing lawless in a miracle. It is only the immediate exertion of the same power that ordinarily works mediately. Thus miracles are not evidence to God, but God is the evidence to miracles. We believe in the wondrous works of Christ because we believe in Christ. And this is the mental attitude He approved. That men should believe in Him because they saw signs and wonders He expressly discouraged. Of one village the evangelist tells that "He did there no mighty work, because of their unbelief."

Now this God of nature is revealed to us as the Father of mankind. In that single word what a world of meaning centres! It fills and satisfies the mind and the soul. But the false theology has severed this relation as it has the other. The God of such theology is in His own being self-sufficient. He creates the world for His own glory and man to pay Him worship.¹ He has no duties toward us. He has the rights of a feudal lord over his serfs. We have no business to judge of the right or wrong of His actions; the sovereign is above the law. And then man, having the misfortune to inherit a diseased moral nature, is strangely enough held accountable for that misfortune. He is by nature born in sin and a child of wrath. He is under a curse. With evil propensities and little strength to resist them, he is thrown into a world of temptation and left to take his very slight chance of escaping eternal damnation at the hands of a just God who hateth iniquity. It is no wonder that men of clear head revolt against such a caricature of Christ's Gospel, and prefer no religion to a bad one. Where in this is the great truth of the Divine fatherhood? Where God's patient, tender, self-forgetting love, so beautifully taught us in the parables of Christ? Where St. Paul's grand idea that He must always and through everything remain true to His own

¹ It is told of a well known clergyman of the Episcopal Church, still living, that having to conduct an examination for priest's orders, he asked the question, "What is the Divine object and motive in creation?" The candidate promptly responded, "The exhibition of the Divine glory," and was somewhat startled at the abrupt demand in a formidable voice, "How would you like that to be said of you?" "I don't understand, Sir," he faltered. "Why, suppose you had done some worthy or generous action, how would you like it to be said that you had only done it for the sake of showing yourself off?"

nature? "If we believe not, yet He abideth faithful; He cannot deny Himself." It seems that this theology has done for us what St. Paul believed impossible when he exclaimed: "I am persuaded that neither death nor life, nor things present nor things to come, nor height nor depth nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus."

Nor is the matter greatly helped by the doctrine of the atonement, as commonly taught. The Gospel account, that God so loved the world that He sent His Son to save sinners—and to save them not only from punishment but from *sin*—this was soon overclouded and perverted by the barbarism it sought to convert. It could not cope with the notions of wild justice it came in contact with. When the barbarian was wronged, his resentment demanded the suffering of the offender; and adequate suffering could expiate the injury. Such is the barbaric notion of justice; "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth." But if suffering is what justice demands, and what satisfies it, it is but a step to hold that the suffering of one may be undergone by another,—that it makes no difference to justice whether the offender suffers or some one else in his place. The records of uncivilized people are full of examples of this vicarious punishment. For instance, the story of Zaleukos who when his son was condemned to lose both his eyes, gave one of his own to reduce the penalty. Now the god of the barbarian was but himself "writ large." These savage notions soon began to work upon men's view of the Christian faith, and in course of time passed into the growing theology. God's justice, outraged by men's sins, demanded a satisfaction in the form of suffering, and His infinite majesty could be satisfied only by their eternal pains. But Christ had suffered on the cross in their place, and His few hours' agony, curiously multiplied by the dignity of His divinity, was accepted as equivalent to their endless torments. These views were thrown into legal forms of expression under the influence of the Roman law upon some doctors of the Church, and hence they are still called the "forensic" view of the Atonement. As Llewelyn Davies has pointed out, no civilized court of law would admit for a moment the principles assumed. That the proper demand of justice is a fixed equivalent of suffering; that this should be proportioned to the dignity of the person injured—

as when a serf was whipped for killing his fellow serf, but hung for striking a knight; that it is indifferent whether the offender suffer or some one else for him—these are assumptions which modern criminal law would simply find matter of amusement. Some who feel it difficult to defend theological tradition on this point resort to a desperate device. They tell us that divine justice is not the same as human, and that we cannot argue from one to the other. This is utterly to confuse the moral sense, and to undermine the foundations of ethical thought and practice. It is because our moral convictions—and among them our idea of justice—are *absolute* to our reason that they are authoritative with us. We must rather trust their voice as to their divine character than this unsupported assertion to the contrary. Besides, as the writer just referred to remarks, "it would be singular indeed that the justice of God should differ from that of civilized men only by resembling that of primitive barbarism." We cannot wonder then that men of to day turn from the Gospel of reconciliation with contemptuous indifference when it is thus misrepresented.

Another point of this theologic teaching more than all the rest has shaken men's faith in their immortality, and that is the doctrine of the future life itself. Its retributive penalties and its recompensing joys have been so represented that men cannot bring themselves to believe in the one or to care for the other. The picture of unending bliss is weak and colorless to the point of the absurd. Our spiritual existence is described in earthly images of baldest materialism. There is a city of gorgeous splendor with thrones of sapphire, walls of jasper and gates of pearl. The action for the scene is as monotonous as human faculties are varied,—if action it can be called, for to stand forever robed in shining white, chanting hymns of adoration, seems little else than idleness. If the heaven of the old theology ever did kindle the imagination, it does so now no longer. The docile believer contemplates this eternity of dullness with a secret sinking of the heart, and we cannot wonder if the less reverent turn from it with good-natured contempt. If the picture of heaven is weak, the picture of hell is horrible. The torments of the wicked have these singular characteristics: they are physical; they are penal, not reformatory; and they are uniform or indiscriminating. Can any healthy reason

which has learned its Christianity from the four gospels bring itself to believe in a hell where the punishments of condemned spirits are purely corporeal, of a sort suited only to the body as it is laid down at death; where they are utterly aimless and retrospective, undesigned by the Judge who is also the Saviour of men to work the sinner's purification; where they are indiscriminate upon all, visiting all alike with the same tortures, regardless of the infinite variations in degree of sin which earthly lives present; where above all they are eternal, not because the sins of time can merit the retribution of eternity, but on the feudal principal referred to that punishment should be proportioned not to the offender's guilt, but to the dignity of the person offended,—and this although the doctrine carries with it the monstrous Manichean fancy of an eternity of evil in GOD's world which He cannot or will not prevent? Shall we wonder that men reject this ghastly doctrine which makes their heavenly Father the arbitrary and relentless Moloch of the universe?

Here then, in view of these errors of the past, we learn our first duty as teachers of immortality. It is because the infidels identify this theological caricature with the religion of Christ that they reject the one with the other. If we disavow it, we disarm them. It is dangerous to cast pearls before swine, but it is also dangerous to give starving men stones for bread. Let us learn that such a false teaching is our worst hindrance to success. Let us free ourselves from the traditional errors and misconceptions that clog our speech and distort our message, and the Gospel of Christ, now as at the beginning, will conquer the world.

And with that Gospel is bound up the faith in immortality. For those who accept the Christian teachings as to God and man, and cherish them not merely as a doctrinal system for the head, but as a living reality for the heart and life—disbelief in immortality becomes impossible. Our surest way to teach that truth is to educate the religious spirit, and lead into the religious life. They who live in conscious communion with a heavenly Father, know that if in this world only they have hope in Him, they are of all men most miserable; and in that consciousness they feel that when men talk of the annihilation of a human soul, they are

talking nonsense. And this faith is founded on a fact. We are one with God in our essential nature, for spiritual being is one and homogeneous. We spirits are made in God's image, and He has been made in ours. "He that sanctifieth and they who are sanctified are all of one." "For as He is, so are we in this world." And not only is there unity of nature, there is communion of life. "In Him we live and move and have our being." Our being is contained in and sustained by His. We abide in Him and He in us, and He abides forever. We share in His life, and as that life is everlasting, we know that we too are immortal. Thus His existence certifies our unending life, for "He is not a God of the dead, but of the living." Death is therefore only an event in life; it is death of the body, but it is new birth of the spirit. That which our soul cries out for at sight of death is a reality; the bodily husk falls from us only to waken us to a fuller consciousness and a truer reality. It was the fancy of the ancients to speak of the "sleep of death," but for the Christian, life is the sleep from which death wakens him.

Our *birth* is but a sleep and a forgetting.

In death the spirit opens its eyes, recalled from a troubled dream to the realities of its life, which have all the time surrounded it unseen, and to the Father who has been all the time "not far from every one of us." In this faith our life is "builded far from accident." We are persuaded that nothing can separate us from the living God; not life nor death, nor things present nor things to come, nor angels nor principalities nor powers. The spirit which we are, is anchored safe in the Spirit whose we are, for He is all in all.

If now we look back from the plane of this reasonable faith to the view of the Positivist, in which we have admitted there is something to admire, we shall find that we have no need to borrow from it, if we but hold the truths of our religion in the grasp of an adequate conception. We can answer: Our religion also teaches the eternal progress of the race; we too believe in the conservation of all human effort to the general good, but we believe besides in the unending life of the individual workers and their unceasing work. You look to a sacrificial death for the undying race; we look to an endless life of loving service. We too have our immor-

tality in the grateful affection of our fellow men, but it is an affection we shall be alive to feel and answer to. You speak of an immortal humanity all whose past generations are dead—whose life is only in the future; we believe that all men who have been, are—a mighty host whom we on earth call dead because they are removed to a better world whither we too are going. You believe in the concentration of the whole race into an ideal Man whose continuous life preserves the memory of our thoughts and deeds; we too believe in that ideal Man, but not as an abstraction, powerless to hold any vital relation to our souls, not as a metaphysic shadow, but as a person, the God-Man, Christ in whom we are recreated, whose name is Eternal Love. Your conception has a kind of barren grandeur, but it does not rise to the magnificence of ours; it is a lower thought, and we will not change gold for lead.

Thus all of truth and nobleness there is in Positivism, and more than that, we have in Christianity, for it was the misconception of a dull and narrow-hearted past to view our future life as an inert repose of selfish bliss. The spiritual world is one of beauty and of rest, but not such beauty as speaks only to the outward eye, not such rest as the wearied body longs for, not such a world as it appeared to Oriental or to Mediæval fancy. A peace that passeth understanding welcomes the weary and heavy-laden from their struggle with the cares of life, from their deeper struggle with the weakness of the flesh; but it is a peace of freer action, not of idleness. In the many mansions of our Father's house shall be found full room for the development of all our nobler faculties—reason, imagination, the affections, the active energies. Feelings which have found no food here shall there be satisfied. Faint possibilities of our nature which here we see in glimpses shall there be grasped and made realities. New aspirations shall call to higher action. The outlines of life shall be filled up and the rough sketch finished as we grow into a perfect man, the stature of the fulness of Christ. A world of boundless knowledge and unbounded capacities to learn, of glorious work to do and adequate faculties to do it—this shall be our home.

“For doubtless unto each is given,
A life that bears immortal fruit;
In such great offices as suit,
The full-grown energies of heaven.”

The scholar and the seeker will be there, and the check of earthly limitation shall be taken away and the secrets of all time and space given them to study. The prophets and reformers will be there, and shall be sent forth now on larger missions with ampler powers. The heroes of the right will be there, and shall be called now to conquests crowned with no blood-stained laurels. And the loving and the tender will be there—they who have made their lives a ministry to troubled souls and broken hearts, and that ministry shall be carried on in wider ways we know not of.

For it is a home of purified and permanent affections, where misconception melts into insight, divisions into sympathy and hatred into love. A household and a family where the dearest dreams of home-life shall find their happy fulfilment; where all interchange of thought and feeling shall be freer, fuller and more perfect; where those we have loved shall ever be around us, with others whom we shall know in person as we have known them by name—all the innumerable company of the great and good of every age and clime. And where the purified in heart shall see God; where we shall live in the light of our Father's countenance, and meet face to face our elder brother, Christ.

F. A. HENRY.

THE VOYAGE OF VERRAZANO.¹

In the year 1477, while engaged in a voyage to the North, Christopher Columbus sailed three hundred miles beyond Iceland, and, by accident it would appear, escaped the re-discovery of those coasts so well known in the tenth and eleventh centuries, a map of which was published in Germany during the year 1482.² Again, in 1492, when sailing westward across the Atlantic towards Florida, with the chart of the Italian Toscanelli in his hand, he was persuaded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon to change his course towards the south-west. This resulted in the discovery of the West Indies, which to the day of his death he fondly believed to be the outlying Isles of Cathay. Addressing Columbus, Pinzon said: "It seems to me like an inspiration that my heart dictates to me that we ought to steer in a different direction." And the fact that Pinzon's "inspiration" was cunningly drawn from the movements of a flock of parrots which he had seen flying towards the south-west, and as he inferred toward the land, does not change the main fact; for whether it was the man's heart or the birds, Columbus was turned aside by Pinzon from his original purpose, and thus left the North American Continent to be discovered by others. The results that hung upon his decision in both of these voyages were incalculable. Had Columbus discovered this continent, the territory of the United States would probably have been known to-day as New Spain, and the gifts of Spanish civilization and religion so lavishly poured upon the

¹THE VOYAGE OF VERRAZANO: A chapter in the Early History of Maritime Discovery in America. By Henry C. Murphy. ALBANY: JOEL MUNSELL.

²See the Edition of Ptolemy for that year. Also the article by the present writer on "Columbus and the Geographers of the North" (to which this is, in a sense, supplementary) in the Church Review, 1870.

countries of Montezuma and the Incas, would have been established in the place of free and enlightened institutions. Under Spanish domination, one might readily imagine the probable character of the Centennial. It might, perhaps, be summed up in the single word, "Mexico."

The stream of French immigration was, on the other hand, deflected towards the north; though, following the ordinary course of reasoning, the student of history would have inferred, at the outset, that the country now included within the territory of the United States, after the failure of Spain, was destined to become what monarchs and geographers conspired to make it, namely, "New France." And a "New France" would have been hailed by the world far differently from a "New Spain;" yet argument is not required to prove that the world was in no need of either. Such historic reproductions certainly do not appear to have been included in the Providential plan. France, however, was deprived of the fair domain that we enjoy, by an agency that did not operate against Spain, at least in the same way. We refer to the Bull of Alexander VI., which gave the new world to the Spaniards. For, whatever may be the approximate causes, the remote reason for the French failure is to be traced to the execution of that instrument by which the region embracing North America was ceded to Spain for ever. Spain was indeed the faithful supporter of the Papal power, but the gift was too large alike for the Castilian's greed and theological zeal. Thus the Pope, by pressing upon Spain responsibilities that she was not able to bear, at the same time took away one grand incentive to action from the people of France, who were eager to go forward in the paths of a fresh civilization.

Many writers have indeed expressed surprise because France did so little in the new world, especially during the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Under the circumstances, however, it is remarkable that anything was done or even thought of, since the Pope had solemnly pronounced a curse against whomsoever might presume, upon any pretense, to interfere with the rights of Spain,¹ by sending expeditions or colonies to the new world. Thus

¹ The Papal Bull has the following: "And we most strictly forbid every person whatsoever, and of whatsoever dignity (even imperial or royal), state, degree, order,

to the impotent folk was given the blessing, and upon the enterprise of a people who, long before the voyages of Columbus, had chased the whales into the North Sea, was laid a curse. The Papal power was defeated by its own blindness, suspending the activity of the only Catholic nation that was competent to plant the Roman faith in the central regions of North America, and thereby reserving those regions as a theatre for Protestant activity.

That the action of Pope Alexander was attended by such far-reaching results, is proved by the fact that every attempt at colonization by the French during the sixteenth century was denounced as a violation of ceded rights. As late as the seventeenth century Spain peremptorily demanded of England the abandonment of transatlantic settlements. The attempt on the part of France to colonize Canada in 1534 was tolerated, because that region lay so far to the north that it did not discommode Spain. The Spanish authorities declared that they could afford to let Cartier and Roberval alone, and abstained from armed intervention, for the reason that their attempt was sure to end in failure.

After this general statement of the Spanish policy, it will not be necessary to detail the opposition that was made in 1523 to the proposed voyage of Verrazano, who in 1524, finally engaged in the expedition which forms the subject of this article; the object of the voyage being, not colonization, because this was not thought of, but simply the discovery towards the west of a passage to the East Indies which would prove more direct than that opened by Magellan around South America. This indeed was the real design of the voyage of Cartier in 1534, who undertook to colonize the banks of the St. Lawrence, because, like Champlain in 1608, he believed the river communicated with the Pacific. The real object was India, and the colony in the frozen north was de-

or condition they may be, under the penalty of excommunication *lata sententia*, which they will incur by the very fact of transgression, to presume, either for trafficking or for any other cause whatsoever, to approach, without special licence from you, and your foresaid heirs and successors, the islands and mainlands found, or that shall be found, discovered or that shall be discovered," etc., etc. Another Bull was bitter in its maledictions upon the transgressor.

signed to command the profitable passage against the world. But let us now proceed with our subject.

Giovanni Verrazano, the Florentine, was born about the year 1485, and lived during a period when the attention of Italians was turned in a remarkable degree towards maritime pursuits. Adopting the profession of the sea, he eventually entered the service of the King of France, in this respect following the example of distinguished fellow countrymen who led the marine enterprises of England, Portugal and Spain. Prior to the year 1524, he served in the navy of Francis I., and, like the great navigators of those times, acted more or less as a privateer. This was then a perilous yet respectable profession. His activity was directed chiefly against the Spaniards. In 1523 Verrazano captured two ships that were bringing the treasures of Montezuma, sent by Cortez from Mexico to Spain. The following year he sailed with a single caraval to seek the wished for western route to the Indies. Leaving a rock near Madeira, January 17th, and reaching the American coast in latitude 34° N.,¹ March 7th, he afterwards cruised northward, entered the harbor of New York, visited Newport, where he remained fifteen days, sailing thence northward probably to the shores of Cape Breton; and, finally shaping his course for France, arrived at Dieppe July 8th. From this port he addressed a letter to Francis I., giving an account of his voyage, while, in 1529, his brother Jerome referred to the voyage in a map² preserved to-day in the Museum of the Propaganda

¹ Near where Charleston now stands.

² After this article was finished the writer received a "supplement" to the work under notice that contains two documents from the archives at Rouen, which we had previously read in the "*Revue Critique*," published at Paris, and which are alluded to in the body of this article. In connection with these papers, which prove the fact previously stated, that Verrazano had a brother named Jerome, the author referred to says, "We are assured from Rome, on high authority, that this map appears to belong to a period subsequent to 1550." But upon this we need only to observe that the map of Verrazano lays down Florida about *nine degrees of Latitude north of its true position*, which was fixed scientifically nearly a quarter of a century prior to 1550, the result being published in Italy, in a printed form, for the benefit of the world. The map of Verrazano is on a parchment about eight feet long, and displays great scientific knowledge; and to fancy that the author was capable of putting Florida

Fide at Rome. In 1527, it is said, Verrazano fell into the hands of the Spaniards, and suffered an ignominious death. But upon August 4th, 1524, one Fernando Carli wrote from Lyons, informing his father, then at Florence, of the voyage, and enclosing a copy of Verrazano's letter to Francis. Some years since, this copy, together with the letter of Carli, was found in that city. Another Italian copy of Verrazano's letter found its way to Italy, and was published by the Historian Ramusio, in 1556. This copy does not possess the cosmographical treatise that is appended to the version of Carli. Upon the publication of the letter by Ramusio, the voyage of Verrazano became generally known, and to-day it forms an integral part of American history, the name of Verrazano being associated with that illustrious trio of Italian navigators, Cabot, Vespucci, and Columbus. And the authenticity of the voyage remained undisputed until 1864, when the late Buckingham Smith undertook to maintain that the letter addressed to Francis I. was a fabrication. This theory has been adopted and expanded by Mr. Murphy, who, however, fails to give any new facts, though the old ones are marshalled with ability and skill. The style of the work is also admirably clear, and the author has done a substantial service in defining the loosely drawn objections of his predecessor.

Speaking of the effect produced upon his mind by the confident oratory of Burke, who essayed to impeach the integrity of his famous East India Administration before the House of Commons, Warren Hastings said, "I verily thought myself guilty." And if Verrazano could read Mr. Murphy's indictment, drawn with the adroitness of the accomplished disputant, he might also fancy himself for the moment to be in the position of an impostor. In fact the plea put in by the doubter is quite plausible; yet it must be added that it is thoroughly fallacious. With the proper space at command, every position assumed, hostile to the claims of Verrazano, could be disposed of effectually; but at the present

nine degrees too far north, in the year 1550 or later, must appear inadmissible. Beyond question the map was drawn *before* the position of Florida was well known, and was not intended to illustrate the voyage of Giovanni Verrazano. It was probably drawn about the year 1522, and the reference to the voyage added in 1529. Besides, the fact remains that a Verrazano map is known to have existed in Italy in 1537.

time it will be necessary to confine our attention to a few points.

We do not object to this work, for the reason that it is devoted to a doubt. We may even sympathise with the honest endeavor to eliminate the false from the true, since progress, in a measure, is aided by doubt. In history it is a duty to look to the foundations, and to build upon what is real. But we believe that we have a right to ask for different tests than those afforded by the volume under consideration, when seeking to separate the true from the false, the wheat from the chaff. A test of a better description is found in connection with the spurious voyage of André Thevet, the French monk and cosmographer, who in his great work, "*Cosmographie Universelle*," printed at Paris, 1575, tells us that he had coasted the continent of North America, and even visited the borders of Greenland, where he suffered extremely from the bitter cold. Helping himself to the relations of Jacques Cartier and others, he described our coast, and is quite minute in his account of the region of New England, whose aboriginal inhabitants, very unfortunately, he causes to speak in the language of the Canadian tribes, thinking that the vocabularies pilfered from Cartier would answer equally well for all the Indians on the Atlantic coast. The narrative of this mendacious man, who had really travelled much, but who, not satisfied with his deserved laurels, was ambitious to emulate the fame of the great explorers, came before the American public, having been drawn from the obscurity to which it had been consigned, by a German writer who was desirous of swelling the bulk of a manuscript prepared for the Maine Historical Society, by whose authority it was purchased in gross, the true and the false alike being given in their volume for 1869. The falsity of this monk's story, however, is apparent, not only from this narration of 1575, but from a prior work, "*Les Singularités de la France Antarctique*," published in 1558, wherein he tells us expressly that in the voyage to Brazil in 1556 he did *not* explore the American coast, and he excuses the paucity of his remarks concerning North America, on the ground that they did not go near the coast. In 1575 he had forgotten his own previous statements, or else took it for granted that his little book was forgotten, and fabricated the story which he gives in his ponderous tome.

But the story of Thevet, has nothing in common with the Letter of Verrazano, which is conceived in a style that no forger at that period would have ventured to employ; for instead of dealing with vague general observations, which indeed was all that would have been required in order to make a claim to a discovery, the Letter of Verrazano is a mass of closely compacted statements, the product of a mind abounding with knowledge of the subject, the general correctness of which has been admired, and which cover various conditions, climates, productions, manners, customs, scenery and littoral characteristics from Florida to New Foundland. This was a task of which Italy was not capable at the time.¹

But let us now turn to the work of which it is proposed to treat. It is composed in an excellent spirit, and shows the best of intentions, containing ten chapters, which include a general

¹The history of Thevet's attempted imposition, which the author first pointed out (see "The Northmen in Maine"), affords helpful suggestions in connection with the objections brought against the Letter of Verrazano. But it will also be found useful in this connection to consider the various opinions that have been encountered by the Zeno Narrative, published at Venice in 1558, giving an account of a voyage in 1380. The most serious attempts have been made to discredit that narrative, but it has of late come out from under the cloud, and many of the objections formerly brought against the authenticity of the work now only excite a smile. In opposing that narrative, Mr. Biddle, the able and ingenious author of a "Memoir of Sebastian Cabot," undertakes to show that it was composed, not at the early period assigned to it, but near the time of its publication in 1558, and was so arranged in its statements, as to agree with a false translation of the Letter of Pasqualigo, written in 1501, published in 1507 at Venice, and republished at Milan, in Latin, 1508. This Letter gave an account of the voyage of Cortereal to the Northern part of America in 1501, in which it is said that the country abounds with timber fit for masts and spars, but which, in the Latin translation, conveys the notion that the people of the region built ships. Mr. Biddle, in his zeal for his theory, with great ingenuousness seizes upon the facts and infers that he has an evidence of fraud upon the part of the author of the Zeno voyage, who writes thus in order to have a confirmation of his statement appear in the Letter of Pasqualigo. He has been copied, somewhat, in connection with Verrazano, but we now see clearly that his suspicions were all unfounded, and, moreover, the bad translation of the Letter was doubtless never intended. In translating the second Letter of Columbus, Mr. Magor brings out a phrase referring to boats, and describing them as *made of one log, as having one mast*. The writer may add here that his own proofs of the antiquity of the Zeno map, published in 1869-70 have been adopted by the Editor of the New Edition of the Zeno Voyage, published by the Hakluyt Society.

statement of the voyage ; an argument to show that the letter attributed to Verrazano is not genuine ; another to prove that no voyage whatever was made for Francis in 1524 ; a fourth dealing with the alleged misrepresentations of the coast ; a fifth designed to prove that the letter was corrupted by Ramusio, to disguise the writer's ignorance ; and a sixth to show that the letter fails to notice what is true of the natives of America, while what is "originally mentioned" of them is untrue. In the succeeding chapters the author strives to dispose of the "extrinsic evidence" which supports the claim of Verrazano ; maintains that the letter of Verrazano was constructed in its outlines from the voyage of Gomez made the year *after* ; and gives the concluding story of Verrazano, who was captured by the Spaniards in 1527. The appendix contains documents illustrative.

In treating of the injustice of the court which condemned Jean Calas to death, Voltaire points out the ease with which a verdict may be reached when "four-fourths" of the proof is assumption. Yet, with the different proportion employed in the work under notice, one may accomplish considerable, provided the method passes unnoticed. In the present case, however, this is not possible, and we must note that too much is taken for granted. This is notably the case where it is declared that the version of Verrazano's Letter published by Ramusio was drawn or "worked over" by that historian from the version of Carli, which, it is alleged, in the absence of proof, and in defiance of the internal testimony, was thus changed and corrupted by the dignified Italian, to conceal statements that he supposed to be inconsistent with the belief in its authenticity. The great convenience of this assumption is apparent, only when the whole discussion is carefully studied, and therefore it would be useless to treat it here with our insufficient space, even though it forms the key to much of the difficulty which has been created.

The only objection brought against the authenticity of the voyage of Verrazano that presents any appearance of strength, when subjected to the tests of criticism, is that drawn from an alleged absence of reference to the voyage during the Life of Francis I., who reigned until 1547. To say, however, that there is no such reference is unfair, since the discourse written by a

Dieppe Captain in 1539 makes a distinct reference to the event. And the reference in this discourse can be evaded only by declaring that it is an interpolation made at a subsequent time. This, indeed, is precisely the course pursued by Mr. Murphy, who, assuming that Ramusio formed a corrupt version of the Verrazano Letter from the version of Carli, also declares that the Italian corrupted the Dieppe Manuscript, and interpolated the reference of which we are speaking, to make it *appear* that the voyage of Verrazano was well known in 1539. This being done, in defiance of the internal testimony of the manuscripts, we cannot regard the charge otherwise than as an unwarrantable reflection upon the name of the Venetian geographer, who sustains the same relation to Italy that the honored Hakluyt enjoys in connection with England. Such is the method by which the author of the work before us would banish Verrazano from our annals in this the Centennial year. We must therefore reject, without qualification, the notion that the voyage had no contemporaneous recognition.

But though we have the reference of the Dieppe Captain in his discourse of 1539, and other proofs which it is not our purpose to refer to now, the commission or patent for the voyage probably given by Francis I., is actually wanting, together with other testimony that would prove interesting and valuable. Yet what does the absence of such testimony prove? Certainly it does not prove that such testimony does not or never did exist. This inference cannot be drawn before, nor even *after* the archives have been searched. It is well known, however, that the greater proportion of the French archives remain unexamined with special reference to this question. Many of the seaport towns have been neglected, while the archives of the important City of Rochelle have been completely destroyed by fire. Those of Dieppe suffered sadly by the English bombardment; and the archives of Paris even have not yet been fully explored. The collections of other countries must also be examined; for if the Pandects of Justinian were found at the obscure town of Amalfi, and important testimonies to the voyages of the Cabots were also discovered, at the end of three centuries and a half, in other obscure Italian alcoves, where may we not search for documents concerning Verrazano, when we remember the vicissitudes of Francis and his Government during the

disastrous year of 1524, in which the departments of State travelled from town to town, and from province to province? Indeed, we may look for testimony anywhere, even though at present obliged to find our chief source of information in that country hailed by generous Purchas, when he exclaims: "Happy Italy, that first in this last Age of the World, hath discovered the great discoverers of the World."

A vital error in this connection should be brought to the attention of the inquirer, for the real task of the doubter was to show, less where Verrazano *was not*, than where he *was*, from January 17th to July 8th, 1524, during which period the Letter claims that he was engaged in discovery upon the American coast. If the well-known navigator was not in American waters, where was he? Would any person interested in geographical research forge a letter giving an account of such a voyage at such a time by a navigator so famous, and run the risk of having the falsity of his narrative demonstrated by the exhibition of proof showing that this person was actually somewhere else during that particular period?

The voyage is attested, notwithstanding the absence of certain official papers, and we leave the author's objection with the reader, who will weigh its value; proceeding next to notice a few of the errors found in the work. We do this simply for the purpose of showing something of the character of a class of important statements that were intended to reflect upon the Letter of Verrazano.

Amongst the serious errors of fact sprinkled over the pages we may find one where it is said that the Patent for the occupation of the northern portions of America given by the King of France in 1593, was the first document emanating from the crown containing "any mention of any part of the Continent north of latitude 33° and south of Cape Breton;" from which it is argued that the French in the early times did not recognize any rights acquired within that region by any discovery, though this was a part of the region explored by Verrazano in 1524, and, consequently, that the French had no knowledge of such a voyage. This objection is technical; but, whether technical or general, it has no foundation in fact, since the patent of 1542 included the

region of "Hochelaga," which extended to the Mexican Gulf; while in the same connection it may be noticed that our author mistranslates the *Cosmography of Allfonsee*, putting the Cape of "Norumbega" in latitude 45° N., instead of 41° , and that the error is embodied in his map intended to define that region. A vital error must be pointed out, where the author says that the names, "Dieppa" and "Livorno," found in the map of Jerome Verrazano, are intended to show the southern limit of the voyage of Giovanni, his brother, and that, being placed in latitude 38° N., instead of at a point fifty leagues south of latitude 34° N., they contradict the letter and detract from its authority. If this were so, it would, however, prove nothing more than what is already evident, that there was no collusion between the author of the Letter and the maker of the Map to support a fraud. But our author is entirely incorrect in his supposition, since the names on the map have nothing to do with the definition of either the northern or southern limits of the alleged exploration. This is evident from the fact that Livorno and other names appeared upon a map drawn about twenty years earlier, and published in 1513. It is manifest, therefore, that a map maker possessing the intelligence and scientific knowledge that distinguished the author of the map of Verrazano could not have been so stupid as to select any name for the purpose alleged that had been used, as the world well knew, many years before. Jerome Verrazano drew the map without any reference to the voyage of his brother, which at the time had not been thought of, the references to the achievement being an afterthought, inserted in 1529, and without any reference to the statements of the Letter; while the identity of Jerome, whose very existence has been ridiculed by sceptics, is established by legal documents lately discovered in the archives of the Court of Appeals at Rouen.

The errors in the sixth chapter of this work are simply melancholy. The fraudulent character of the Letter of Verrazano being declared in the most positive phrases, because it fails to state that the American Indians used wampum and tobacco; thus overlooking the fact that many well-known explorers also say nothing with respect to these and other subjects. But "the most remarkable omission of all" is the failure to mention the bark canoe.

On the other hand, Verrazano says that the Indians of whom he speaks, when describing the New England Coast, made their canoes of logs hollowed out by fire. And, as it proves, Verrazano is *perfectly correct*; for Lescarbot and Champlain tell us that this continued to be the usage down to 1607. This "remarkable" evidence of fraud thus unexpectedly changes into a proof of *authenticity*, as the log canoe is one of those things "originally mentioned" in the Letter of Verrazano.

Our author's next step is to explain the *origin* of the remarkable Letter attributed to Verrazano, a Letter moreover that is destined to be more fully appreciated as time rolls on. The explanation is labored, and though invested with dry technicalities, is worthy of notice as one of the curiosities of geographical literature. This Letter, supposed to have been written by Verrazano, was, in its main features, we are assured, developed from the study of a map drawn in 1529 by Ribero, the Spanish geographer. We will state the theory as clearly as possible in a few words.

Finding that the Carli version of the Letter makes the total length of Verrazano's exploration upon the American coast 700 leagues, a distance comprehended between a point 50 leagues south of latitude 34° N. and 50° N., embracing nine courses (stated in round numbers as 50, 50, 100, 80, 15, 150, 50, 50, 150 leagues,) Mr. Murphy repairs to Ribero's Map, and, by a system of measurements, makes it appear that the distance between the two extreme points is the same, less only five leagues, and that the courses and the directions sailed, according to the Letter, agree with corresponding courses and directions upon the map. He therefore infers that the author of the letter never made the voyage, which must have been fabricated from the map. This theory may appear plausible, but it dissolves at the touch of impartial criticism. In this connection one might refer to the version of the letter given by Ramusio, which says that the distance run was 700 leagues and *more*, it being stated, also, that the fourth course included only 50, instead of 80 leagues; all of which indicates that distances are given simply as rough estimates, and therefore not thus calculable. But this is not the end of the objection to Mr. Murphy's theory. Now it must be observed distinctly that the

Letter mentions only three latitudes, 34° , $41^{\circ} 40'$, and 50° N. And more, this second latitude is given at the end of the *fifth* course, which, at the end of 295 leagues, reached latitude $41^{\circ} 40'$. as the letter describes Verrazano sailing from south to north. But upon turning to Ribero's Map we find that $41^{\circ} 40'$ is reached at the end of the *third* course after proceeding only 200 leagues. The whole theory, therefore, fails.

If it be said (*pour pis aller*) that the Letter does not mean that the fifth course terminated in latitude $41^{\circ} 40'$, then it must also be said that, on the same grounds, the landfall of 34° is equally unreliable. All this, however, would be mere quibbling, as it is evident that in giving the latitude $41^{\circ} 40'$ the writer of the Letter intended to be exact. This essential element in the calculation, which Mr. Murphy does not even mention, covers a crucial point; and its proper use upon the map demonstrates that the position of the sceptic is wholly untenable. As a confirmation of this statement, it should be noticed that, according to the Letter, latitude $41^{\circ} 40'$ was reached by sailing in a bend of the coast from West to East, a distance of ninety-five leagues, while upon the map all the region west of $41^{\circ} 40'$ is a part of the *solid continent*. In fact, this assumed demonstration carries its refutation upon its face; for while the Letter says that the evidences point to "various riches of gold and the like," describes an island of the size of Rhodes (45 miles long) near latitude 41° , and mentions no less than thirty-two islands lying within the eighth course of 50 leagues; Ribero's map says that the country is *poor* in gold, gives *no island* that forms more than a mere speck in the place where we should find one covering three-fourths of a degree of latitude, and places the *archipelagoes* on the other parts of the coast. The attempted demonstration of Chapter IX, like the rest of this work, is, in our judgment, a failure.

Some of these details may interest the reader inversely in proportion to their importance, yet at the present time when the annals of our country are being studied with fresh zeal and the spirit of iconoclasm is abroad, it becomes us to examine theories and ascertain the truth of sweeping conclusions before drawing black lines over some of the most interesting and important pages of American History.

At the risk of becoming tedious, we will illustrate the method by which our author would have us understand that the descriptions of the Letter were "analogized" out of Peter Martyr and others, though it should be observed that the part of Martyr's work which the author of the Letter is alleged to have used is the first book, published about a dozen years *before* the voyage of Verrazano. If, therefore, the charge were true, it would prove nothing, since it was the custom of the times for writers going over the same region to use one another's material without credit. Verrazano's own narrative was so used by subsequent voyagers for nearly a hundred years. To be of any real value the charge of plagiarism must be made good out of writers *subsequent* to 1524. But there is nothing whatever in the present attempts to show that the Verrazano Letter or any part of it, was "analogized" from Martyr. The author under examination, quoting Martyr, where he describes the arrival of Columbus at Hispaniola, gives the following:

"They saw ceertain men of the Islande, who perceiving an unknown native comming towards them flocked together and ran into the thicke woodes, as it had bin hares coursed with greyhoundes. Our men pursuing them took only one woman, whom they brought to the ships, where filling her with meate and wine, and apparelling her, they let her depart to her companie." Then Mr. Murphy adds a paragraph: "Also, 'their boates are made only of one tree, made hollow with a certain sharpe stone, for they have no yron, and are very long and narrow.' And again, 'when our men went to prayer, and kneeled on their knees, after the manner of Christians, they did the like also. And after what manner soever they saw them pray to the crosse, they followed them in all poyntes as well as they could.'"

But it is to be noted that these three items are given out of their order and immediate connection. In Martyr, the mention of the women is followed by a long paragraph not quoted, then comes the mention of worship, and last the boats. Verrazano's language and thought are very different, and show no analogy to that of Martyr. The Florentine says that they "found the people had fled and hid themselves in the woods for fear. By searching around we discovered in the grass a very old woman

and a young girl of about eighteen or twenty, who had concealed themselves for the same reason ; [the old woman carried two infants on her shoulders, and behind her neck a little boy eight years of age ; when we came up to them they began to shriek and make signs to the men who had fled to the woods.] We gave them a part of our provisions, which they accepted with delight, but the girl would not touch any [everything we offered to her being thrown down in great anger. We took the little boy from the old woman to carry with us to France, and would have taken the girl also, who was very beautiful and tall, but it was impossible because of the loud shrieks she uttered as we attempted to lead her away ; having to pass some woods, and being far from the ship, we determined to leave her and take the boy only."] The above, *without* the parts in brackets, is adduced by our author to show that the account was "analogized" from Martyr. We need not point out the weakness of the suggestion, as we have placed the full account before our readers, which, in Martyr, is followed, at some distance, by the reference to the log canoes, concerning which Verrazano says they were made of one tree, twenty feet long and four broad, without the aid of stone or iron or other kind of metal," adding what is not in Martyr, "to hollow out their boats they burn out as much of a log as is requisite." On the whole, we have only to remark that here are two pairs of statements in two writers, referring to very common things, for, certainly it is no wonder that two adventurers entering a strange coast under similar circumstances should find the natives scampering into the woods. Savages who live upon the sea shore are not to blame for having log canoes, and the custom of such people when frightened is to run ; and how could they do better than to flee to the woods ? This was the experience of multitudes of early navigators. Roger Williams speaks of this custom. Cartier's first voyage, in connection with the mention of the Indian *canoes*, says that the men "caused all the young women to flee into the woods, two or three excepted," and the narrative tells how they got them out. Was this analogized from Martyr ? To find a parallel in Verrazano for Martyr's statement respecting the imitation of worship by Indians, several pages are skipped, and the *last* paragraph of the Letter is brought in and placed in immediate connection with the others ;

the indefensibility of which is too apparent to demand remark. In reality, it was a common thing for the natives of America to show regard for the white man's religion by imitating his actions, and with equal propriety we might say that Cartier analogized his idea from Martyr where he says that while he performed service the Indians "kept silence and were marvellously attentive, looking up to Heaven and imitating us in gestures." This was the common experience, and there is not a shadow of proof to show that Verrazano borrowed from Martyr, as we have already proved to be impossible with respect to the map of Ribero.¹

Still, our ungracious task is not quite finished; for the author, having given us the genesis of the Verrazano Letter, found it necessary to devise reason for the "imposture." We are told, in brief, that it originated about the year 1542 in Florence, that fair and enlightened city which Charles V. described as "sitting to be shown and seen only upon holidays," and that it was the outcome of "the spirit of civic pride." The end of the argument is in keeping with the beginning. It would be easier to digest any number of Verrazano letters than this brief phrase; which supposes that the forgers undertook the fraud while Francis was still alive; that no precautions were taken to prevent its premature publication in 1556, when the seaports were full of Frenchmen and Spanish spies, who, from personal knowledge, could deny the Verrazano claim, which was *never* denied; it is to suppose that untravelled Florentines possessed curious and exact information concerning New England, and knew more about Indian canoes than Mr. Murphy; it is to suppose that Ramusio, the learned historian of Venice and Secretary to the Council, con-

¹ There is one more charge with respect to analogizing, where our author (p. 71) fancies that Verrazano drew on Martyr (Sec. 1, Lib. iv.), for his ideal of the "Cacique of Xaragua and his sister" when they visited the brother of Columbus in the West Indies; but it is not necessary. There is not even an *approach* to an undesigned coincidence. The real character of Mr. Murphy's sixth chapter will be appreciated after reading the article on Robertson in the previous number of this REVIEW. It will also be expedient in this connection to read Barlow (in Hakluyt, Vol. iii. p. 248) to notice how he describes the visit of "Granganimeo," the "King's brother," which he made to the ship with his wife; in immediate connection with which we have an account of the log canoe, and the method of burning them out.

spired, independently of the original movers, to aid the deception and flatter the "civic pride" of a rival city; it is to suppose that the Florentines took no proper means to preserve any papers relating to the voyage that might be referred to as *original* authorities, and never boasted of the alleged achievement of Verrazano, their fellow citizen; and finally, that they either deliberately selected for their hero one who perished infamously upon the gallows, or else in this deeply important matter took a leap in the dark. *Credat Judæus Apella.*

But perhaps the question will recur, Why was such an important voyage so largely neglected by the French?

In replying, we might perhaps be permitted to recall the observation made at the outset, that a New France does not appear to have been contemplated in the Providential plan; while, on the other hand, the time was approaching when the English-speaking race was to perform its part upon the wide theatre of the world. That a special mission was reserved for the people of the British Isles, we might infer from what has been accomplished in this country during the hundred years now about closed. Nor should we regard this continent alone, for a more wonderful centennial even, is seen in India, where a population of two hundred and fifty millions, or about five or six times as large as that of the United States, has, during the last hundred years, been brought under English rule; a fact that appears all the more significant when it is stated that Russia has acquired in the same regions only twelve millions during *three* hundred years. The English-speaking race plainly had a mission. But we are treating a historic subject and must adhere to historic methods, and therefore we reply to the question proposed, that, however important in itself may have been the Verrazano Voyage, it possessed no especial importance to the French, who were, as already shown, debarred from occupying the country by the most solemn censures of the Church, censures that Monarchs respected. The aim of the voyage was to find a short route to the Indies. Failing in this, the French interest subsided for the time, even as Spanish zeal quite died out after the search for the Strait to the Indies by Estevan Gomez, who searched the American coast the year after the voyage of Verrazano.

But more. Upon the return of Verrazano to France in 1524, Francis was completely absorbed in the struggle with Spain, and was on the point of marching to meet the invader. A few months later the Monarch lay in prison, and his Mother reigned in his stead. The Queen Mother indeed took an enlightened view of the whole subject of exploration beyond the sea, but Strait to India there was none, and any project for colonization would have embarrassed the political situation, which needed the good offices, instead of the anathemas of Rome. And when Francis finally emerged from prison he found social order disrupted and the kingdom in ruins. Verrazano and his voyage were forgotten, and nothing more was said about a western route to India until 1534. Pinzon's parrots perhaps saved this country from a Castilian domination; and, after the blindness of Pope Alexander, America owes her freedom from the *regime* of France to that Franco-Spanish war. Here, then, we are dealing with things tangible; yet it might sometimes be well for critics in treating historical difficulties to think of the Unseen behind the Seen, and, in connection with the embarrassed action or enforced inactivity of a nation recognize the hand of God.

B. F. DeCOSTA.

THE CHURCH IN AMERICA, PARTICULARLY IN N. CAROLINA, IN ITS EARLY HISTORY.

It is a remarkable fact, which at once strikes the attention of the ecclesiastical inquirer, that all through these American States which were Colonies of Great Britain before 1776, whether among the Independents or Puritans in Massachusetts and Connecticut on the North, or among the Church of England Establishments in Maryland and Virginia, at the South, or among the more central Provinces, there never lived a Bishop of the English Church to ordain and perpetuate her ministry, to confirm her baptized, and perform other essential duties appertaining to the office of Bishop. This anomalous condition of things continued, till American Independence released this country from subjection to England, and left the Church here free to take measures for securing the Episcopate, of which she had been deprived for nearly 200 years. It is to the Church only, in contradistinction to the State, of England, that the Protestant Episcopal Church in these States, owns herself to be indebted under God, for her first foundation and a long continuance of nursing care and protection. To the English State she owes no gratitude; for that State only kept her in the trammels of State Bondage, and subjected her to the ever veering policy of Statesmen and Dissenters, both at home and abroad, whose interest it was, that the Church, though the Tree of the Lord, should not bear fruit after its kind, whose seed is in itself, for the propagation of itself. For as the Church receives the Primitive Constitution of her ministry as it exists in the Word of God, and in the Apostolic Ages, so no propagation by her ministry could be made except from that seed which Jesus Christ Himself first planted, when He chose His Apostles and said unto them: "As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you." "Lo! I am with you always even unto the end of the world." Yet, for nearly 200 years, the

Church in this country was left without a Bishop upon its own ground. By customary usage, which seems to have taken its rise from his connection with the "Virginia Council" of which he was a member, the Bishop of London, from the year 1606, exercised spiritual jurisdiction over the American Plantations, which it was never expected that he should visit. In 1701, in the reign of William and Mary, the Charter of the "Venerable Society for the propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," was obtained, and by this society missionaries from England were furnished to all the Colonies, except Maryland and Virginia which had their own establishments, up to the period of the American Revolution. But as all the clergymen who had come over prior to 1701 had been licensed by the Bishop of London, the practice was continued by the society, of placing its missionaries under the charge of the same Bishop. So that, in some sense, the Bishop of that See all along from 1606 up to the American Revolution, was the Bishop or Diocesan of all the English Colonies in America. This whole country formed, as it were, one enormous undivided Diocese under the nominal jurisdiction, so far as the Church of England was concerned, of a Bishop who was first brought into connection with it through one of the Virginia Companies, and lived 3000 miles off. Any actual oversight of such a Diocese was, of course, impracticable. The Churches in Maryland and Virginia, however, had deputies of the Bishop of London, under the name of commissaries, which none other of the English Provinces had. The duty of an ecclesiastical commissary, under the English Law, we are told, is "to supply the office and jurisdiction of the Bishop, in the outplaces of the Diocese." Of course, the rites of ordination and confirmation were not within his powers, since he was only a Presbyter. For certain purposes only of visitation through the Diocese, such as inspecting the state of the churches, delivering charges, and, in some instances, administering discipline though not to the extent of deposition, was he in the Bishop's room, and the Bishop's vicegerent. In 1689 the first commissary was duly commissioned by the Bishop of London for the Colony of Virginia. This officer was, as we have said, deputed to none other of the Provinces but Virginia and Maryland; and it appears from the history of those times, bad as they were, that even this

imperfect substitute for episcopal supervision, was of signal service to the Church in these parts, though the office fell into disuse before 1760.

As far back as 1672, in the reign of King Charles II., it had been resolved by the King in Council, to send a Bishop to Virginia, and Dr. Alexander Murray, who had been the companion of the King in his travels, was the person nominated to be Bishop of Virginia, with a general charge over the other Provinces. His Letters Patent, but not signed by the King's name, it is stated by Gibson, Bishop of London fifty years afterwards, were extant among the records of that See; but the design of consecrating him fell through, it is asserted, *because the endowment was made payable out of the customs*. It was the era of "the Cabal Ministry," who thought little and cared less for the Church, either at home or abroad, and had no mind, at any rate, that it should be a tax on the revenues.

As we have before said, the Venerable Society for the propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts had been founded in 1701, the last year of William and Mary's reign—an important era in the history of the Colonial Church of America, because it was this society which became the chief source of support to the Church Ministers in the Colonies, except those of Maryland and Virginia. Its missionaries, at times to the number of 100, were at work at almost every important town on the Atlantic coast. Three distinct and urgent applications for an American Episcopate are recorded in the reigns of Queen Anne and George I., under the auspices of this society; but just when they were on the point of obtaining all they desired, some untoward event, occasioned either by death or by political troubles, would frustrate their plans. The society had even gone so far as to purchase at Burlington, N. J., in the year 1710, at an expense of £800, a convenient Mansion House, which was also put in thorough repair, together with 15 acres of land and 12 acres of meadow, for the use of the future Bishop, whose charge, as designated, extended "from the East side of Delaware River, to the utmost bounds Eastward of the British Dominions, including New Foundland;" while another Bishop was designed to be settled at Williamsburg, Va., to whom was allotted the district extending "from the West side of the

Delaware River, to the utmost bounds Westward." But this, as well as another plan in 1726 for consecrating a Suffragan in Maryland to the Bishop of London, came to nought.

But as the century waned on after 1750, the chances of obtaining a Bishop for America, became more and more hopeless, though vigorous efforts were still made for that purpose. Difficulties and misunderstandings with the Mother Country began to thicken; and the odium which raged against the political measures of England, especially the stamp duty of 1764 was zealously turned by the enemies of the Church, against the Church herself. The hostile denominations, both in this country and in England, concentrated their forces against the Church, in a committee in London which carried on constant correspondence with a kindred committee in this country, forming together a sort of anti-episcopal "League and Covenant." The English Ministry sought to disarm their opposition by frowning down the revived scheme of the Bishop of London for sending over Bishops to America, and by giving assurance to the agitators that no Bishop should be consecrated for America without *their* consent.

It was about this period, 1765, that a controversy broke out between a Church Clergyman of Cambridge, Mass., and a Dr Mayhew, a Congregational Minister of Boston, concerning the course that had been pursued by the "Society for propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts," which, the congregationalist charged, instead of sending the Gospel and the ministry to the destitute parts of the continent, had sought out the better settled and more comfortable portions of the country and there stationed its missionaries as intruders upon the descendants of the first settlers. He also inveighed against the plan of appointing Bishops for America.

This controversy is remarkable chiefly as having been participated in by Secker, then Archbishop of Canterbury and ex-officio President of "the Venerable Society, etc." In his tract, he had occasion to assign the reasons for desiring the appointment of Bishops, which furnish a graphic picture of the grievances under which the Church in America labored. The principal reasons assigned by him for desiring a Bishop, are, the want of confirmation of the baptized, the need for superintendence of the clergy, and especially the saving candidates for Holy Orders the trouble,

cost, and risk of a voyage to and from England. While all denominations had the means within themselves of perpetuating their ministry, the members of the Church of England alone, he says, were excluded from a right whose exercise was, in their view, essential to their existence, as a Church. Would they think themselves tolerated, were they obliged to send all their candidates for the ministry to Geneva or Scotland? The expense of the voyage to and from England he sets down at not less than £100; nearly one fifth of those who had taken that voyage had lost their lives either by shipwreck or by sickness, and in consequence of these discouragements, one-half of the Churches in many of the Provinces were destitute of Clergymen. The Archbishop went on to state, that the proposed Bishops were never designed to have any concern with persons who do not profess themselves to be of the Church of England, but to ordain ministers for the members of that Church, to confirm their children when brought to them at a fit age, and take oversight of the Episcopal Clergy. But it was not desired in the least that they should be vested with any temporal authority, exercised either by provincial Governors or subordinate Magistrates, or infringe upon or diminish any privileges or liberties enjoyed by any of the laity even of our own Communion.

It thus appears, from the foregoing declarations, that an English Archbishop of Canterbury, taught by the situation of affairs over in this country, had worked his way out from the hampering bonds of a Legal Establishment, to the pure conception of an Episcopate exercising only spiritual functions of office, and especially disclaiming any connection at all with the functions of the State. Such was Archbishop Secker's idea of the proposed American Episcopate. Such was the primitive idea before the time of Constantine. Such is the true American idea. The time was not yet come, in the order of Divine providence, for realizing it in fact. But there was something, at least, gained in the Church having been educated up to that point of a scriptural and primitive Episcopate, friend and foe thus becoming familiarized with the conception. In due time, a watchful providence would take care to prepare the way and the time for its full realization. But the storm of an eight years' war was destined first to sweep

over the land and reduce all things to chaos, ere the States, and with them the Church, could emerge free and independent, to begin together their new career. Of course, the whole subject of the Episcopate remained in abeyance during the Revolutionary War. Of the Clergy of the Church of England some took sides with the American Patriots; others chose to transfer their services to Colonies of the British Crown, the West Indies, the Bermudas, particularly Nova Scotia, which became in 1787 the first Colonial See of the English Church, on this Continent. Others of the Clergy closed their Churches, remained at home and opened schools, but with limited success—for the war of the revolution left the youth of the day but little opportunity for education. The mass of the Church of England Laity, among them such men as General Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee the mover of the Declaration of Independence, Francis Lee one of the signers, the Carringtons and Graysons and Mercers, with hundreds of other names well-known to fame, took sides against England; for the quarrel of all these great men was with *the State* of England, not with *the Church* of England, in which they had been baptized and to which they remained faithful, through the conflict of arms, to draw their last breath in the peace of her Holy Communion. Peace was proclaimed in America on the 19th April, 1783; but it dawned upon a land, especially through the rural districts, with roofless and forsaken churches, with broken altars and a scattered and diminished Clergy!

But to everything under the sun, the wisdom of Solomon tells us, belongs a time or crisis, which, if embraced, stamps human efforts with success, but is followed by ruin, if it be past or lost. To the Church that survived the wreck of war, the blessing of God was given to improve its crisis, in a signal manner, for all time to come.

The first General Convention of this Church, after two preliminary meetings of Clergy and Laity from different States, assembled in Christ Church, Philadelphia, in the month of September, 1785. The two most important subjects which came before this body were (1) the preparation of a general Ecclesiastical Constitution, and (2) the adaptation of the Liturgy of the Church of England to the altered situation of the American Church—both of which objects were at length happily accomplished.

The General Convention met again the following year (Oct. 1786), among other purposes, to consider the answer that had been received by the Church Committee appointed to correspond with the English Bishops concerning the consecration of Bishops for the Church in the United States. That answer being favorable to their consecration, Drs. White, of Philadelphia, and Provoost, of New York, were invested with the office of Bishop, 4th Feb., 1787, in Lambeth Chapel, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of Bath and Wells, and of Peterborough. To these two, Dr. Madison, of Virginia was afterwards added, having been consecrated in Lambeth Chapel, 19th September, 1790. And thus was "the Protestant Episcopal Church" in this country, the old Church of England, after nearly two centuries of waiting, and longing, and pleading, furnished with *three Bishops*, thus becoming qualified, according to the oldest Canons in existence, to propagate its own line of Apostolic succession, "even unto the end of the world."

But now we turn back a little to another interesting chapter in American Church History. Nearly three years before the consecration of Bishops White and Provoost in England, that is, in 1784, another line of Episcopacy, through the Scottish line of succession, had been introduced into New England, under these circumstances. In 1782 a plan designed as a temporary substitute for Episcopacy had been published by Dr. White, a sort of superintendency or moderatorship in the person of a Presbyter, that was supposed by him to be justified by the necessity of the case. The plan was professedly to give way or be superseded whenever lawful Bishops could be obtained. Had this scheme been adopted, as was recommended by the high authority of Dr. White, it would probably have ended, like all other schemes of the kind in the history of the Church, professedly at first temporary and designed to meet exigency, in becoming a permanent sectarian organization with its blind following of the multitude. The proposed plan gave great alarm to the Church in Connecticut, which, having been trained by continual combat with the Puritans, in Church principles, was determined to stand or fall by the Church of Holy Scripture and Primitive Antiquity. Accordingly, the moment that peace was declared in 1783, they elected Dr. Samuel Seabury

for their Bishop, furnished him with testimonials and sent him to England for consecration. But the English Bishops could not consecrate a Foreigner without a special Act of Parliament, which was refused to them. After waiting in England more than a year, with no prospect of success, the Clergy of Connecticut directed their Bishop-elect to proceed to Scotland where he was consecrated at Aberdeen, 14th Nov., 1784, or nearly three years earlier than Drs. White and Provoost. Bishop Seabury, on returning to his Diocese, went vigorously to work, but for several years took no part in the proceedings outside of his own Diocese. We are indebted to this staunch old Bishop, it may be mentioned in passing, for the insertion in the Prayer of Consecration in the Communion office, of the Invocation of the Holy Ghost "to bless and sanctify the Creatures of Bread and Wine," after the Use of the Scottish Communion office, which is not found in the English office.

As yet there was no union among the Episcopal Churches in the United States; only, a large nucleus for a general union existed among the States southward of New England, comprising New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina. But there was a sincere desire felt for general union of the whole Church, which was sure to work its way, in due time, to the desired end. By the time of the adjourned meeting of the General Convention of 1789, the New England Churches had all acceded to the General Constitution, adopted during the previous session of that Convention.

It is an interesting fact that the Convention of 1789, which witnessed the Union of the Church under a Constitution, witnessed also in the same year the Union of the States under the Constitution of the United States. That Convention also presented an Address to Washington which they opened with saying "that with the highest veneration and the most animating national considerations we express our cordial joy on your election to the Chief Magistracy of the United States." President Washington, after heartily thanking them for their affectionate congratulations, closed his reply with this memorable benediction, "May you and the people whom you represent be the happy subjects of Divine benediction, both here and hereafter!" May the bene-

diction thus invoked by the Father of his Country be abundantly fulfilled through the ages!

At this point, looking back, we pause to note the remarkable synchronisms between the dates and great epochs of our civil and ecclesiastical history. This Church and the American States had their Colonial training together up to 1775. After that year, they passed through the trying ordeal of the eight years' struggle, each reduced to the lowest extremity and almost laid in ruins. With 1783, on the return of peace, began their common era of uprising and resuscitation. The year 1789 marks the era of time when the National Constitution and the Constitution of this Church, as a National Church, both went into operation; and we ourselves know, from the events of our own day, how the fortunes alike of Church and State have again synchronized in division and in re-union. History, as the order of ages rolls onward, in its divinely purposed manifestation of results will evolve more and more luminously the plan of Divine wisdom that lies hidden in such wonderful coincidences of times and events—"series juncturaque rerum."

Before closing the review of our early Church History, it may be interesting to notice, as a matter of history, what was the professed relation of the Methodists in those times, to the Church of England in America; for it was as far back as 1735 that John and Charles Wesley, *both of them Presbyters of that Church*, came over to America, where, during a stay of about three years, they gathered the rudiments of a Methodist society. From that time onward, and all through the war of the Revolution, the Methodists professed to consider themselves as belonging to the Church of England, claiming for their preachers to be only lay-preachers and resisting every attempt to set up for themselves, as a Church, for the administration of the Sacraments. Their separation from the Church of their baptism did not take place till 1784, after the war was over, when Mr. Wesley appointed Dr. Coke and Mr. Francis Asbury to be joint *Superintendents* over the Methodists in this country, and also two others to act as elders among them, in baptising and administering the Lord's supper, *for the first time*. Wesley, in England, laid hands upon Coke, who was already a *Presbyter of the Church of England*, like himself.

Coke thereupon came over to America and laid hands upon Asbury, one of the lay-preachers of the Society. Such was the beginning and origin of "Methodist Episcopacy" or rather "Methodist Superintendency." For Mr. Wesley, the father of Methodism, never designed either Dr. Coke or Mr. Asbury to bear the title of "Bishop," whatever else was his purpose in laying hands upon Dr. Coke. The proof of this fact is taken from Lee's History of Methodism, wherein he affirms that in the year 1787 (or three years after the assembling of the first General Conference in Baltimore under Superintendent Coke), Mr. Asbury reprinted the General Minutes of that Conference in a different form and under a different title from what they were before, styling them "A form of discipline for the ministers, preachers and members of the *Methodist Episcopal Church* in America, etc." In this reprint of the Discipline, he altered the title of "Superintendent" into that of "Bishop." "*This was the first time,*" says Lee, "*our Superintendents ever gave themselves the title of Bishops in the Minutes. They changed the title themselves, without the consent of the Conference.*" This alteration of title, contrary to Mr. Wesley's intention, was energetically resented by him, in a letter written to Mr. Asbury, under date of September, 1788, from which we take the following extract: "How can you, how dare you, suffer yourself to be called *Bishop*. I shudder, I start at the very thought. Men may call me a knave, or a fool, or a rascal, or a scoundrel, and I am content, but they shall never, by my consent, call me *Bishop*. For my sake, for God's sake, for Christ's sake, put a full end to this!"

And Superintendent Coke himself, in a letter addressed to Bishop White, dated April 24, 1791, and published in White's Memoirs, confesses—"I am not sure but that I went farther in the separation of our Church in America, than Mr. Wesley, from whom I had received my commission, did intend. He did indeed solemnly invest me, *as far as he had a right so to do*, with Episcopal authority, but did not intend, I think, that an entire separation should take place. This I am certain of, that he is now sorry for the separation."

But had Mr. Wesley waited a little longer on God's time, which is always man's best opportunity, he would have been

saved from that rash act done by him at Bristol, the ultimate consequences of which to the cause of Christianity in this country no human vision can foresee. For, as we have seen, about this very time (1784), Dr. Seabury, Bishop-elect of Connecticut, was on the point of leaving England for Scotland, for the purpose of receiving consecration at the hands of the Scottish Bishops. And in point of fact, he had received consecration 14th November, 1784—more than five weeks before Superintendent Coke had met the Conference at Baltimore, on returning to America.

Mr. Wesley could hardly have been ignorant of these facts concerning Dr. Seabury, as they were the talk of the time; and they were well known to his brother Charles, who expressed his mind concerning them in a letter to Dr. Chandler, of New Jersey, from which we extract at some length:

I can scarcely believe that in his eighty-second year, my brother, my old intimate friend and companion, should have assumed the Episcopal character, ordained Elders, consecrated a Bishop, and set him to ordain lay-preachers in America. I was then at his elbow in Bristol, yet he never gave me the least hint of his intention. What will become of those poor sheep in the wilderness—the American Methodists? How have they been betrayed into a separation from the Church of England which their preachers and they, no more intended, than the Methodists here? Had they had patience a little longer they would have seen a *real* primitive Bishop in America, duly consecrated by the Scotch Bishops who have their consecration from the English Bishops and are acknowledged by them as the same with themselves. There is not, therefore, the least difference betwixt the members of Bishop Seabury's Church and the members of the Church of England. You know that I had the happiness to converse with that truly Apostolic man, who is esteemed by all who know him as much as by you and me. He told me he looked upon the Methodists in America as sound members of the Church, and was ready to ordain their preachers whom he should find duly qualified. *His ordination would indeed be genuine, valid and Episcopal.* But what are your poor Methodists now? Only a new sect of Presbyterians.

Such was the judgment of Charles Wesley, the sweet singer of Methodism, concerning his brother John's act in laying hands upon Coke. But as late as 1789, five years after that act, John Wesley himself made this declaration.

I declare once more that I live and die a member of the Church of England, and that none who regard my judgment or advice will ever separate from it.

Our limits forbid more than a condensed notice of the Early Church in North Carolina. Its history is best gleaned from the

abstracts of the Letters of the Missionaries supported here by the "venerable Society for the propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." These were required by the Society's rules, to send over their reports every six months. The impression left on our mind on reading years ago those abstracts, published in England during the colonial times in a sort of "Spirit of Missions" periodical, was, that the colonial clergy of North Carolina, though quite few in number, were a most faithful and hard-working band of men. Indeed, as a general thing, the Venerable Society's Missionaries, both in this and the other Provinces, were the choice ministers of that day on this Continent. Very few ministers of the Gospel, in these after times, will have it recorded of them, at the end of their labors, as is recorded of Rev. Mr. Hall, one of the Society's Missionaries in North Carolina, who died in 1759, that he had baptised 10,000 persons, including children and white and black adults, and had traveled 35,000 miles as travel was in those days, besides visiting the sick and distributing tracts.

A few statistics, drawn from the Society's correspondence and other sources, are here presented, with their respective dates:

In 1701, the year of the Society's charter, North Carolina contained 5,000 inhabitants, besides Negroes and Indians, who all lived without any form of public worship and without schools.

In 1705, or about two years after the establishment of the Church by law in North Carolina, the first church was erected in the Chowan District, nor is it known up to 1728, which marked the close of the Proprietary Government, that more than two churches had been erected in the Province of North Carolina.

In 1725, there were eleven Parishes or Precincts containing near 10,000 Christian souls, without one minister of the Gospel to officiate among them.

In 1732, after a previous exploration of the Province by the Rev. Mr. Blair, the first Itinerant Missionary, Mr. Boyd, was sent over by the Venerable Society. He found there not a single minister of the Gospel, besides himself.

In 1745, Mr. Hall writes, "No clergyman of the Church of England in North Carolina, that I can hear of, but myself and Mr. Moir."

In 1755, the population amounted to near 80,000, with but five

Episcopal ministers. Five years later still, there were but eight clergymen left in the Province to officiate in 29 counties or parishes. Meanwhile, the population was rapidly increasing, having trebled itself within the thirty years before the Revolution.

The Parishes or Precincts into which the Province of North Carolina was divided, were Counties of immense extent, lying northward and southward of Neuse River and bounded within Cape Fear River and the coast. Once or twice there were attempts made to establish Missions in the country westward of the Cape Fear among the Catawbans in Mecklenberg County, but we read of no results. To perform their ministrations in these Counties constant travelling was required on the part of the Missionaries. The Methodists afterward borrowed this Itinerant feature of the Society's Mission work and incorporated it, with great effect, into their system. Indeed, after we leave the towns, especially amid the sparse population of a new country, there is no other way of regularly reaching the people than by the Itinerant mode, and a few zealous ministers, by this means may be enabled to supply the indispensable demands of church people, as well as extend the Gospel, over an immense territory. But the Colonial Church of North Carolina had also her centres and strong points in the towns of Edenton, Wilmington, New Berne and Bath, where there were churches, schoolhouses, chapels and other parochial conveniences. Not, however, till 1763, was finished the first and probably the only Glebe House in the Province, and that was in St. Thomas' Parish, Bath.

To give some idea of the relative proportions of the members of the Church of England, especially in Eastern North Carolina, to the rest of the inhabitants, at different times before the Revolution, we quote from the Report of the Missionaries. In 1761, Mr. Reed, Missionary in Craven County, computes about 2,500 whites there, of whom about 1,800 were members of the Church of England, the rest Protestant Dissenters of various names, except about nine or ten Papists.

Rev. Mr. Stewart, of St. Thomas' Parish, Bath, computes 2,200 whites there, seven-eighths of whom belonged to the Church of England.

In 1765 Governor Tryon wrote to the Society :

That every sect abounded except the Romanists, but he reckons the Church of England to have the majority in the Province, and doubts not that the greatest part of every sect would come over, could a sufficient number of exemplary and orthodox clergy persuade themselves to settle in this country.

But it was in vain for the Church of England to seek long to hold her own against such increasing odds when the Province was rapidly filling up from abroad with Germans, dissenting English, Irish and Scotch, and she herself was without any source of supply, for her clergy, short of the Mother Country. For her clergy's support, there was only an establishment by law, in name, without revenues. Their principal means of support was the £50 sterling, which the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, allowed to each of its Missionaries.

A letter of Parson Miller, who died in the adjoining County of Burke, some years ago, furnishes us with these interesting particulars. He states that he made his first essay as a lay-preacher with the Methodists, when they professed to be members of the Church of England. But in the year 1784 he accompanied Dr. Coke to a Conference in Franklin County, in this State. He says:

Our chief conversation, during the time I was with him, which was for some weeks, was on the subject of organizing what they call their Episcopal Church, on which we could not agree, as the idea was early and deeply fixed in my mind, and I may truly say, my conscience, that the Apostolical Succession must ever descend and continue unbroken with the Church of God. And however inconsistent with this assertion some of my subsequent conduct may appear to be, yet, at this moment I am certain it is the truth.

The inconsistency he refers to, was his leaving the Methodists on that scruple, and afterward receiving ordination among the Lutherans in Rowan County of this State, who, however, in the letters of orders they gave him, expressly reserved his right to attach himself to the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church, should the Providence of God ever afford him an opportunity; which opportunity he afterward enjoyed and embraced at the hands of Bishop Moore, of Virginia.

The first public effort of the Church in North Carolina after the Revolution, to recover herself, was made in the year 1790, November 12th, by a Convention appointed to meet at Tarboro'.

They elected deputies to represent them in the General Convention of 1792, also a Standing Committee. For the two subsequent years no Convention met; but during that interval Rev. Dr. Halling was ordained by Bishop Madison, of Virginia, which was the first ordination after the Revolution, held expressly for the Church in North Carolina. He became Rector of Christ Church, New Berne.

Another Convention was held at Tarboro', May, 1794, when Rev. Charles Pettigrew, one of the five clergy that are known to have remained steady at their posts in North Carolina during the Revolutionary War, was elected to be Bishop of the Diocese of North Carolina. Bishop White states in his *Memoirs* that Mr. Pettigrew set off to attend the General Convention for the purpose of being consecrated, but was unable to reach Philadelphia in time. Parson Miller, in the published letter before referred to,¹ states that he had it from Mr. Pettigrew himself, that he thought the election of a Bishop premature, and that he submitted to the election of himself only to prevent the acceptance of the office by some one else. A dreary night set in upon the Church in this State, and indeed over the United States. In 1811 there was not a single candidate for Holy Orders in the American Church, and Bishop White feared that it would again be compelled to have recourse to the Church of England for the renewal of its Bishops. A wide-spread spirit of infidelity, caught from France, had infected all grades and classes of society. In the front ranks of infidels were to be found those whose forefathers had been the children and zealous friends of the Church. But in 1819 the tide began to turn. Bishop Moore opens his notice of the visitation he paid to the Church in North Carolina in 1819, with these words: "The Church in that State is rising in all the vigor of youth."

The Rev. John Stark Ravenscroft was consecrated the first Bishop of North Carolina during the session of the General Convention at Philadelphia, May, 1823. It is not our purpose to follow the subsequent history and progress of the Church in this State, under her line of Bishops.

¹ CHURCH REVIEW, July, 1850.

We have seen from the present survey that this Church is the old Church of North Carolina, for a long time the Church of the majority of its population, notwithstanding the grievous disadvantages she labored under from the necessity of supplying her ministry from beyond the sea, for want of her own Bishop; and that historically and synchronically she has been associated with the life of the State, whether in prosperity or adversity.

What the American Church most pressingly wants now, what she ever has wanted and ought to pray for, never so earnestly as now, in prospect of plenteous returns, is, that her Lord would send forth more laborers into the harvest.

"They shall prosper that love Thee. Peace be within Thy walls and plenteousness within Thy palaces; for my brethren and companion's sake, I will wish Thee prosperity."

JARVIS BUXTON.

CENTENNIAL THOUGHTS.

This Hundredth Anniversary of the birth of our republic is to be a Jubilee in the most popular sense of the word. If no attention was paid to the expiration of the first fifty years of our national existence, we shall certainly make up for it this time, and with interest. There is to be a large amount of jubilation, but I fear we are, in some degree, rejoicing without reason; and wherein we have cause for joy there is far too little of the spirit *Jubilate Deo*.

It seems an ungracious thing to croak when every body else is singing, but I cannot help thinking there is too much shallow exultation in our Centennial celebration.

Certainly there is much to be thankful for, and proud of, in our scientific and commercial progress, and much to criticize; but let that pass just now; what I am particularly deprecating is our political vain glory. Doubtless we possess some of the blessings of civil liberty, and many of the social advantages of civilization; but are we not accustomed to boast of these things, rather than to thank God for them?

We complacently attribute to the form of our government, the intrinsic merit of producing the peace and prosperity we enjoy. And yet it requires but a glance at history to teach us that there is no such inherent virtue in the republican system as that we credit to it. We have but to recall Athens and the Achæan League, Consular Rome, and the first French republic, in order to refute any such assumption. Does not an historical comparison show us that the stability and security we have enjoyed under our republic are to be ascribed to the influence of Christianity?'

'The French republic though a part of Christendom, was essentially anti-christian.

Do we not see this same beneficent influence giving personal liberty and tranquility to a constitutional monarchy like England, and a measure of these blessings to a Christian despotism in Russia?

If then we owe the success of our government, if we owe the safety of the very foundations of society to Christianity, is it not our wisdom and duty to watch narrowly all anti-Christian influences if we would preserve and transmit our civil privileges?

I believe there is an influence at work in modern society which is rapidly undermining the foundations of civil liberty,—nay, the very corner stone of social order; a danger compared with which such questions as currency and tariff sink into utter triviality; an issue, not between existing parties, but between government and anarchy,—between Christ and Belial.

Let us learn a political lesson from the New Testament. The record of our Lord's trial and Crucifixion is full of profoundly significant lessons. There seemed to be crowded into the events of that awful day an epitome of the world's history. It was when the cruel mockery of a trial was well nigh concluded. The subtle charges concocted by the Sanhedrim had been presented. The false witnesses had given their infamous testimony. The Divine Man had suffered the mocking, the buffeting, the spitting. It was evident that the noble prisoner was innocent, and yet the Procurator hesitated. The Jewish leaders were present with their threatening intimations of complaint to the Emperor,—“If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend:” and a clamorous rabble was there breathing tumult. Thus menaced the Governor is irresolute, and seeks to escape the responsibility of convicting or acquitting the accused, so he seized upon the custom of releasing some prisoner at the festival and asked—“whom will ye that I release unto you Barabbas or Jesus?” which would they choose for executive clemency, the embodiment of virtue, or the robber, the murderer, the mover of sedition? “And they cried out all at once, saying away with this man, and release unto us Barabbas.”

Now, what were the determining motives of that decision? Why away with the Messiah, the hope of Israel, and claim pardon for a criminal? The men composing that mob, had in common

with the whole Jewish people, been long expecting the Messiah ; but they expected a second Joshua, a military leader, a temporal monarch, who should be able to lead them out of Roman subjugation, and re-establish the Kingdom of Israel. Under the regime of the Messiah, they had indulged dreams of a return of those halcyon days when the land flowed with milk and honey ; they looked forward to the time when they should sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree, and none should make them afraid. But their hopes of national prosperity were doomed to disappointment. The meek and lowly Jesus, teaching that His Kingdom was not of this world, was not what they were looking for. A Messiah sanctioning the paying tribute money to Cæsar, and predicting the destruction of the Temple, and the overthrow of Jerusalem, was to their carnal minds preposterous to the last degree.

But that was not all ; the distinctive feature of Christ's social code was exasperating to their gross, hard natures. " Whosoever shall humble himself as this little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven ; " " Whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister, and whosoever will be chief among you let him be your servant. " " Every one that exalteth himself shall be abased ; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted. " Such were Christ's precepts ; and such precepts did not suit the seditious purposes of an ambitious populace. There was no encouragement in all this for resistance to the civil authority, nor for the subversion of the existing order of society. These people were eager enough to follow the Master and laud His name when the loaves and fishes were distributed ; and " the common people heard Him gladly " when He was confounding the learning, and denouncing the ostentation of the aristocratic Scribes and Pharisees ; and yet these same " common people " permitted themselves to be hounded on by those Pharisaic demagogues to destroy their Saviour. The motive of these leaders was transparent even to Pilate,— " for he knew that for envy they had delivered Him. " No language is too invective to describe the pitiful weakness, the contemptible cowardice, nay, the wicked faithlessness of that vacillating governor, who permitted threat of Pharisee and mob rage to turn him from the course of justice.

Here, then, was the meaning of that cry—"away with this man and release unto us Barabbas." The insubordinate, vicious element of society, disappointed in its Utopian hopes of worldly aggrandizement, irritated by the reproachful presence of a nature infinitely superior to it, instigated to violence by the unprincipled aspirants for popular favor, takes advantage of truckling authority, and tramples upon justice and virtue; venting its brutal rage in the commission of the pre-eminent crime of all history.

The parallel is still further illustrated in the infatuation which drove that ancient rabble to insurrection against the Roman government, and in the horrible crimes committed by them during the siege of Jerusalem.

The cry of that Jewish mob is echoed by the shout of the "Commune,"—that organized anarchy which showed its *animus* so unmistakably in Paris, during the late Franco-German war.

That spirit is rife to-day; it is the very soul of the "International" as the demon of discord now styles itself. It has its branches in every country in Europe, and no doubt its agents are at work in this country. The Trade Union strikes throughout the country and the insurrections amongst the Pennsylvania miners indicate the influence of the spirit of that infamous society.

The whole spirit of this agrarian, levelling movement is anti-Christian. It is the same principle whose mutterings St. Paul rebuked in his epistle to the Romans—"Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers, for there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God; whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. * * * Render therefore to all their dues, tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honor to whom honor." It is the creed of "the International" that no tribute, custom, fear or honor is due to any one.

This spirit is shown, not only in such outbreaks as that of the French Commune, and our Trade Union strikes, but in the prevalence of an unreasoning hatred of the unchristianized poor toward the rich, and in a jealousy of the influence of culture which manifests itself in the very bitterness with which the word "aristocracy" is uttered by this class; always as an epithet, and

sometimes with a tone and expression that signify "torch and sword to every thing above me."

It is believed that we have had a foretaste of Red-republicanism in the terrible fires which have desolated Chicago, Boston and Virginia City ; produced by this demoniac agency for the purpose, it has been suggested, of creating at once, an opportunity for pillage, and a demand for labor.

Are we to have all the horrors of the French revolution upon us ? Are we to witness the overthrow of lawful authority, and the demolition of public and private buildings ? Are our streets to run with the blood of men and women, slaughtered for the single offence of gentility ? Is the Christian religion to be abolished in this land, and a representative of impurity enthroned in holy places ? In a word are we to have Barabbas turned loose upon us ? We certainly have portents of such experience.

We are apt to flatter ourselves that this social monster is not likely to make any dangerous advances in this country, seeing that our popular form of government permits the substratum of society to exert its influence through the peaceful and legitimate instrumentality of the ballot box ; but is such complacency well founded ? The spirit of the Commune is opposed to all government ; its aspiration is anarchy. Wait till our population is a little denser and we shall see what kind of a remedy the ballot box is. I fear it will prove a mischievous lever instead of a safety valve. New York City and South Carolina have not afforded a very cheering illustration of the beneficence of Universal Suffrage.

What then is the duty of the Christian citizen in view of this impending evil ?

I think our most obvious duty is to take care that the seditious element of society has no just grounds for complaint. It is useless to deny that it has had grounds for complaint, in the oppressive monopolies of soulless corporations, and in the shameless speculation which has disgraced nearly every office. We must remove these causes of irritation ; but let us not forget the importance of a good example in the work of reformation. Let us avoid all noisy clamor and vulgar exaggeration, and sternly frown down that demagogism which pretends to serve the interests of the public by exciting the passions of the base. These bad men

had their prototype in those chief priests who "persuaded the multitude that they should ask Barabbas and destroy Jesus." With the same righteous scorn ought we to condemn all trifling with our criminal jurisdiction! Let us strengthen the hands of the law with our moral support, and permit no Pilate-like vacillation to make the judicial office popular at the expense of justice; and let us ever be ready, at the peril of life if need be, to aid the authorities in putting down mob violence; however great may be the cause of popular indignation, or however threatening the show of rabble fury. It sometimes requires heroism to perform the part of good citizens.

On the other hand we ought to be free from all arrogance and overbearing manners towards our inferiors. The gentleman should never forget *noblesse oblige*.

Such I conceive is our duty as members of society, but our duty as Christians and Churchmen is to strike at the root of this portentous evil, and remove the motive to sedition. There is but one power in this world to strike that blow effectually and that is the power of Christ's Gospel; Christianity is the sole palladium of civil liberty and social order.

The substratum of society must be elevated; we must have no pariah class; the turbulent masses must be Christianized. We must implant motives and principles in these people to which we can appeal in times of popular excitement. No system of government can otherwise give us security; the ascendancy of no particular party afford us protection. What the people of these United States need above all things is to be made Christians. Nothing else will save us from that tidal wave of anarchy which is already encroaching on the shores of this fair continent.

WALLACE CARNAHAN.

DEAN COLET'S LETTERS *on the Mosaic Account of the Creation, etc., now first published, with a Translation, Introduction, and Notes, by J. H. Lupton, M.A.* LONDON: GEORGE BELL & SONS. 1876. Large 8vo. pp. 320.

Dr. John Colet was born in London, A.D. 1466. His father was a man of wealth and of some note, a knight, and several times Mayor of London. John received an excellent education for the times, and from 1493 to 1497 travelled in France and Italy, having previously received one of the minor orders, which according to the usage of the day enabled him to hold benefices. While abroad he made the friendship of several eminent men, such as Budæus and Erasmus, and acquired a fair knowledge of the Greek language, not then taught in the English schools. On his return home, in 1497, he was ordained Deacon, and in July, 1498, Priest. He retired to Oxford to continue his studies, and while there delivered a free course of lectures on the Epistles of St. Paul, which attracted great notice from their boldness in interpreting scripture. Here also he renewed his acquaintance with Erasmus and a warm friendship sprang up between them, which lasted through their lives.

In May, 1505, Colet was made Dean of St. Paul's, London. He entered upon his duties with great spirit, and made a thorough reform of the establishment; especially by regular preachings himself, and the procuring of lectures by other learned men, on the Bible. In these, many of the evils of the Romish system were boldly attacked, and it is believed that in this way our author played an important part in preparing the minds of clergy and people for that Reformation, which, however, he did not live to see. In these lectures, the evils of the Religious Houses, and of the celibacy of the clergy were so boldly set forth as to excite the anger of the Bishop of London, who accused him of heresy to the metropolitan, Archbishop Warham; but the latter, knowing his worth, refused to listen to the charges. The Dean, however, was made so uncomfortable by the petty persecutions to which, in consequence of his opinions he was subjected, that he resolved to retire into a more private life, and devote his fortune, which was considerable, to some worthy object. He carried this resolve into effect in 1512, by founding and endowing *St. Paul's School*; appointing William Lilly, the well-known grammarian, the first master.

Dr. Colet died in September, 1519, aged 53. His writings were all in Latin, but very few were published during his life time, among these an "Accidence" or Latin Grammar, and certain tracts of "Daily Devotions"

and "Monition to a Godly life." His manuscripts were found after his death in an obscure corner of his study, and were written in such a manner as if intended to be understood only by himself. Erasmus tells us that this arose from a "conscious want of accuracy and correctness of style."

Mr. Lupton, "sub-master of St. Paul's School," the one he founded, has done a good work by rescuing from oblivion some of the principle treatises of Dean Colet, and for the first time printing them in their original Latin, with translations and notes. The present volume is the fifth and last of the series. The other volumes contain: I. "A Treatise on the Sacraments of the Church;" II. "Two Treatises on the Hierarchies of Dionysius;" III. "Lectures on the Epistles to the Romans, delivered at Oxford in 1497;" IV. "An exposition of I. Corinthians." This Fifth and last volume contains, 1. Letters on the Mosaic account of the Creation; 2. On the Composition of Christ's Mystical Body, the Church; 3. An exposition of five chapters of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans.

When we consider that, as the preface tells us, so high an authority as the author of the "Short History of the English People," says that, "the awakening of a rational Christianity, whether in England, or in the Teutonic world at large, begins with the Florentine studies of John Colet," we must feel the importance of his writings, as aiding to a right understanding of the steps which prepared the way for a Reformation, so different in England from that on the Continent. These books are also interesting as showing the philosophy of the day, in the attempted explanation of the Mosaic Cosmogony, and the "close glossing" then in vogue in Scriptural expositions.

As a specimen of Dr. Colet's style and boldness of speech we quote two passages. Of the Mosaic account of the creation he writes:

It was the design of Moses, (1) to speak worthily of God; (2) to satisfy the minds of ordinary people, in respect of matters known to them; (3) to preserve an order in events; (4) above all to lead the people on to religion, and the worship of one God.

In commenting on Romans v., he gives utterance to this plainness of speech:

How I wish that the Minister of ecclesiastical affairs, and those who call themselves expounders of Pontifical law, would understand that, without the grace of Christ, they in vain administer laws for Christ's people. * * * Atrocious race of men! deadliest plague to the Church of Christ! very devils, transformed into angels of light! in this respect worse than even the devils themselves, and more hurtful to Christian people. * * * O! hardship beyond hardships, when the poor folk that bear the name of Christ, are in worse plight than the Jewish commonality were under the hypocritical Pharisees!

SERMONS PREACHED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD and on various occasions by J. B. Mozley, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church. RIVINGTONS, LONDON; POTT, YOUNG & Co., NEW YORK. 1876. pp. 345.

Though preached before the University of Oxford, these are not sermons in the ordinary sense, but essays, and very thoughtful and valuable ones. There is very little of technical theology; but a great deal of practical religion. There is a depth and originality about them which is very refreshing in these days of much talking and superficial thinking. They are instructive and suggestive. They are not such as could be profitably read to an ordinary congregation, but the clergy will find in them material which can be made exceedingly useful in selecting topics for sermons. We may instance the two sermons on the Holy Spirit (the 7th and 13th), which are full of matter. We have never seen the relative scope and powers of the Church and State more clearly and satisfactorily set forth than in the first sermon on "The Roman Council." We quote:

The morality, then, of this question is inherent in the very fact that Church and State are two distinct societies; that these societies have two distinct scopes and ends; that with their respective ends what they regard respectively as crimes also differ; and that, therefore, to use the weapons of one of those societies against a sin or error in the other society, is a total irrelevancy and misapplication. The Church is a spiritual society, to educate us by revealed doctrine for an eternal existence: the State is a temporal society, to preserve order and peace in the world, and to maintain human life under its proper visible conditions. If, then, I am guilty of spiritual error, no good conduct in the State gives me any claim on the Church. If, on the other hand, I am respectable in the State, I am not punishable by the State for any spiritual error. * * * To inflict a penalty on them (men), on account of some supposed error in the spiritual society, is as irrelevant, and speaking essentially, as grotesque, as would be the infliction *vice versa* of spiritual censures upon errors of political economy, of invention, of art, or of military strategies. It is only custom which could make people not see that it was as absurd to imprison a heresy as to strike a bad piece of mechanism with an anathema.

The sermon on "Our Duty to Equals," tells some plain truths greatly needed in these days, when some among us seem to be going back to the false idea that the best discipline for the highest religious life is to be found outside of or apart from "the daily round, the common task;" that is to say in some so-called vocation, or mission which involves a seeming humiliation, or descending from our station, or a voluntary sacrificing of position and ease. The author shows, that while such "a condescending life"

as he calls it, has a value and may be for some a clear duty, yet after all the best training of the entire man, the trials which discipline and subdue the tempers and passions, are to be found in "the sphere of equals." We wish we had room for longer quotations; but must content ourselves with the following:

We must accord then the condescending life its own praise, for its own devotion; but we cannot give it the superiority as an engine of discipline and trial for man's pride, for his strong and passionate will, his tendency to idolise himself, his vanity, his jealousy. Equals are more than inferiors the natural correction for self-love.

The same truth is brought out very forcibly, from another standpoint, in the striking sermon on "The Reversal of Human Judgment."

After all, the self-made trial is a poor disciplinarian weapon; there is a subtle masterly irritant and provoking point in the genuine natural trial, and in the natural crossness of events, which the artificial thing cannot manage; we can no more make our trials than we can make our feelings. In this way moderate deprivations are in some cases more difficult to bear than extreme ones. * * * And so it is often the case that what we *must* do as simply right, and, which would not strike even ourselves, and still less anybody else, is just the hardest thing to do. A work of supererogation would be much easier.

We wish we had space for extracts from another forcible sermon on "Nature," showing that "beauty" is as much a revelation and proof of God as is utility, yet at the same time guarding against the idea that "man can get a religion out of the beauty of nature." But we must refrain. We trust what has been given will be sufficient to induce our readers to procure the book itself, they will not regret it.

AUTHORIZED REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND CHURCH CONGRESS, *in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, held in the City of Philadelphia, November 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th, 1875. Edited by the General Secretary.* NEW YORK: T. WHITTAKER, No. 2 BIBLE HOUSE. 1876. pp. 255.

The "Church Congress" may be considered a special feature of our time. Those who desire to become acquainted with the opinions of the leading men of our Church, will find them fairly set forth in this "Report" of the last Congress. The thanks of Churchmen are due to the enterprising publisher for furnishing this Report and that of the Bonn Conferences, in so cheap and readable a shape.

THE SCRIPTURAL HARMONY BETWEEN PRIVATE JUDGMENT AND CHURCH AUTHORITY *as Chiefly Apparent from the Four Gospels.* By the Rev. William Mac SHIE, M. A. LONDON: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL & CO. pp. 271.

The question treated in this work is one of great difficulty, yet also of great importance, especially in these days when we have, on the one hand the theory asserted that there is in religion no such thing as assured truth, but that whatever any man in his private judgment believes to be true, that is for him truth; while on the other side is put forth a claim to absolute infallibility in declaring the truth, to which all reason and conscience of individuals must yield absolute submission.

Our author endeavors to harmonize these extremes, and, upon the whole, satisfactorily and with great good sense, though we think more might be said on behalf of Church authority and tradition than he seems willing to allow, especially in the last chapter "on Tradition."

The writer gives us first a "General Statement of the Question," and in the succeeding chapters cites precedents from the four Evangelists as to, first "Private Judgment" and then "Church Authority," ending with a chapter on "Tradition," in which we cannot but think he is a little inconsistent with himself. His statement of the question may be gathered from the following:

She (the Church) is a *keeper* of holy writ, to preserve it in its integrity; a *witness* as to what is holy writ and what is not; a *teacher* to interpret its truths and to warn against error—but not an infallible guide to challenge the faith and obedience of her people without inquiry.

The true state of the case appears to be this: The only infallible rule of faith is the written Word of God. In the exposition of this rule He is pleased to use Church authority to train private judgment and correct its excesses; and to use private judgment, again, as a check to the undue assumption or domination of Church authority. * * * When we advocate Church authority we do not advocate unlimited Church authority; and when we advocate the right of private judgment we do not advocate that right *beyond its limits*.

But can you not lay down some rules to define the exact province of these respective agencies? * * * No, we cannot. There lies the difficulty, and a difficulty it is, but a difficulty arising out of the present imperfect or probationary state of man, and even of the Church herself as "militant here in earth." * * * When excesses on the side of Church authority have become from actual experience an intolerable burden, they have been corrected, not seldom, even by the very excesses of private judgment themselves, and when, from the same experience, the excesses of private judgment have become a pest and nuisance more intolerable than the frogs, and flies and locusts of Egypt, Church authority has stepped in as a wholesome remedy for the

mischief. Christian men have, by a sort of common consent, gladly welcomed the wholesome restraint needed in one case, not less than the happy freedom needed in the other. While every Protestant Church freely admits this principle (that the Church is not infallible) in its *dominion over the individual conscience* in cases not clearly defined by the written Word of God, no Christian body would endure to have its standard of doctrine or its religious usages, or the lawful authority of its ministers, set at naught by the private judgment of its individual members on the plea of superior light and knowledge.

The author solves the question as to the harmonizing of these conflicting authorities by reminding us, a fact too much forgotten, of the promised presence of "Christ, her *living* head," with his Church, who "governs and preserves her by His Holy Spirit evermore."

It is Jesus Christ Himself, who in His kingly headship by these respective agencies purifies and preserves the whole body as occasion requires His correcting or protecting hand.

We have no space for further quotations; we wish we had. We commend the book to those of our readers who have been troubled with doubts on his vexed question. It is a pity that the author is not more careful in his style. We are surprised to find on the pages of such a book these expressions, "of like kidney," "going the whole hog." "The ticket which will carry us through the gate into the city." We protest against the use of such phrases.

THE SABBATH OF THE FIELDS, *being a sequel to "Bible Teachings in Nature."* By the Rev. Hugh Macmillan, LL.D., F. R. S. E. LONDON
MACMILLAN & CO. 1876. pp. 358. \$2.00.

The object of this book is to show the relation that exists between religion and science. How, instead of being, as some men now are apt to think, antagonistic, they mutually support and throw light upon each other. It is a true and much needed teaching, and Mr. Macmillan has very clearly and beautifully performed the task he assumed. We have never read a more striking description of the Holy Land than will be found in the first chapter; indeed the book abounds in beautiful descriptions of natural scenery. Our author is a lover, and a scientific student, of nature; he regards it as God's book, and looks beneath the surface for its spiritual teachings. Where all is so good it is difficult to specify, but we call attention to the chapters on "The Prophecies of Ferns," and on "A Pine-Cone," as being very excellent.

THE GREEKS AND THE PERSIANS, *by the Rev. G. W. Cox, M.A.* NEW YORK: SCRIBNER, ARMSTRONG & Co. 1876. pp. 218, 16mo. \$1.00.

This is the first volume of a series of "Epochs of Ancient History," uniform with "Epochs of Modern History" already published. It is to be followed by other works, making ten in all, bringing the history down to the times of the Antonines. This method of teaching history by "Epochs" instead of in one continuous and lengthy narrative, has some great advantages. By selecting certain great events as central points to which the earlier history tends, and around which contemporary history groups its actions, the memory is greatly aided in retaining the facts, and the philosophy of history is made more clear. Thus in the volume before us the central event is the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, one of the most important epochs of ancient history. But before we can enter into this with its eventful consequences, we must know something of the previous history of the contending parties, of the Assyrians and Persians; and of the Greeks with their colonies, and also how the two parties came into conflict. Nor can we understand how it was that Greece, small in extent, poor in resources, and weakened by internal divisions, could withstand the power of Persia, unless we are made acquainted with the character of its people and the peculiar nature of its institutions. Viewed thus, history interests the young, and they are able to see the necessity for, and value of, what otherwise would be to them very dry details of statistics, geography, and philosophy. They see that these explain history, and reading understandingly they find additional interest in the description of the culminating event; and the facts of the Epoch and those leading to them remain impressed vividly and in proper order upon their memories.

This little volume is thus really an epitome of all that is certainly known of the earlier history of the world. It describes, first, the growth of civilization among the Greeks, their settlements and governments; then the Babylonian and Persian empires, and briefly brings the history down to the Death of Darius; more minutely relates the invasion by Xerxes and its defeat, ending with the formation of the Athenian Confederacy, with which a new epoch in Grecian history began. We think the whole series, if the other works are equal to this first, will be very useful and much more likely to be read by the young, than would a continuous history of the same number of volumes.

With so much to praise, we must be allowed two criticisms. We cannot feel reconciled to this new spelling of Greek names; we suppose it is

more correct, but we hardly recognize our old friends Hercules and Croesus under the forms of Herakles and Kroisos, nor do Kypros and Kilikia, seem so familiar to our eyes as they ought. We also feel the want of a map of Greece, or at least of Attica and the surrounding country, and are the more surprised at this omission when so good a map is given of the Greek settlements in Asia Minor. We hope in a second edition this will be supplied.

RUDIMENTS OF THEOLOGY. *A First Book for Students, by John Pilkington Norris, B.D., Canon of Bristol, and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Manchester.* RIVINGTONS, LONDON; POTT, YOUNG & Co., NEW YORK, \$1.25.

Though intended as "A First Book for Students," this work will be found very useful to those who have got beyond the rudiments, or at any rate think they have. It is divided into three parts. I. "Fundamental Doctrines, viz., those which teach of the Trinity, the Atonement, the Church and the Sacraments. II. "Soteriology of the Bible," or a fuller examination, by "what may be called *the method of theological induction*," of the teachings of the Holy Scriptures on the doctrine of the Atonement. III. "Illustrations of Part I. from the Early Fathers." The whole with the "Glossarial Index" forming a very complete treatise on Systematic Divinity. The most valuable portion is that which treats of the Atonement, the author pointing out clearly the errors of the Calvinistic system, and showing, from scripture and the writings of the early Fathers, the true meaning of those much used and little understood words, Atonement, Ransom, Propitiation, Redemption, Justification. In his teachings on the Church and the Sacraments the author follows, and in our opinion wisely, what are generally called Anglican views, as opposed to Calvinism on one side and Romanism on the other; this appears most plainly in the Chapter on the Sacraments, wherein as he tells us in the preface, he relies mainly on the help derived "from Hooker, Bull, Pearson, and (most of all) Waterland." We commend this book very especially to laymen who desire a clearer knowledge of theology; they will find in its chapters on the Atonement, a solution of many difficulties and doubts which the bald teachings, too common among the old Evangelic School, may have raised in their minds. We have to thank the American publishers for a cheap edition of this useful book.

THE PRINCIPAL ECCLESIASTICAL JUDGMENTS DELIVERED IN THE COURT OF ARCHES, 1867 TO 1875. *By the Right Hon. Sir Robert Phillimore, D. C. L.* RIVINGTONS, LONDON; POTT, YOUNG & CO, NEW YORK. 1876. Large 8vo. pp. 420.

This handsome volume contains the opinions and judgments delivered by Sir Robert Phillimore in fifteen cases, embracing those which have attracted so much notice in the Church on matters of ritual, such as the use of incense, of lighted candles on the altar, of vestments, of elevations of paten and cup, etc., although these judgments are not binding upon us of the American Church, yet they are of great value as laying down certain general principles of Church law, and because of the vast amount of information contained in them on the matters under consideration. One is astonished at the immense learning and industry displayed by the Judge. The ancient and modern canon law, the writings of the Fathers and of prominent English, and even in some cases American divines are examined, quoted and commented on at great length whenever bearing upon the case under consideration and general principles of interpretation deduced of great value. For all interested in such questions, whether viewed from a doctrinal or historical point of view, this book will be found a mine of information; and we may add, that, like a mine, it will sometimes require hard digging to extract the valuable matter. The next feeling excited in an American reader will be, of wonder, that from such small causes such great cases have arisen. Of course we know that an act or ceremony may convey important teachings and so have a value far above its apparent import. But when, as frequently in these cases, any such teaching is denied, and the act complained is declared to be simply a symbol of some admitted truth, we cannot but wonder why parties will go to such expense of money and time either to attack or defend such observances; and we congratulate ourselves that with us the freedom from all connection between Church and State, prevents such litigation. We must in candor add, that we think, in most of such cases, "le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle." Nor can we understand why men should persist in observances which offend, unreasonably if you will, their weaker brethren and drive them from our churches, while they themselves declare that the things are unimportant in their nature. Surely the Church has too many outside enemies to encounter, has too sacred a work to perform, to allow her thus to waste her strength in internal squabbles about candles and vestments.

A MANUAL OF INSTRUCTION IN CHURCH HISTORY. *By the Rev. George W. Shinn, Newton, Mass.* NEW YORK: T. WHITTAKER, 2 BIBLE HOUSE. 1876. pp. 152.

The author says in the preface, very truly, "Church History is a greatly neglected study." "Very little effort is made to instruct our congregations in the origin and development of the Church." One cause of this, he says, "is the lack of *suitable* volumes upon the subject," which is also very true, for numerous as are the Church Histories which have been written, the clergy well know how few there are which the laity can be induced to read. They are either altogether too voluminous, or else such mere epitomes as to be of no interest. The little book before us is intended to a certain extent to supply this want, by giving an outline of "the great landmarks of history," and "tracing the connection between what now is, and what has been." We think upon the whole Mr. Shinn has succeeded remarkably well in his task, considering the size of the book. We are especially pleased with the "Lesson Outlines for Classes" in the appendix. They might be made useful for older classes in schools. Teachers might make these the themes for written or oral instruction, or require more advanced pupils to write compositions on these subjects with great advantage.

As regards this matter of Church Histories, we believe the true plan of writing them for popular use would be one similar to that which Scribner, Armstrong & Co. have so successfully carried out in their little volumes of "Epochs of Modern and Ancient History." Will not some of our Professors of Ecclesiastical History give us a series of volumes of "Epochs of Church History." If well and pleasantly written they would be popular and useful.

REPORT OF THE UNION CONFERENCES, HELD FROM AUGUST 10 TO 16, 1875, AT BONN, *translated from the German by Samuel Buel, D.D. with a preface by Robert J. Nevin, D.D.* T. WHITTAKER, No. 2 BIBLE HOUSE, NEW YORK. 1876. \$1.00

The article by Dr. Perry in this number of the CHURCH REVIEW, on the Bonn Conference of 1875, is a sufficient notice of this valuable book. No one who pretends to take an interest in the religious movements of the day, can afford to be without it. The Preface by Dr. Nevin adds greatly to its value; and the translator has done well his difficult task.

PLATO'S BEST THOUGHTS, *compiled from Professor Jowett's Translation of the Dialogues of Plato by Rev. C. H. A. Bulkley, A. M., Professor in Faith Training College, Boston, Mass.* NEW YORK: SCRIBNER, ARMSTRONG & Co. 1876. pp. 475.

This volume is intended "to present in the most accessible form, the wide range of subjects upon which Plato dwells," for the benefit of those who have not time or inclination to peruse his whole works, and yet desire to "become somewhat acquainted with the best thoughts of the great Greek Philosopher." It consists of extracts of varying length, taken from the translation of Professor Jowett, arranged under appropriate heads, in alphabetical order, with references to the special work from which each is taken.

We cannot say that we are in favor of such books of extracts; they necessarily give but an imperfect idea of an author's teachings; and the reader is entirely dependent on the judiciousness and fairness of the compiler. Still such a book as this has its use, "for cursory perusal and casual quotation," and will enable persons to form a notion of the character of Plato's teachings, who probably would otherwise remain ignorant of it.

SHORT SERMONS ON THE PSALMS, *in their order. Preached in a Village Church, by W. J. Stracey, M.A., Rector of Oxhead.* RIVINGTONS, LONDON; POTT, YOUNG & Co., NEW YORK.

We have received two volumes of these sermons, being on Psalms 1.-LI. To the greater portion of the Psalms one sermon is devoted, but a few furnish texts for three or more. Thus there are three on the 19th Psalm, according to its proper divisions, the first, of God's *works*, the second, of God's *word*, the third, of *prayer and meditation* thereon. In these sermons the Messianic feature of the Psalms is carefully brought out, and a practical application "to ourselves" insisted on. Inasmuch as the Psalms form so important a feature in our Church worship, and yet are so little understood, we welcome every effort to bring before our people their spiritual meaning. These unpretending sermons will furnish pleasant and profitable reading. We must add that the publishers have presented them in a very attractive and convenient form.

JESUS of NAZARETH: *His Life, for the Young.* By Joseph P. Thompson, D.D. *Illustrated.* BOSTON: J. R. Osgood & Co. Crown 8vo. pp. 456.

He is a bold man who attempts to popularize the Life of Jesus Christ, and the impossibility of writing down that life, even on its human side has generally been conceded by Christians. Dr. Thompson has essayed a great work in which he has only met with partial success. He has written, not for children, but for youths from twelve to twenty years old, yet his tone greatly varies and his work is vastly unequal. As a setting forth of the contact of Jesus with the life of man, and of the Jewish usages which illustrate the Gospel story, the work has considerable value, and the pictures scattered very freely through the pages are excellent, but as a life of Jesus it is very much what one might expect from a Congregationalist Divine. Dr. Thompson fails to enunciate and bring into bold relief the significant points in our Lord's Life. He fails where Dr. Farrar also fails to some extent. He gives too much the social and personal, too little the religious and divine element in the Life of Christ. He belittles his subject. While the book has much to make it valuable, it is to be criticised adversely chiefly because it leaves out points which a Churchman instinctively looks for, and of which every Christian must feel the want. The publishers have done their duty far better than Dr. Thompson has done his, and some of the fine writing in which he indulges, as on p. 28, might better have been omitted. He took up what othermen have not dared to do, and his success is not encouraging.

W.

TWO DISSERTATIONS. I. ON *MONOTENHC ΘEOC*, *In Scripture and Tradition.* II. *On the 'Constantinopolitan' Creed and other Eastern Creeds of the Fourth Century.* By Fenton John Anthony Hort, D.D. CAMBRIDGE AND LONDON: MACMILLAN & Co. 1876.

We can only notice this very learned work; hoping to have in our next number a full and appreciative notice, by one competent to write it.

INTRODUCTION TO THE DEVOUT LIFE, by Saint Francis of Sales, Bishop and Prince of Geneva. RIVINGTONS, LONDON; POTT, YOUNG & Co NEW YORK. 1876.

MEMOIR OF NORMAN MACLEOD, D.D., *Minister of Barony Parish, Glasgow, etc. By his Brother, the Rev. Donald Macleod, B.A.* 2 vols. NEW YORK: SCRIBNER, ARMSTRONG & Co. 1876.

Dr. Macleod, in many respects, reminds us of Sir Walter Scott. There appears to have been the same kindly, genial, quiet Scottish humor, the same love of country, the same appreciations of the beauties of nature, the same loving reverence for the good and true, and the same breadth of views.

Of course in both all this is modified by early training and surrounding circumstances. Yet we cannot help fancying that if Scott had been brought up under the same influences and become a Presbyterian Minister he might have made much such an one as was Macleod.

When he entered upon his first charge at Loudoun in Ayrshire, he found among his parishioners many Radicals, Chartists and Infidels; and he won them over by volunteering to deliver a course of lectures on Geology; and writes of the result:

I think this a practical lesson. Let a minister use every means to come in contact with every class, to win them first on common ground, and from thence endeavor to bring them to holy ground.

While strongly attached to his own Church, remaining firm in his allegiance when the great disruption of the Free Kirk took place, still he seems to have felt the evils of Calvinism in its stricter form, and to have become almost, what would now be called, "broad Church," in many of his views.

Dr. Macleod was twice honored with special commissions by the "General Assembly." In 1845 he was sent to America, to inspect the condition of the Presbyterian Churches, especially in Canada; and in 1867 he visited India to report on the condition of the missionary work there, and his report contains many valuable thoughts. Besides being a zealous parish worker and faithful preacher, Macleod wrote a great deal. He was Editor first of the "Edinburgh Christian Magazine," and afterwards, in 1860, of "Good Words," which position he maintained to the last, advocating therein, in spite of much misunderstanding and even obloquy, a wider and more liberal christianity than comported with the old Scottish Presbyterianism. Those wishing to obtain an insight into the life of an active Scottish Presbyterian Minister, of loving heart, genial humor, and withal independent spirit, will find this memoir to be of great interest. He died in June 1872, aged sixty.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THOMAS GUTHRIE, D. D., and *Memoir*. By his Sons, Rev. David K. Guthrie and Charles J. Guthrie, M. A. Two volumes. ROBERT CARTER & BROTHERS. 12mo. pp. 444, 505.

Dr. Guthrie was a man of mark in the Scottish Kirk, and as liberal and true a Presbyterian as we have ever read about. The story of his life, as told by himself and his sons, has interest beyond the circle of his denomination. As a preacher, he has wonderful power; as a Christian worker, his ragged schools showed his interest in the people; as a Church leader, he was almost more influential than any one else in the establishment of the Free Church; as the editor of the *Sunday Magazine*, he accomplished very much for popular religious literature; and as a man of intense feeling and wide sympathies and warm heart he wielded a wonderful influence in Scotland in his prime. The story of his life is instruction for every preacher and abounds in most entertaining anecdotes and illustrations of the art of putting things. It is a biography which one cannot lay down after he has begun it, and which no one can read without personal benefit.

W.

THE HOLY ANGELS. *Their Nature and Employments, as recorded in the Word of God*. RIVINGTONS, LONDON; POTT, YOUNE & Co., NEW YORK. 1875. pp. 390.

SELECT ORATIONS OF LYSIAS, *Edited by James Morris Whiton, Ph. D., author of "First Lessons in Greek," Etc.* BOSTON: GINN BROTHERS, 1875.

HENRI PERREYVE. *By A. Gratre. Translated by special permission by the author of "A Dominican Artist," Etc., Etc.* (New Edition.) RIVINGTONS, LONDON; POTT, YOUNG & Co., NEW YORK. pp. 233.

THE COMPLETE POETICAL WORKS OF JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER, with *Numerous Illustrations*. BOSTON: JAMES R. OSGOOD & Co. 1876. Paper. pp. 297. \$1.00.

We have received from the publishers this complete and cheap Edition of these well known poems, which places them within the reach of all. Whittier is emphatically an American Poet. It is unnecessary that we should do more than call attention to this "Centennial Edition."

AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW.

VOL. XXVIII.—OCTOBER, 1876.

THE BASIS FOR CHURCH UNION.

The history and constitution of a power which has moved the world more effectively and for a longer period than any other in existence, deserves to be respectfully and carefully studied. That the Christian Church is such a power cannot be denied, even by those who question its divine authority and are doubtful as it regards the beneficial influence of the institution. Originating in the teachings of a Nazarene peasant, sustained at first by a handful of obscure and uninfluential men and women, crushed out apparently in the course of two or three years by the ignominious death of its leader, frowned upon as sacrilege by the pious, and regarded with contempt by the learned, without the patronage of wealth or any favor from Government, an insignificant sect of a tributary and conquered province, there was still some element in the men, or the doctrine, or the organization, by virtue of which in less than a century it acquired a foothold in all

the more civilized regions of the earth. With its advance the old Hebrew priesthood ceased to exist; morning and evening came, and no sacred smoke hovered over the summit of Mount Zion, the sacrifice was taken away, and not one stone left upon another to show where the ancient temple of God had stood. In three centuries the central government of the world, under whose administration the founder of this new sect had been crucified, yielded to the higher authority of the Christian Church, and the imperial eagle folded his broad wings under the shadow of the cross. Sacred mythologies retreat at the coming of this new faith.

"Apollo from his shrine
Can no more divine,
With hollow shriek the steep of Delphos leaving."

Pious pagan mothers in their rural homes hear that a new and exclusive religion has been established in Rome, and their household gods are to be revered no more. The venerable altars in grove and valley, around which they have so often entwined the laurel, must be dismantled, and all the most precious and holy associations of childhood and maternity blotted out forever.

"And mooned Ashtaroth,
Heaven's queen and mother both,
Now sits not girt with tapers' holy shine."

But another, greater and holier than Ashtaroth, is soon to be enshrined in her place, Mother of God as well as Queen of Heaven, and before her altar there will be such a blaze of light and such clouds of incense, and such profound adoration, as had never been seen in the grandest days of Paganism.

And, for more than a thousand years, the destiny of nations was in the keeping of the Catholic Church; by her hands kings were crowned and kings were dethroned; her doctors gave law to empires; the treasures of learning were in her charge, locked up, perhaps, but kept secure; science discovered nothing, but that which she thought it prudent to reveal; philosophers contended about the forms of thought, because they were not at liberty to discuss the thoughts, the dogma was infallible; the devotees of art must be also devo-

tees of the Church, and paint Holy Families and the portraits of macerated saints and awful pictures of martyrdoms by the wholesale; the grandest culture found expression in architecture, and such Cathedrals were built as we never expect to see equalled again; the only music worthy of notice was to be heard in the celebration of the mass, around which ceremonial gathered all the pomp and splendor by which it was possible to distinguish it from that simple supper in the upper chamber in Jerusalem, where Jesus took bread and blessed it, saying, "Do this in remembrance of Me."

We call some of these centuries "the dark ages," and in comparison with the present times they were sombre, just as the moonlight would be dark if it could be seen in contrast with the meridian sunlight; and still the rule of the Church was lighter than the old despotisms of Paganism, the people lived better and more securely under her shadow than they ever had before, they were taught a purer ethics and a truer doctrine of God. If there were great sinners in those days, there were also great saints; schools were established around the cathedrals and monasteries that grew up into great universities; charitable foundations were instituted that were the germs of modern asylums and retreats and houses of mercy; humanity began to be recognized as a factor in the general economy of things—the needs and rights and aspirations of man as man—and such a conception as this could not fail to set forward the world.

As the time approached when the crust had become too thin to sustain any longer the pressure of internal fires, and the morals of the Church had become too corrupt and her ceremonial too oppressive and her doctrine too carnal and material, to be endured, how and by whom was the work of reform begun? There was no daily press echoing the clamors of public opinion, demanding a change. There were no platform orators and secular lecturers going about the land to stir up the people—there was no influence whatever brought to bear upon the Church from without to induce the Reformation; but it was the ecclesiastics themselves who took the work in hand, monks and priests, and preachers and scholars, and therefore the Church, notwithstanding all her resistance to reform, still deserves the credit of reformation. The

compact organization, which up to that period had given the Church such political as well as moral power, having been broken in the ferment of the times, has never yet been restored ; and so, in place of one catholic body, ruled by one canon, professing one creed, having one worship, and guided by one head, we have a multitude of organized societies, some of them separated from each other by shades of difference so slight that only a microscopic theologian can discern the point of divergence, and others agreeing in little more than the common recognition of a Supreme Power of some sort in the universe, and the existence of a spiritual essence in man, which is possibly immortal. Enough has been said to show that the Church is a phenomenon worth studying. But, anything like a fair and candid investigation of the subject on the part of those who are most interested in the matter, is prejudiced by the fact that they are all identified with some existing Christian denomination, which they presume to be the truest, purest, and most Apostolic of all Churches, or else they would not belong to it, and they cannot help regarding the whole question from their own denominational point of view. To the Roman Catholic, St. Peter is a Supreme Pontiff ; to the Protestant Episcopalian, he is the presiding Bishop ; to the Presbyterian, he is Moderator of the Assembly ; to the Independent, he is a man whose peculiar functions, if he ever had any, died with him, as they did with all the other Apostles. According to the apprehension of some, the primitive Church was a body, in which there were no important differences of doctrinal opinion, and everything was determined by inspired authority. The early Christians are supposed to have kept the first day of the week as a sort of intensified Jewish Sabbath, abstaining from all unnecessary labor and from all recreation, and going to hear the parish minister preach twice on every Lord's day ; although there is nothing to show that such a thing as a parochial organization existed, or that a church edifice was built for two hundred years after the time of Christ.

But forgetting for the time, so far as possible, these preconceived notions, let us endeavor to look at this church question in the simple light of documentary evidence, and see if we can find out what is the fundamental idea that lies at the basis of this or-

ganization ; not what it has grown into, but what it meant in the beginning. It requires no great amount of learning and no very acute judgment to determine this point. In the first place, I would ask, what would be our view of the matter if we had nothing whatever upon which to form an opinion, but the records of the four Evangelists ? All that we know of the original establishment of the Church is to be learned from them. Assuming their writings to be upon the whole faithful and trustworthy, what do they teach ?

It is evident at a glance that the prominent purpose of Christ, when He was upon earth, was the establishment of a kingdom here. This is sometimes called "The kingdom of God," in other places "The kingdom of heaven," and again He speaks of it as "My kingdom," or simply as "The kingdom." On two occasions it is styled "The Church." While the mode in which this kingdom is spoken of in certain relations might seem to indicate that it pertained to a future state of existence, and so far as this world is concerned would be only spiritual, or something formed within us ; the way in which it is described in other cases, as for instance when it is compared to a field, in which both wheat and tares are sown, and to a net that gathers in all sorts of fish, clearly shows that it was to have a beginning here on earth, and to mean something more than a code of principles or a specialty of individual character. This appears still more distinctly when Christ says to Simon, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church," and then, changing the metaphorical designation of the Church, adds, "And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven." That He intended this kingdom to be a visible, outward organization is made certain by the directions given for the exercise of discipline by the Church as well as by other features pertaining to it, of which I shall speak hereafter.

We also learn from the Evangelists that this kingdom was to be characterized by an absolute unity, all its members to be one, as Christ was one with the Father. A kingdom divided against itself, it is declared, shall not be able to stand.

Again, we learn that it was to be universal,—*"The field is the world,"* *"Go, make disciples of all nations,"* is the direction given

to the Apostles. Men are to come "from the east and the west, from the north and the south," and sit down in the kingdom.

Again, we learn that it was to be a permanent institution—"I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world," is the promise of Christ to His people; and of His Church He says—"The gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

Every organized body of men must have its officers, and so we find Christ appointing certain persons to rule over and exercise discipline in the Church and by the significant act of breathing on them, while he said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained," He transmitted to them, as far as was needed, His own authority. They were also appointed to go forth as His ambassadors and establish His kingdom throughout the world. The power to transmit their office and authority to others does not seem to have been expressly designated, but may be regarded as necessary in order to perpetuate the organization.

We learn still further that this kingdom was to have certain distinguishing rites or ceremonies, persons were to be admitted into it by an act of washing with water, accompanied with the repetition of a prescribed formula of words; and the memory of its Founder and of His cruel death was to be perpetuated by the observance of a simple and sacred feast.

We also infer, from the whole tenor of the record, that the Church was established for the purpose of carrying on to its final completion the work which Christ had begun. What that work was, its far-reaching import, the changes it was intended to make in the administration of the kingdoms of this world, in the style of our civil governments, in the relations of the poor and the rich, in our modes of dealing with the great vices which deform society, in the rectifying and elevating of public amusements, in restraining the mad haste to be rich, which entraps so many in the snare of dishonor and deceit, in the culture of all those graces which make home attractive, and of all those virtues which lift men heavenward, as well as the inculcation of that true repentance which leads the transgressor to forsake his sins, and of that genuine faith which works by love, renewing the heart, and fits us alike for this world and the next; to show all this, so as to give

anything like an adequate conception of the work which Christ intended His Church to do, would take up more space than that allotted to me. I can only say, alas! that the Church in the pursuit of other ends, should have so far failed to do Christ's work!

I believe that I have now given in brief everything that can be learned from the four Gospels in regard to the constitution and purpose of the Universal Church. It may seem somewhat less than those would expect who hold exaggerated views of the functions and authority of this institution, and somewhat more than others would care to receive, who regard the Church as a comparatively unimportant element in the system of Christianity.

There is, however, another source of information to which we may look for further light upon this subject, and that is the record left us by the other writers of the New Testament. What do we learn from them?

First, that the Apostles enlarged the borders of the ministry by ordaining Elders in various churches, and also by the setting apart of an order of Deacons, originally appointed "to serve tables," or relieve the Apostles of certain details in administration, some of whom we afterwards hear of as exercising the functions of baptizing and preaching. They also filled the vacancy in their own number occasioned by the death of Judas; and others were subsequently found bearing their title, or performing the peculiar duties of their office. We also learn that they instituted certain new usages in the Church, or adopted them from the old Jewish ceremonial, such as the laying on of hands in ordaining men to the ministry, and in conferring the Holy Ghost upon such as had been baptized. They also appear to have established the custom of meeting together on the first day of the week, for the purpose of breaking bread in commemoration of their Lord's death, for the reception of the alms of the faithful, for public prayers, and probably for preaching the word. They held a council of the Church on one occasion for the settlement of disputed questions. Belief on the Lord Jesus was made the condition of membership in the Church. A more elaborate code of doctrine was taught by some of the Apostles, especially by St. Paul; which, however, was never made obligatory upon Christians at large, or adopted into any general creed. There were some other usages of inferior im-

port, such as the kiss of charity, the washing of the disciples' feet, and the anointing the sick with oil, to which casual allusion is made by one or two writers in the New Testament. I do not know that there is anything more to be added to these statements; and here our knowledge of the constitution of the Church ends, so far as anything is to be learned from the original record. Up to this point, it is not easy to see how there can be any important difference of opinion amongst Christians. The facts, as here stated, are patent to all, and we have tried to present them without the incumbrance of any general theorizing on the subject.

But just here we find that there arises a serious divergence in the views of the Church which prevail in various parts of Christendom. Such questions as these pour in upon us like a flood—With what degree of authority is the Church invested? Upon what grounds does its authority rest? Where is the seat of its authority? What is it which constitutes the unity of the Church? Does it demand the recognition of a uniform organization, or only of the same doctrine, or is it simply a unity of spirit and a bond of peace? How can it be proved that the ministry and ordinances which the Apostles recognized were intended to be perpetual, and are now of binding obligation? How are the doctrines upon which the Church originally rested to be interpreted? Are the traditions of the Church and the post-apostolic records to go for nothing in determining the nature and vocation of the Church? Has the Church no inherent power of expansion and self-development? Do the Scriptures contain anything more than germs of dogma and the outline of a system and the shadow of a ritual, which were intended to be afterwards elaborated and solidified and enriched, in accordance with the advance of spiritual knowledge, and the new necessities of the world, and a higher æsthetic culture? The various Christian bodies now in existence have arranged themselves according to the answer given to one or more of these several questions. One of these bodies claiming to be the Catholic or Universal Church, excluding all others from the category of churches—another class assuming to be organized after the Apostolic pattern, but not in any formal, official way, denying a church character to bodies differently constituted; and a

third variety, holding it to be a matter of indifference in what form or with what ceremonial the Church is manifested.

In investigating these theories, instead of falling into the beaten track of argument and endeavoring to prove the divine origin of Episcopacy, and the primitive authority of a Liturgy, and the binding obligation of the early creeds, in regard to which I know of nothing new to be said, I design simply to consider those peculiar features in the Episcopal Church which would seem to make it a good *basis* for a Universal Church. This of course it does not now pretend to be, but it is simply the Church of England, and the Church in Ireland, and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, and so on, claiming also the title of the Catholic Church as being an integral portion of that body.

I. Let us look, first, at the *organization* of this Church. The importance of this element was recognized by the divine wisdom of Jesus in the establishment of His visible kingdom. Without that, His work would have come to nought. The notion now prevails that all the world needs is simply to have the seeds of great thoughts scattered broadcast, and then they will take care of themselves. This is not the way in which men act when they would be sure of a harvest. They fence in the land where the seed is to be planted and watch the fruit which comes from the seed and gather it in at the harvest, and winnow it and store it away in the granary. Can it be supposed if there had been no kingdom, no Church, no organization, we to-day should know anything about the Sermon on the Mount? The wonderful power of the Romish Church lies in its organization more than in its doctrine. Multitudes adhere to that communion, not for what it teaches, but for what it can *do*. A turbine wheel will carry a large mill with a small amount of water, because of its peculiar construction. In our popular Protestantism there are mighty streams of thought that accomplish little, for want of the proper machinery to bring the thought to bear upon the minds and hearts and lives of men. Books are not enough—the best of them are not read by the multitude: preaching is not enough—Whitfield drew larger crowds than Wesley, but Whitfield is dead and his works have followed him; Wesley is alive, multiplied some

million-fold, just because he was an organizer. Christianity was kept alive for more than a thousand years, not by books or by preaching, but by an Institution.

What is it which gives to organization its peculiar power? I condense the answer into these statements. It secures unity of action; harmony of action; efficiency in action; order in administration, and protection of personal rights under the reign of law. It is liable to abuse, like everything else; but, supposing the principle which lies at its basis to be what it should be, it gives to that principle a security and an efficiency which otherwise it could not possess. But the system of absolute parochial independence is not consistent with anything like general efficiency, and the settlement of individual questions of discipline by a popular vote is not always compatible with the security of personal rights.

Now the Episcopal Church is a thoroughly organized body, and professes in this respect to have followed substantially the pattern set by the Apostles. And, whether we believe Bishops to be the successors of the Apostles or not, there is no denying the fact that as soon as the post-apostolic records begin to give us a clear and authentic account of the organization of the Church, we find it existing everywhere under the administration of three orders in the ministry; and so it continued, until the last three or four hundred years. Churches that lay buried for ages in the interior regions of Asia and Africa, and were not even known to exist, now that they are dug out and brought to light, are all found to be constituted in precisely the same way. Without assuming at present that any form of Church government is of divine obligation, I would ask if the fact that, so far as we know, for fifteen centuries, from the Apostles' time downward, there was never a period or a region in which Episcopacy did not prevail, is not presumptive evidence in its favor? That depends, you may say, upon how the system works. Have not these Bishops often lorded it over God's heritage? Yes, but never with a more absolute rule, than was once exercised by Puritan pastors on this very soil. But did not Episcopacy culminate in the Papacy? The Papacy could not exist if the Bishops of the Latin Communion had not been deprived of their legitimate rights. Without dwelling, however, upon the past, let me endeavor to answer the ques-

tion, "of what practical use is such an order of men in the Church?"

In nearly every secular organization, political, economic, and philanthropic, the principle of superintendence is recognized, not only by the appointment of certain officers, but by the adoption of gradations in office. Both the federal and the state governments in our own land are constituted with two Houses of Legislation, and their concurrent action, with the assent of the Executive, is necessary in order to the enactment of a law. Every Bank has its Board of Directors and a President. Masonic Lodges, benevolent societies, colleges and universities, and all similar institutions are organized upon the same general principle. There must be some reason for this, very deeply seated in the nature of things, and whatever that may be, I do not see why it should not be just as applicable to the Church as it is to other societies. It seems to me that it is more needed there than anywhere else. Here, again I am obliged to condense into a few words what might be expanded into a volume.

First, it is all important to have a class of men, who shall act as pioneers, or Apostles—men sent to explore new grounds, carefully survey unoccupied regions, and exercise their discretion in planting new churches there. They are needed to stir up a missionary spirit, and procure the means for carrying on the work of extending the Gospel and planting the Church in new territories. The rapid growth of the Episcopal Church in the western part of the country is mainly owing to the labors of our missionary Bishops, and the establishment by their personal influence of a large number of endowed institutions of learning, is a feature in their work, the permanent importance of which can hardly be estimated.

Again, a superintendence is needed, in order to the exercise of counsel and discipline. I could tell of very many cases, which have come under my own notice, of intestine parish troubles and conflicts between adjacent churches, and differences between minister and people, which have been quietly and summarily disposed of, either by private counsel on the part of the Bishop, or by the graceful submission of the combatants to his acknowledged authority. A little fire, that may readily be blown into an all-destructive flame by a few public meetings of church members,

is just as easily extinguished in the beginning by the judicious application of a small quantity of water, applied by the hand of an individual.

Another use of the Episcopate is that it serves as a protection and balance in the general legislation of the Church. If the Bishops ruled without restraint, the results might be disastrous, but, when they are only a co-ordinate branch in legislation, and the exercise of their administrative functions is so hedged about by law, that they can never ordain a man to the ministry, or even admit one to become a candidate for Orders, without the consent of a committee composed of both Presbyters and Laymen, and nearly all their other powers are similarly circumscribed, I do not think there can be much to fear, from the exercise of anything like despotic authority.

There is also an eminent advantage in having in the Church a class of men who are not subject to the caprice of a majority, and are thus left at liberty to exercise their private judgment, without the danger of being turned out of office, except for crime or for undoubted heresy, as determined by law. As the practical result of this freedom, it is generally conceded that in the legislation of the Episcopal Church the Bishops, as a class, are more likely to be found on the side of charity and generous freedom and true progress, than either the Presbyters or the Laity. Of course there are exceptions to this rule, and it is a misfortune when the administration of the Church falls into the hands of a narrow-minded pragmatist; but the evil ceases with his death, and the experience of one such administration in any Diocese is very certain to secure the election, the next time, of another sort of person. I do not see therefore how any candid Christian can help acknowledging that, notwithstanding all the liabilities of evil possible in Episcopacy, upon the whole, the preponderance of argument is in its favor.

II. And now I pass to the consideration of the ceremonial and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church. It would be preposterous to suppose that the precise liturgical arrangement which we have inherited from our English mother, would be received by men of every grade of culture, and every variety of taste, as

enough to satisfy all their spiritual wants. Neither is absolute uniformity in worship essential to the unity and brotherhood of christendom. And I believe to-day that a degree of relaxation in the use of our liturgical forms, the enriching of our Prayer Book with new material, drawn from the boundless store-houses of antiquity,—provision for greater variety in our Sunday and week-day services,—liberty to abbreviate when circumstances demand it, and to adapt the form to the various exigencies of times and occasions,—would do more to set forward this Church than all the argument in the world. And I am also very sure that the day is soon coming, when such relaxation and improvement will receive the sanction of legislation.

But to plead in the abstract for liturgical forms of some sort is not as much needed now as it once was, when organs and chants and responsive reading of Scripture, and the use of pre-composed prayers, and flowers and crosses and robes, and Gothic Churches were regarded as devices of the great adversary of souls. Congregationalists,—orthodox and liberal, Baptists—open communion and close communion, Methodists—Episcopal and non Episcopal, seem just now to be running a somewhat vigorous race to see which shall exceed the others in the splendor of their Churches, and the variety and richness of their worship.

It is also a significant fact that the Prayer Book of the Episcopal Church is the source from which most of the material used in these new forms of worship is taken. Modern styles of composition are not adapted to the construction of collects and chants and litanies. There is no man living who could compose such a *Te Deum* as we have inherited from the early Church. And how any man of culture can endure such an extemporized marriage service, as is sometimes inflicted upon the suffering parties, with its awkward and semi-ludicrous turns of expression and wearisome platitudes,—or a burial office, mainly consisting in a long genealogical prayer, in which the pangs and sorrows of every relation, to the third or fourth degree, must be specified before the Almighty, and a veil of seven-fold blackness drawn around the domestic circle, bereaved of its choicest treasure, it is difficult for me to understand. Neither do I wonder that the old Puritan Sunday service, with its short prayer and its long prayer, and its

sombre hymnody, and its interminable sermon—in which as I well remember, the familiar phrase, “and now to conclude,” so often excited my boyish hope that the end was really coming at last, when in fact it proved to be only the preliminary to a long array of inferences and applications and exhortations, that sorely tried the patience of young saints, if not of the old,—I do not wonder that this is now giving way to something brighter and better and more in keeping with the true character of the Being Who is worshipped, as well as with the natural infirmities of the worshipper.

And here I would remark that there is a great principle recognized, however imperfectly, in the liturgical system of the Episcopal Church which indicates one of the grounds upon which we would base its fitness to become the type of a Universal Church. The public worship of the sanctuary is supposed to embody other elements beside those which pertain to private and family devotions, and the informal exercises of the conference and prayer meeting. The laying of our personal wants and weaknesses at the footstool of Jehovah, supplication for deliverance from sin and all our foes, and the elevation of our own souls, the quickening of a devout spirit, as the result of these acts of devotion, must of course be recognized as essential to every public service, which claims to be anything more than a mere pageant. But there is something over and above all this, which is and always has been comprehended in the idea of ritual, whether Pagan, Jewish or Christian. The original sacrifice was simply *an offering of the best* to God, not to propitiate His favor and avert His wrath,—that was a thought which came in afterwards,—it was the tribute of the creature to his Creator, expressive of gratitude, reverence and adoration. The choicest fruits of the earth, the most beautiful flowers, and the unblemished beast were brought to the altar and given to God.

The public service of the Church is to be regarded as an act of united worship, in which with all the solemn splendor that comes of stately architecture, lofty music, holy rites, reverent posture, and chastened diction, we offer up a grand sacrifice of prayer and praise. It differs from private devotion in the fact that it is a ceremonial,—not a cold, formal, barren ceremonial,—

not a puerile, tawdry histrionic ceremonial,—but still a ceremonial in which God is prominent, and not man, and the melody of song seems to be more appropriate than the duller sounds of ordinary speech. In our Protestant Churches we have to a sad extent lost sight of this principle, and this is one reason which accounts for our having, in so great a degree lost our hold upon the popular sentiment. I say *sentiment*, because worship is not primarily an exercise of the pure intellect, or a transaction between us and God, in which our self-hood is the most prominent thing,—our private needs, our individual sins and personal longings for pardon and peace,—but it is a grand out-burst of reverence, an overflow of adoring love, a sacrifice, a rendering up of our self-hood before the shrine of the Almighty. I can conceive of a Service, to which men and women would be drawn by as strong an instinct as that which brings children home, to keep the festival under their father and mother's roof; a Service that would so penetrate their souls, that its expulsive power would drive out every thing which defileth and maketh a lie, and lift them heavenward by bringing heaven down to earth.

III. It now remains for us to consider the Church in its doctrinal aspect, and see what relation the Protestant Episcopal Communion bears to the Universal Church in this regard.

And, first, it has a Creed, which has remained substantially unchanged from the beginning. The Church is called by an Apostle, "the pillar and ground of the truth." If it represented no fixed doctrine it could show no reason for its existence. If it propagated and defended no positive truth, it would have no vocation. If it were nothing but a philanthropical society, it could do without a creed. If it were intended merely for the cultivation of æsthetic sentiment or general good feeling or even of the higher emotions, it could do without a creed. If it were designed to teach only the moral virtues, it might do without a creed. But in the moment that it styles itself the Church of God, it recognizes a creed, or common belief, which must exclude from its communion that class of persons whom we now hear of as saying, "we cannot affirm that we believe in a personal God, but, upon the whole, we are prepared to accept the universe."

They might belong to a *Universal Church*, but of course not to the Church of God.

If we go still further and call it the Church of CHRIST we begin to define and limit the creed, so as to exclude all who do not in some sense believe in Christ. And, as we have seen, this belief was made the condition of membership by the Apostles. A *written Creed* is only a symbol of what is understood to be the common belief of the Church. This symbol in the Episcopal Communion, commonly called the Apostles' Creed, is not a digest of doctrines, but a statement of facts. As it is not a philosophical exposition of dogmas, it does not follow the inevitable changes in modes of thought which characterize the different ages of the world, and on this account it is fitted to become the basis of a universal and permanent Church. It does not define the nature of human depravity, the process of renewal, the philosophy of the Atonement, the extent and quality of inspiration, and such like questions; but it leaves a wide margin for the treatment of these matters, in the determination of which some process of the reason is indispensable.

That there is a common belief in the Episcopal Church as it regards other points than those affirmed in the Apostles' Creed, is not to be denied; but the written statute demands as the actual condition of membership, nothing beyond that Creed.

As the natural result, we find in this Church a greater variety of belief, in respect of those things which pertain to the philosophy of doctrine than exists any where else in christendom. This comprehensiveness may be regarded as a blemish, or as a recommendation; the fact is undeniable that we have in this Church the representatives of almost every school of theology. The points, about which we differ, are more vital than those which separate many of the denominations about us. If it were not for the peculiar constitution of the Episcopal Church, the variations of doctrinal opinion which exist within its bosom, would long ago have rent the Church to fragments. I do not say that the representatives of all these schools can *logically* lie down together within the same enclosure; but, if they see fit to remain in the company of those whom they regard as holding fatal error, they are tolerated. It may be said that if there was a little more

spiritual energy in this Communion, Romanizers and Rationalizers would be summarily ejected. Perhaps so; but then we must remember that the Apostles allowed some very crooked timber to remain in the Building of God, and that our Saviour Himself declared that in His kingdom or Church the wheat and the tares were to grow together till the harvest.

If there is ever again to be a visible, universal Church, it must rest upon some such general doctrinal basis, as that which lies at the foundation of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Men must agree in something, in order to their working together for Christ and humanity; and so long as they are men, they must be allowed to differ in respect of every thing, but that which is essential to the redemption of the human race from sin and death.

Almost all the sectarian divisions which have so afflicted Christendom, might have been averted, by the exercise of wisdom on the one side, and forbearance on the other. The time was when our fathers,—the fathers of all of us who are of English descent,—worshipped under the shadow of the same Church, sang the same chants and hymns of praise, prayed the same prayers, were baptized at the same font, and knelt around the same altar. Therefore we are all still knit together, at least by the *memory* of a common worship and a common faith. The children may have left the home of their old mother without sufficient cause, or she may have turned them out into the highway rashly and unwisely,—that may be a hard problem to determine; but this is certain, if they are ever to dwell together again under the same roof, it will not be by the abandonment of truth in any quarter, but by concession in respect of everything which cannot be proved to be eternal and vital truth in all quarters,—not by the ruling of authority, but through personal conviction,—not by mechanical appliances and entangling alliances, but by the enlightening, sanctifying, softening influence of God's Spirit.

The process of sectarian division is just now going on at a fearful rate, and looking at the surface of things, one might suppose that the day when the unity of the Church is to be restored, must be indefinitely postponed; and yet in the minds of the most enlightened, thoughtful and earnest men of different denominations, there is a quiet gravitation towards essential

agreement in the great fundamentals of religion. What does it mean, that the old rancor of theological controversy has so far abated, that the language of disputants in any former age, of disputants on every side, now sounds so coarse and unchristian,—not to say, ungentlemanly? The silence of the pulpit on many points, which were not long ago urged with the bitterest acrimony, is as significant as any speech could be. On the other hand, the extremes to which free thinking has gone, on the part of those who deny revelation in every form, produces its re-action, and drives those who feel that they must believe in something more than the relation of mathematical quantities,—which a distinguished Professor once gave me, as the sum and substance of his creed,—to ask after Him, who declared himself to be the Way, the Truth, and the Life.

“ Head of Thy Church beneath,
The catholic, the true,
On all her members breathe,
Her broken frame renew !
Then shall Thy perfect will be done,
When Christians love and live as one.”

THOMAS MARCH CLARK.

L A T I N H Y M N O D Y .¹

N O . I V .

L A T E R M E D I E V A L P E R I O D .

B O N A V E N T U R A .

GIOVANNI DE FIDENZA was born at Bagnorea, in Tuscany, in the year 1221. He is said to have received, when a child, the name BONAVENTURA, from the exclamation "*O buona ventura !*" (happy event), made by Francis d'Assisi, when he found that the child had been restored to health in answer to his prayers. In his twenty-second year he joined the Order of S. Francis and went to Paris. His works procured him the title of "The Seraphic Doctor." He was Bishop of Albano, and died at the Council of Lyons, July 15, 1274. Sextus IV. canonized him in 1482, and Dante gives him a place among the saints in his "Paradise." He has left us some beautiful hymns, of which I have selected the following for translation. Each stanza ends with the initial line of an Ambrosian hymn :

D E P A S S I O N E D O M I N I .

Christum ducem, Qui p̄r crucem	Christ our Leader, Shepherd, Feeder,
Redemit nos ab hostibus,	Who saved us from the cruel foe,
Laudet cœtus Noster lætus,	Praise our voices ; Heaven rejoices,
<i>Exultet cœlum laudibus.</i>	And earth's glad songs of triumph flow.

¹ A. L. P. in the first article is the signature of *Dr. Littledale*, "a London Priest."

Pœna fortis Tuae mortis	By Thy sighing, By Thy dying,
Et sanguinis effusio,	By that atoning, precious Flood,
Corda terant, Ut te quærant,	Hearts grow tender; Prayers we render
<i>Jesu, nostra redemptio.</i>	To Him, Who saves us by His Blood.
Per felices Cicatrices,	By His glorious Wounds victorious.
Sputa, flagella, verbera,	By spitting, scorn and shameful blow,
Nobis grata Sunt collata	Gifts eternal, Joys supernal,
<i>Æterna Christi munera.</i>	Our Lord hath won for us below.
Nostrum tangat Cor, ut plangat	Fill our sleeping Hearts with weeping,
Tuorum sanguis vulnerum.	As gazing at Thy Cross we lie;
In quo toti Simus loti,	Wash us purely, Cleanse us surely,
<i>Conditor alme siderum.</i>	Creator of the starry sky.
Passionis Tuae donis	Thee possessing, With Thy blessing,
Salvator, nos inebria,	Redeemer, us inebriate;
Qua fidelis Dare velis.	While forever Thee, the Giver,
<i>Æterna nobis gaudia!</i>	And Thy blest gifts we celebrate!

I know of no other translation in English. There is a German version in Königsfeld, vol. ii., 209.

THOMAS AQUINAS.

Thomas of Aquino, in Naples, was born A. D. 1227 and was son of Landulf, Count of Aquino, who was nephew of the Emperor Frederick I. At the age of fifteen he became a Dominican friar. He was styled "The Angelic Doctor," and his voluminous theological works are a standard of orthodoxy in the Latin churches. On his way to the Council of Lyons he fell ill of a fever, and died in Campania, A. D. 1274. Besides his prose writings, Aquinas composed beautiful hymns, chiefly Eucharistic, but very dogmatic in their tone, and thoroughly committed to the Transubstantiation theory of his church. I give a translation of three of these hymns. The first begins:

*Adoro te devote, latens Deitas,
Que sub his figuris vere latitas,
Tibi se cor meum totum subjicit
Quia te contemplans totum deficit.*

The whole hymn can be found in Bässler, 225; Daniel, I. 255; Königsfeld, II., 210; March, 164; Mone, I., 275, and Wackernagel, I., 145.

Devoutly I adore Thee, GODHEAD unrevealed,
Who beneath these Figures truly art concealed ;
All my heart before Thee bends in homage low,
For its contemplation fails Thy depths to know.

Sight and touch and tasting in Thee are deceived,¹
But the sense of hearing safely is believed :
I believe whatever God's dear Son hath said,
Nothing can be truer than truth's Fountainhead.

On the Cross was hidden Deity alone,
But here hidden Manhood shares with GOD His Throne ;
Both Thy Natures owning, trusting in Thy Name,
Like the thief confessing, save me from my shame.

Thy dear wounds, like Thomas, now I cannot see,
But my GOD and Master I acknowledge Thee ;
Make me still believe Thee ever more and more,
Hope in Thee and love Thee, worship and adore.

O thou sweet Memorial of my Lord's dear Death,
Living Bread, still giving man his life and breath,
Be my soul's refreshment through this barren waste,
Let me in Thy sweetness Life forever taste.

Pelican of pity, JESU, Lord most good,
Wash my guilty nature in Thy saving Blood,
For one drop distilling from Thy sacred veins
Could the world deliver from its sinful stains.

JESU, now I see Thee by a veil concealed,
Haste the day I thirst for when Thou art revealed !
Then Thine unveiled glory seeing face to face,
I shall sing forever of Thy love and grace.

Other translations are by NEALE, (*Mediæval Hymns and Sequences*, p. 176),

Humbly I adore Thee, hidden Deity ;

and J. R. WOODFORD, (*Hymns Anc. and Mod.* 206),

Thee we adore, O hidden Saviour, Thee.

There are German translations in Bässler, 117, (by Schlosser),
and in Königsfeld, II., 211.

The second hymn begins,

*O esca viatorum !
O panis angelorum !
O manna cælitum !
Esurientes ciba,
Dulcedine non priva
Corda quærentium.*

¹The translator disclaims all responsibility for the dogmatic teaching of this line.

The original can be found in Bässler, 245 ; Daniel, II., 369 ; Königsfeld, I., 148, and March, 170.

O Food to travellers given !
 O angels' Bread from Heaven !
 O Manna from above !
 Feed hungry souls forever.
 Give drink from Life's sweet river
 To hearts that seek Thy Love.
 O Fount, God's love bestowing !
 Fair River, ever flowing
 From our Redeemer's heart !
 In joy before Thee sinking,
 We would be ever drinking,
 And nevermore depart !
 O JESU, Whom now hidden
 We take in Bread, as bidden,
 And do Thee homage meet ;
 Grant, when the veil is riven,
 We see Thy face in Heaven,
 And worship at Thy feet !

Other translations are by SCHAFF, (Christ in Song, p. 589, very beautiful),

O Bread of Life from Heaven.

Peoples' Hymnal, No. 186,

O Food of men wayfaring.

PALMER, (in Andover Sabbath Hymn Book, No. 1051),

O Bread to pilgrims given,

and Shipley's *Lyra Eucharistica*, (p. 174),

O food that weary pilgrims love.

There is a version by Miss Hillhouse, and in German by Königsfeld, I., 149.

The THIRD HYMN I will give entire :

Verbum supernum prodiens,	The Word, descending from above,
Nec patris linquens dexteram,	Yet seated at the Father's right,
Ad opus suum exiens,	Fulfilling all His work of love,
Venit ad vitæ vesperam.	Came to His life's last evening light.
In mortem a discipulo	Ere yet the man He came to save
Suis tradendus æmulis,	Betrayed Him to the cruel foe,
Prius in vitæ ferculo	He to His own disciples gave
Se tradidit discipulis.	Himself as Food, to heal their woe.

Quibus sub bina specie Carnem dedit et sanguinem, Ut duplicis substantiæ Totum cibaret hominem.	In twofold shape, as Wine and Bread, He gave His precious Flesh and Blood, That, by the twofold Substance fed, Man might rejoice in angels' Food.
Se nascens dedit socium, Convalescens in edulium, Se moriens in pretium, Se regnans dat in præmium.	Born in our frame, our Sacrifice Did His own Flesh as Food afford ; Dying, He gave Himself our Price, Reigning on high, our souls' Reward.
O salutaris hostia, Quæ cœli pandis ostium, Bella premunt hostilia, Da robur, fer auxilium.	O saving Victim of the skies, Who openest Heaven's portal wide, The hosts of sin against us rise, Give strength, bring aid, be Thou our Guide.
Qui carne nos pascis tua Sit laus tibi, Pastor bone, Cum Patre cumque Spiritu In sempiterna sæcula.	Good Shepherd, Who as Sacred Meat Dost give Thy Flesh, we yield Thee praise, With Father and with Paraclete, In hymns of joy through endless days.
<i>ant</i>	<i>or</i>
Uni trinoque domino Sit sempiterna gloria, Qui vitam sine termino Nobis donet in patria.	To God the Lord, both One and Three, Let never-ending praise arise, Who gives us life from peril free In His fair Land above the skies.

The last two verses are quite famous, being constantly used in the Latin office of Benediction. Other translations are by CASWALL, (in People's Hymnal, No 167),

The Word descending from above,
and *Hymnal Noted*, No. 55,

The Word of God proceeding forth.
Also in German by Königsfeld, II., 215.

ANONYMOUS HYMNS.

L

VENI, VENI, EMMANUEL.

This is a hymn apparently of the twelfth or thirteenth century, the original of which is found in the Mozarabic Breviary, and is also given in Daniel, II., 336. In Dr. Neale's version, (*altered* by the compilers of Hymns Ancient and Modern), it stands as Hymn 13 of our Hymnal. Especial exception has been taken to the chorus—

“Rejoice! Rejoice! Emmanuel
Shall come to Thee, O Israel!”

which alters the whole dogmatic meaning of the hymn, making it refer to the *second* instead of the *first* Advent of our Lord. Dr. Neale's

"Rejoice! Rejoice! Emmanuel
Shall be born for Thee, O Israel!"

was literal, but devoid of rhythm. I have striven to escape from the difficulty by dropping one "*Gaude!*"

Veni, veni, Emmanuel,
Captivum solve Israel,
Qui gemit in exsilio,
Privatus DEI FILIO.
Gaude! Gaude! EMMANUEL
Nascetur pro te, Israel!

Veni, O Jesse Virgula,
Ex hostis Tuos ungula
De specu Tuos tartari
Educ, et antro barathri.
Gaude! Gaude! EMMANUEL
Nascetur pro te, Israel!

Veni, veni, O Oriens!
Solare nos adveniens,
Noctis depelle nebulas
Dirasque noctis tenebras.
Gaude! Gaude! EMMANUEL
Nascetur pro te, Israel!

Veni, Clavis Davidica!
Regna reclude cœlica,
Fac iter tutum superum,
Et claude vias inferum.
Gaude! Gaude! EMMANUEL
Nascetur pro te, Israel!

Veni, veni, ADONAI!
Qui populo in Sinai
Legem dedisti vertice,
In Majestate Gloriæ,
Gaude! Gaude! EMMANUEL
Nascetur pro te, Israel! AMEN.

O come, O come, Emmanuel!
Release Thy captive Israel!
That groans in exile sad and lone,
Deprived of God's Eternal Son.
Rejoice! For thee Emmanuel
Shall soon be born, O Israel!

Come, Rod of Jesse's glorious root!
Lead forth Thine own from Satan's foot,
From hell's unseen, sepulchral cave,
And from the caverns of the grave.
Rejoice! For thee Emmanuel
Shall soon be born, O Israel.

O come, O come, Thou Orient Light!
Console us by Thine Advent bright,
Drive the black clouds of night away,
On night's dark shadows pour Thy ray.
Rejoice! For thee Emmanuel
Shall soon be born, O Israel!

Come, Key of David! and on high
Unlock the kingdoms of the sky,
Our path to glory's gate guard well,
And stop the ways that lead to hell.
Rejoice! For thee Emmanuel
Shall soon be born, O Israel!

O come, O come, Adonai!
Who on the top of Sinai
Gave holy laws to Israel's race,
While clouds of glory veiled Thy face,
Rejoice! For thee Emmanuel
Shall soon be born, O Israel! AMEN.

II.

ALLELUIA, DULCE CARMEN.

This is a hymn of the thirteenth century, intended for use dur-

ing the week preceding Septuagesima Sunday. It is in our Hymnal, No. 480. The versions of 1871 and 1874 differ; that of 1871 being much the better.

Alleluia, dulce carmen, vox perennis gaudii,
Alleluia, vox suavis est choris cœlestibus,
Quam canunt Dei manentes in domo per sæcula.

Alleluia, læta mater concivis Hirusalem,
Alleluia, vox tuorum civium gaudentium,
Exules nos flere cogunt Babylonis flumina.

Alleluia non meremur nunc perenne psallere,
Alleluia nos reatus¹ cogit intermittere,
Tempus instat, quo peracta lugeamus crimina.

Unde laudando precamur te, beata Trinitas,
Ut tuum nobis videre pascha des in æthere,
Quo tibi læti canamus alleluia dulciter.

Alleluia, song melodious, voice of ceaseless joy and praise.
Alleluia, voice delightful, which the choirs celestial raise,
As they chant on high, abiding in God's house thro' endless days.

Alleluia, joyful mother, fair Jerusalem on high,
Alleluia, thy blest children chant their anthems in the sky,
While by Babylon's sad waters we, poor exiles, weep and sigh.

Alleluia, we deserve not now to sing in endless peace,
Alleluia, our transgression bids us for a time to cease,
For the sacred days are coming when we seek from sin release.

Therefore we, still praising, pray Thee, ever blessed Triunity,
Grant us in our home celestial joyful Easter soon to see,
Ever with the angels singing Alleluia, Lord, to Thee!

Other translations are by NEALE, (*Mediæval Hymns and Sequences*), p. 183,

Alleluia, song of sweetness.

CHANDLER, (*Hymns and Songs of Praise*, No. 1393),

Alleluia! Best and sweetest,

and MRS. CHARLES, (*Voice of Christian Life in Song*), p. 198,

Alleluia! sweetest music, voice of everlasting joy!

There is also a German version by Königsfeld, II., 357.

¹ Not *reatus*, as in Königsfeld and March.

III.

O FILII ET FILIÆ,

is a hymn of the thirteenth century.

*O filii et filiæ,
Rex cœlestis, rex gloriæ,
Morte surrexit hodie. Alleluia !*

The original can be found in March, p. 206, and in Rohr's Catholic Melodies, p. 74.

EASTER HYMN.

O sons and daughters, praises bring ;
The King celestial, glory's King,
From death to-day arisen sing. Alleluia.
When dawned that first triumphant day,
To where the tomb of Jesus lay,
His 'sad disciples took their way. Alleluia.
The Magdalene, redeemed from shame,
James' mother, and Salome came
To anoint their Master's lifeless frame. Alleluia.
There, clad in white, an angel bright
Gave promise of the glorious sight,
In Galilee, of Heaven's own Light. Alleluia.
John the Apostle, filled with grace,
Outstripped Saint Peter in the race,
First coming to the burial-place. Alleluia.
With the disciples in their hall
Stood Christ, when evening shadows fall,
Saying :—" My peace be to you all," Alleluia.
But when to Didymus they said :
" The Lord is risen from the dead !"—
His faith in anxious doubting fled. Alleluia.
" My wounded side, O Thomas, see,
My feet and hands once pierced for thee,
And then no longer faithless be." Alleluia.
When Thomas saw Christ glorified,
Beheld His feet, His hands, His side :
" Thou art my Lord and God !" he cried. Alleluia.

Blessed are they who, seeing not,
Firmly believe, unstained by spot ;
For life eternal is their lot. Alleluia.

On this most holy festal day
Our joyful praise to Christ we pay :
"Bless we the Lord," in hymns we say. Alleluia.

Most humble thanks to God we bring,
Devout and due to heaven's own King,
For Christ, our life's eternal Spring. Alleluia.

Other translations are by CASWALL, in *Lyra Catholica*, p. 297,

Ye sons and daughters of the Lord !

CHAMBERS, in *People's Hymnal*, No. 121.

Children of men ! rejoice and sing !

NEALE, (*Mediæval Hymns and Sequences*), p. 163,

Ye sons and daughters of the King.

T. C. PORTER, in *Schaff's Christ in Song*, p. 254,

Let Zion's sons and daughters say :

ROHR's *Catholic Melodies*, p. 74, (very poor),

Young men and maids, rejoice and sing,

and *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, No. 108,

O sons and daughters, let us sing !

IV.

CÆLOS ASCENDIT HODIE,

is an Ascension hymn of the fifteenth century, or earlier date.

*Cælos ascendit hodie
Jesus Christus, rex gloriæ.*

The original can be found in *Daniel*, I, 343; *March*, 201, and *Wackernagel*, I, 243.

To highest Heaven ascends this day
Christ Jesus, King of glorious sway.
Now seated at the Father's right,
He rules the earth and realms of light.
The melodies of David's lyre
Are echoed by the heavenly choir :

For now the Lord, th' Incarnate Word,
Is seated on God's Throne, as Lord.
For this Ascension of our King
Glad hymns of praise to GOD we sing.
Blest be the Holy Trinity ;
Let us give thanks, O GOD, to Thee !

Other translations are by NEALE, (*Mediæval Hymns and Sequences*), p. 173,

To-day above the sky He soared.

J. W. HEWETT, in Shipley's *Lyra Messianica*, p. 419,

The King of glory, Christ most high :

and in *People's Hymnal*, No. 150, (quite free),

To-day the SON of GOD hath gone.

V.

CRUX AVE BENEDICTA.

This little hymn of the fourteenth or sixteenth century is called by Trench, "perfect in its kind." I will give it entire.

Crux ave benedicta,	Hail Cross, forever blesséd,
Per te mors est devicta,	By thee is Death suppresséd,
In te dependit Deus,	On thee hung GOD, most lowly,
Rex et Salvator meus.	My King and Saviour holy.
Tu arborum regina,	O'er every tree thou reignest,
Salutis medicina,	And health for man regainest.
Pressorum es levamen,	From thee all joy we borrow,
Et tristium solamen.	And balm for every sorrow.
O sacrosanctum lignum,	O wood, that Death hast broken,
Tu vitæ nostræ signum,	Our life's most sacred token,
Tulisti fructum Jesum,	Thou barest Fruit in Jesus,
Humani cordis esum.	From human woes to ease us.
Dum crucis inimicos	When Thou the Cross's lover
Vocabis et amicos,	And hater shalt discover,
O Jesu, fili Dei,	O Jesu, God-begotten,
Sis, oro, memor mei !	Let me not be forgotten !

I know of no other English translation. There is a German version by Königsfeld, II., 325.

Archbishop Trench in his *Sacred Latin Poetry* (p. 278) places "beside these lines" a *Spanish* sonnet of *Calderon's*, "of no in-

ferior grace and on the same theme." I give it here with an English translation, which, I believe is the first that has been made of it.

Arbol, donde el cielo quiso
Dar el fruto verdadero
Contra el bocado primero,
Flor el nuevo paraíso,
Arco de luz, cuyo aviso
En piélago mas profundo
La paz publicó del mundo,
Planta hermosa, fértil vid,
Harpa del nuevo David,
Tabla del Moisés segundo;
Pecador soy, tus favores
Pido por justicia yo;
Pues Dios en ti padeció,
Solo por los pecadores.

Tree, which Paradise hath given,
As our fruit forever blooming,
For that fruit in sin consuming;
Flower, that blooms anew in Heaven;
Ark of light, by tempests driven
O'er a sea with billows swelling,
Peace revealing, fears dispelling;
Plant of beauty—fruitful Vine;
Harp, where David's notes combine:
Table, Moses' new law telling:
Sinful am I, to thee crying,
Would I fain be justified;
For my GOD on thee hath died,
There alone for sinners dying.

VI.

ECQUIS BINAS COLUMBINAS.

Archbishop Trench says of this: (p. 133) "This exceedingly graceful little poem, which, to judge from internal evidence, is of no great antiquity, I am not able to give any satisfactory account of. I have only met it twice, and in neither case with any indication of its source or age. It is certainly of a very rare perfection in its kind." The original can be found in *Bässler*, p. 245: Daniel, ii., 345; *Königsfeld*, i., 222; March, p. 191, and Trench, 150. The Latin texts of *Bässler* and *Königsfeld* differ greatly from those of the other books. I give the first verse of each:

Bässler.

Nobis dat refugium,
Præsentatis Ad hoc gratis
Quinque plagis vulnerum.

Daniel.

Ecquis binas columbinas
Alas dabit animæ?
Ut in almam, crucis palmam
Evolet citissime,
In qua Jesus totus læsus,
Orbis desiderium,
Et immensus est suspensus,
Factus improprium!

I give a translation of the two texts in parallel columns.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>There our Jesus Hath to ease us
 Refuge for our sorrows found,
 Freely given In His riven
 Side, and each dear bleeding wound !</p> <p>2. Flame most tender, May Thy splendor
 Melt and warm my icy heart !
 Sin consuming, Life illuming,
 Bid each fleshly lust depart !
 From Thee never—More to sever,
 Make my love a boundless sea ;
 That in dying, To Thee flying,
 Jesu, I may live with Thee !</p> <p>3. By Thy bleeding Wounds still pleading,
 By Thy Blood, which won me grace ;
 By Thy sighing, Sorrow, dying,
 Grant me, with Thy saints a place !
 Me returning, For Thee yearning,
 In Thy sacred bosom lock ;
 As from dreary Plains, all weary,
 Seeks the dove her sheltering rock.</p> <p>4. In this portal Is th' immortal
 Home, where dwells my heart on high !
 There still waiting, Consecrating
 Life to Thee, I gladly die ;
 That supernal, Bright, paternal
 Love may make me glorified,
 Who in weakness, Filled with meekness,
 Never left Thy wounded side !</p> | <p>1. Oh ! that, soaring In adoring
 Love, on doves' wings I might rise
 To the glorious Cross victorious,
 Beaming brightly in the skies !</p> <p>Love unbounded ! Jesus wounded,
 He, the earth's desire and King,
 Hung in weakness, Bowed in meekness
 To reproach and Death's sharp sting !</p> <p>Soar, my spirit ! Let Thy merit,
 Jesu, be revealed to me ;
 Safe abiding, Let me hiding
 In Thy wounds be joined to Thee ;
 Guard me surely, Let securely
 'Round me rise Love's sacred wall ;
 There still living, Praises giving,
 Let me never from Thee fall !</p> <p>God most holy ! Love most lowly !
 What for me hast Thou endured ?
 My salvation From damnation
 Hast Thou by Thy death secured ?
 For the dying Thief, when crying,
 Didst Thou, Jesu, bear the Cross ?
 Wilt Thou fashion By thy Passion
 Life for me from Thine own loss ?</p> <p>I am earthy, All unworthy,
 Jesu, of Thy holy love ;
 Ah ! why striving, Why still living,
 If my heart mount not above ?
 Blest and glorious, All-victorious
 Is that Love, which conquers all ;
 Still advancing, From it glancing
 Death's dread arrows harmless fall.</p> <p>5. New created, Renovated,
 Love hath truly done its part !
 Flame most tender, Let Thy splendor
 Melt and warm my icy heart !
 From Thee never—More to sever,
 Make my love a boundless sea ,
 That in dying, To Thee flying,
 Jesu, I may live with Thee !</p> |
|---|---|

I know of but one other English translation—that of the late
 Miss Mary Hillhouse, of New Haven, Ct. :

*As on fair wings
 The dove upsprings.*

It is very beautiful, and the only one of decided poetic merit in her collection. It is not in the metre of the original. There are German versions by Follen in Bässler, p. 146, and by Königsfeld, i., 223, of the shorter text.

VII.

O TER FÆCUNDAS,

is a Christmas hymn of the fifteenth century.

*O ter fœcundas,
O ter jucundas
Beatæ noctis delicias,
Quæ suspiratos,
E cœlo datos
In terris paris delicias.*

The original can be found in Daniel, ii., 339; Königsfeld, ii., 306; March, 188, and Trench, 116. I know of no other English translation. There is a German version in Königsfeld, ii., 307.

O TER FÆCUNDAS.¹

O thrice prolific!
Thrice beatific!
Blest are the joys of this holy night,
Breathed out of Heaven,
Unto us given,
Bringing to earth its purest delight.
For the primeval
Curse of the devil,
Dying in sin this wretched world lay;
God, clothed in Human
Flesh of a woman,
Sun of our life, on earth shed His ray.
Light's endless Treasure,
Strength without measure,
God lies with bands of infancy bound;
In the rude stable,
Far from joy's table,
Beasts of the stall Heaven's Monarch surround.

¹ First published in *Church Journal* of December 30, 1875.

Silently lieth
 He who supplieth
 Speech that is spoken in Heaven and earth;
 Earth's sun is wasting,
 Into night hasting:
 Why hath He chosen this humble birth?
 Why, GOD most holy,
 Art Thou so lowly?
 "Lo, on the wings of Love have I come!
 Sky, I forsake thee;
 Stable, I take thee;
 Manger, I make thee Heaven and My home!"

VIII.

ADESTE, FIDELES.

This beautiful Christmas hymn is of late origin, and the original is not to be found in any of the well-known collections of Latin hymns. I will therefore give it entire with a translation.

ADESTE FIDELES.¹

Adeste, fideles,	Be present, ye faithful,
Læti, triumphantes;	Triumphant in joy;
Venite, venite in Bethlehem.	To Bethlehem coming,
Natum videte	Glad praises employ:
Regem angelorum;	Incarnate behold Him
<i>Venite, adoremus,</i>	The angels' bright King;
<i>Venite, adoremus,</i>	Your Lord and your Saviour,
<i>Venite, adoremus, Dominum.</i>	Come, worship and sing.
Deum de Deo,	True God of the Godhead,
Lumen de Lumine,	And light ne'er to fade,
Gestant puellæ viscera;	The Virgin womb bears Him
Deum Verum,	Begotten, not made:
Genitum non factum.	Incarnate behold Him.
<i>Venite, etc.</i>	
Cantet nunc Io!	Sing, sweet choir of angels,
Chorus angelorum,	Exultingly sing;
Cantet nunc aula celestium,	To GOD highest glory,
Gloria, gloria	Heaven's citizens, bring:
In excelsis Deo.	Incarnate behold Him.
<i>Venite, etc.</i>	

¹ First published in *Church Journal* of December 23, 1875.

Ergo, qui natus	True Word of the Father
Die hodierna,	In Flesh for us born,
Jesu, tibi sit gloria :	Lord JESU, we welcome
Patris æterni	This glorious morn :
Verbum caro factum.	Incarnate beholding
<i>Venite, etc.</i>	The angels' bright King,
	Our Lord and our Saviour,
	We worship and sing.

There are two versions of this hymn in our Hymnal : Hymn 19, (Canon Oakeley) and Hymn 25, by Caswall. Also, *Lyra Catholica*, p. 346, (from which Hymn 19 is altered),

Ye faithful, approach ye ;

Rohr's Catholic Melodies, p. 40, (where the original is given),

With hearts truly grateful ;

and Hymnal Noted, No. 35,

Be present, ye faithful.

IX.

PONE LUCTUM, MAGDALENA !

I can discover no clew to the authorship or date of this beautiful Easter hymn.

Pone luctum, Magdalena !
 Et serena lacrymas :
 Non est jam Simonis cœna,
 Non, cur fletum exprimas :
 Causæ mille sunt lætandi,
 Causæ mille exultandi :
 Halleluia ! (resonet).

The original can be found in Büssler, 237 ; Daniel, ii., 365 ; Königsfeld, i., 230 ; March, 192, and Trench, 159. I give two translations of it.

(1.)

Cease thy sorrow, Magdalena !
 Wipe away each bitter tear ;
 Not at Simon's feast a gleaner,
 Must thou weep and sigh and fear .
 Thousandfold thy joy and singing,
 Thousandfold glad praises bringing :
 Halleluia !

Smile with gladness, Magdalena !
 Let thy brow shine clear and bright ,
 Light beams forth with ray serener,
 Since thy guilt was lost in night ;
 Christ released the earth from sorrow,
 When from Death He rose that morrow !
 Halleluia !

Flying, crying, Magdalena !
 Tell that Christ hath left the tomb !
 All the earth grows brighter, greener,
 Since He vanquished Death's dark doom ;
 Thou didst mourn Him suffering, dying,
 Smile upon Him, Death defying !
 Halleluia !

Raise thy face, O Magdalena !
 Gaze upon thy risen Lord :
 See, and let thy love grow keener,
 See the wounds which pierced the Word :
 Blessed wounds like pearls all-gleaming,
 Ruined man from Death redeeming.
 Halleluia !

Live, still live, O Magdalena !
 Now thy night is turned to day,
 Joy's stream gushes, purer, cleaner,
 Since Death's torment passed away :
 Far removed are grief and sighing,
 Joyful, loving hearts are crying,
 Halleluia !

(2.)

Magdalena ! cease thine anguish,
 Wipe away each bitter tear :
 Not at Simon's feast to languish,
 Hath thy Master led thee here ;
 Thousand angel harps are ringing,
 Thousand angel voices singing,
 Alleluia sweetly forth !

Magdalena ! smile with gladness,
 Let thy brow shine clear and bright ;
 Banished now are pain and sadness,
 All things gleam with glittering light :
 Earth is saved by Christ all-glorious—
 Christ o'er Death and Hell victorious !
 Alleluia sweetly sing !

Magdalena! joy exulting,
 Past is now thine hour of gloom!
 Christ hath slain the foe insulting,
 Christ is risen from the tomb;
 He, Whom once thou mourned as dying,
 Stands triumphant, Death defying!
 Alleluia sweetly sing!

Magdalena! see thy treasure
 Living now forevermore
 See, He smiles on thee with pleasure,
 Shows five wounds for thee He bore:
 Now they shine like pearls all-gleaming,
 Man from Sin and Death redeeming:
 Alleluia sweetly sing!

Magdalena! live forever,
 Now thy night is turned to day;
 Nought thy soul from joy shall sever,
 Death's dark doom hath passed away;
 Banished now are grief and sighing,
 Joyful, loving hearts are crying,
 Alleluia sweetly forth!

Other translations are by DR. E. A. WASHBURN, (Christ in Song, p. 257),

Still thy sorrow, Magdalena!

MRS. E. R. CHARLES, (Christian Life in Song, p. 182, who ascribes the hymn to Adam of Saint Victor),

Lay aside thy mourning, Mary,

W. J. C. (Lyra Messianica, p. 328),

Mary! put thy grief away,

and another by MISS HILLHOUSE, which I have not at hand. There are also German versions by Kauffer in Bässler, 135, and Königsfeld, i., 231.

In closing for the present these brief and imperfect sketches of Latin Hymnody, I can but express the regret, (which I believe is common to translators), that I have been unable to do justice to the majestic beauty of the original. If these articles have served in any way to draw attention to the treasures of thought and devotion stored up in these ancient hymns of the Church, they will

have accomplished fully their purpose. The translations contained in these four articles are not the work of years, but have all been written within the brief space of eighteen months, and amid the pressure of many other distracting cares and duties. I trust that this may be accepted as an apology for their imperfections, and that in closing I may be permitted to apply to them the words of the saintly Lyte:

" Might verse of mine inspire
One virtuous aim, one high resolve impart—
Light in one drooping soul a hallowed fire,
Or bind one broken heart;
Death would be sweeter then.
More calm my slumber 'neath the silent sod,
Might I thus live to bless my fellow men,
Or glorify my God."

JOHN ANKETELL, A. M.

THE SYMBOLISM OF NUMBERS IN THE BIBLE AND IN THE ANCIENT RELIGIONS AND PHILOSOPHIES.

The recent publication of the works of the late Dr. Mahan has given to the Church the final results of his many years of study on the Mystical, or Symbolical Numbers of the Bible, and has also called the attention of thoughtful students of the Scriptures to the great importance of this subject as a means of Biblical exposition, and a source of evidence of the inspiration of these Sacred Writings. The first of these volumes, PALMONI was drawn out by his studies for a reply to Bishop Colenso. The investigations made during this work, into the numbers of the Bible, drew his attention to the use of numbers in many passages of Scripture with a Symbolical import other than that of their mere numerical value; and to the necessity of a study of these symbolical meanings for a full understanding of the text. He also found many, and striking instances of the occurrence of certain periods in chronology, which were suggestive of designed similarities in events and times. The same style of events being connected with the same periods of duration; and like historical or religious dispensations being associated with like dates and intervals.

The conclusions arrived at in these several lines were published in PALMONI, in 1863; but this study had only awakened his conviction of the yet wider range of these connections, and of the need for a more comprehensive investigation into their existence

PALMONI, OR THE NUMERALS OF SCRIPTURE : a proof of inspiration. BY M. MAHAN, D.D.
MYSTIC NUMBERS, ETC., A Thorough Inquiry. BY M. MAHAN, D.D. POTT, YOUNG & CO.

and character. This led him to more extended inquiries in almost every department of the subject. The results of these labors are given to us in the second of the works above named. "THE THOROUGH INQUIRY;" now published for the first time in the collected writings of the author, and since his death. Nothing but a careful study of these books in their details, can give any adequate idea of the enormous labor involved in them, and the curious and often most remarkable conclusions at which they have arrived.

The subject is one which has in former ages occupied a large place in the interpretation of the Bible, and the studies, and speculations of Theologians; but Dr. Mahan has brought to it a thoroughness of study, and given it a breadth of application that will always demand for his works a leading place in any future investigations into the Numerical Symbolism of Holy Scripture. And without being prepared to commit ourself to all the conclusions he has announced upon the various points of his detailed inquiries, we are sure no one can go through them and not accept his own expressed conviction "that there is a Law of Numbers in the statistics of human progress, and in the text of Holy Scripture far deeper than anything I had dreamed of, and of incalculable importance in the argument for a Special Providence and Divine Inspiration."

As containing the material for such a conclusion we regard their publication as of great value to the christian world. Every new apparatus of inquiry, or revival of forgotten lines of study, equally confers a benefit upon the students of that wonderful Book, showing the Divineness of its original, not only by the exalted nature of its contents, but by the fact that all the assaults on it only develop new marvels in its structure, new and yet more conclusive unities in the minds of those who represent the One spirit in it. Every seeming discord unfolds new lines of demonstration, that there was one presiding mind that interpenetrated every portion, and under varied forms always pointed to the same truths, and every where displayed the same Divine manifestation. But while the study of the numbers in the Bible thus yields results in harmony with the character of these Sacred Scriptures, their use in a mystical or symbolical sense is by no means peculiar to the Hebrew-people or religion.

This is only a single section of a large, an almost world-wide field of like opinion, and similar use.¹

The recurrence of certain numbers in a kind of sacred connection with various religious ideas, or associated with certain actions or events as a sort of symbol, is a notable fact in almost all the religions of the ancient world.

A comparison of these different systems also shows, that the connection of the several numbers with their respective style of thing, or thought, was not a mere incidental collocation, so that the various numbers were found associated indiscriminately with different events, or ideas; but on the contrary, there is through all these diverse systems, "a remarkable agreement both in the numbers used, and in the conditions under which they are employed." The same numerals are found almost invariably in connection with the same classes of things, or the same general thoughts; and so many of the numbers are thus associated with a special set of actions, or ideas, that they must be regarded as in some way, and for some reason, expressive of the thought with which they are so universally conjoined. We thus find every part of this vast field so related to all the others that a knowledge of each portion adds something to the understanding of every other. No one section can be adequately comprehended apart from its connections with the whole. And our endeavor in this paper will be to consider, with as much fulness as our space allows, the sacred numbers of the Bible in their historical relations, and as a part of this wide and deeply rooted system.

We hope from this inquiry to fix with some precision the conditions under which the more important numbers are employed in most of the religions of antiquity, both Jew and Gentile. And to establish on reasonable grounds, the principle according to which the meanings of the several numerals have been assigned,

¹An article on Representative numbers in the January No. 1870, of the CHURCH REVIEW, by the writer of the present paper, contains ample illustrations of their employment in this way among "the Egyptians, Chaldeans, Babylonians, Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Greeks, Etruscans, Hindus, Chinese, Britons, Scandinavians; and Ewald says in some of the tribes of Central Africa and in the kingdom of Bornu."

Most of the facts and conclusions contained in that article will be found repeated here, although in different connection and on an extended scale.

and by which, consequently, their import and significance must be interpreted. In this inquiry we will consider :

I. The relations of the leading numbers as they actually occur in the more important religions, and philosophies of antiquity.

II. The principal on which the Numerical Symbolism of the ancient world was based, so far as can be ascertained from the facts before us.

III. Some of the applications of Symbolical Numbers, as shown by the history of Biblical Theology, and Interpretation.

I.

I. The relations of the several numbers to their meanings will be most readily perceived by taking the numerals of the Decade, with the associations which they each have in the different systems; and then considering any others we may wish to notice after these.

The numbers ONE and two have a position among the numerals peculiar to themselves; for they are regarded both as ordinary numbers, and also as expressive of certain metaphysical conceptions of the abstract character of number; and this gives each of them a double import. First that which belongs to them in their place, and significance as simple numerals; and second that by which they are significant of the mathematical relations of abstract number. Hence ONE is used both to designate a single thing or individual, and also as the sign of unity, the origin and continent of all number; so likewise two is the expression of duality, or a division in the unity, as well as the addition of *one to one*, by which it represents two individuals or things.

This relation of these numbers to the abstract conceptions of Unity and Duality, makes them very important elements in several of the ancient systems of metaphysics and theology. But they are also met with very frequently as simple numerals, and we will here present some illustrations of their use when they do so occur.

The ideas which are found in connection with the number ONE, are always of the same character and are of prime importance. Thus in many of the old religions the philosophical expression for the great Origin and Sustainer of all existence was (notwithstanding the many gods of the popular worship) "the *One*," or "*Unity*."

The Pythagoreans said' "*Unity* is the first principle of all things." "The sole principle of all things is a *monad* or *one* ; "the deity is a *monad*." The Eleatics affirmed,' "all that exists is only different parts and names of the *One*." The Hindus make Brahma say,' "Without a second, *One*, Supreme am I ;" and one of their sacred songs addresses him as "Thee the Ancient *One*." The source of all the universe is called by the Chinese, "the way" or "*Tao* ;" and the chief books of the Taoist school describe' it thus : "*Unity* is the *Tao* (the way)" "The *Tao* is an *undiscriminated One* which existed before heaven and earth," and Gladisch' analyses their word for heaven, "Theen which is one of their expressions for the primal agent in the formation of the universe into two characters, one meaning "great," the other signifying "the first," the whole word thus implying "the original oneness." While in a like idea the Confucian school teaches' that "all things seem as to their primary tendencies to issue from the *ONE*."

Hippolytus asserts' "that the Egyptians call the Deity an invisible *monad*." And we are all familiar with the sublime "Shema, hear ye" which every Israelite wore in his Phylactery, "Hear O Israel the Lord our God is One Lord ;" and recall with it the prophecy in Zechariah xiv, 9 : "In that day shall there be One Lord and His name One."

Passing by for the present the metaphysical conception of Duality involved in the number two, we will note only the associations belonging to it as a simple numeral. There is the universal discrimination of the two sexes. The two-fold distinction into mind and matter ; and the very wide employment of such double expressions as "heaven and earth," "seen and unseen," as synonyms for the entire universe. The Chinese habitually regard the universe in this two-fold relation, and use like duplex

¹Cudworth ii. 78. Hippolytus, l. 31.

²Überweg, History of Philosophy, 154.

³Monier Williams, Indian Wisdom, 122, 148. ⁴Stanislas Julien's Tao-Te King, c. 39.

⁵Gladisch "die alten Schinesen und die Pythagoreer."

⁶Hardwicke, Christ and other Masters, 12 mo., ed. 301.

⁷Hippolytus, l. 110. When references are made simply to volume and page of the Fathers, they are to the translations in the Ante Nic. Lib.

⁸Deut. vi, 4 ; literally "Jehovah, our God, Jehovah one."

terms to express the thought. From whatever point of view it is regarded, it has to them a double aspect. It is not only "heaven and earth," but "yang (male) and yn (female)," "light and darkness," "odd and even." And one or other of these forms, especially "heaven and earth," or "yang and yn," is by far the most common of their forms for expressing the sum total of the existing universe.

The whole theology of the Avesta-Zend rests on the antagonism of two spirits, who divide the universe between them. Ahura-Mazda, the Lord of light and truth, and Aura-Mainyur the Prince of darkness and evil. In more than one of the Gathas¹ they are called "the Twins which were in the beginning." Among the Brahmins all existence falls under the two-fold conception of Brahmā, and Māyā, or Being, and Appearance, Reality and Illusion; or somewhat differently presented in the Sankhya philosophy, as Prakriti, Activity, and Mula-Prakriti, the Root of Activity."

The Buddhist recognizes a similar universal Duality; but places it rather in an ethical, than a metaphysical distinction; and he speaks "of all things as either 'Nirwana,' an absence of all conscious being, or Upadana, desire, the possession of any kind of desire or activity."

But beside these duplicate relations in the fundamental ideas of many systems, the number two is found more definitely expressed by the frequent mention of *two* columns as essential features of certain ancient legends and their occurrence as distinguished parts of several important sacred buildings.

Josephus preserves an old tradition,² that the family of Seth erected *two columns* before the Deluge, on which they inscribed all the knowledge they possessed, especially their discoveries in astronomy. Every one knows of the *two pillars* Jachin and

¹Spiegel's translation of the Zend-Avesta, ii, 85. 106.

²Bunsen, God in History, Hindu Religions.

³Josephus B. I. c. 2. § 3. Prof. Piazzzi Smythe in "Our inheritance in the Great Pyramid" thinks the mathematical knowledge in the great Pyramid so remarkable that it must have been of divine Revelation, and places its date several centuries before Moses.

Boaz, which stood before the temple of Solomon. The *two columns* at the temple of the Tyrian Hercules at Gades are of world-wide repute. Ennemoser states¹ that there were two in front of the oracle at Dodona, and *two obelisks* flanked the approach to the entrance to almost every temple in Egypt, while "*two altars* fixed in the ground like columns,"² are inscribed as a distinctive feature on a very large class of the most ancient Egyptian manuscripts.

No satisfactory interpretation has yet been given³ of the import of these associated pillars. Ennemoser says that those at Dodona bore symbolic figures; the one a brazen bowl or hemisphere, the other the image of a boy. An old Masonic legend, (among which are preserved some of the most curious traditions of the past) asserts of Jachin and Boaz, that on them "was inscribed the symbols of all things celestial and terrestrial." Neither of these give any more than vague, though not improbable suggestions as to their significance, but combining the hints they afford with the almost universal tendency to express the universe by some two-fold form, such as "heaven and earth," or "things seen and unseen," it seems not unlikely that those who reared them meant, under a corresponding double image to give a like symbolical representation of the created universe. And thus as ONE expresses *the essential deity*, or *the unity of the primal cause of all existence*, two would represent under a *duplex image*, *the totality of the existant and resulting world of things*.

The number THREE enters so universally, and fundamentally into the ancient religions and philosophies, that a bare enumeration of its uses would exceed the limits of our article. Hence we shall select only a few illustrations, and these such as will convey the widest knowledge of its diversified applications and conditions.

The Pantheons of nearly all nations were presided over by *three* superior Gods; or were grouped in triads of related deities. The

¹Ennemoser's Magic, 1. 380.

²R. S. Poole in Ency. Brit. vol. xi, 396.

³I am well aware of the Phallic interpretation which a number of investigators apply to this, as well as to almost every other symbol of antiquity, but while recognizing the application of their pet theory to many points of obscure symbolism, I can see no reason for adopting it in the present case, and am well assured they see its impress very often where there are no rational or historical grounds for assuming it.

Greeks and Romans had *three gods* who were supreme above all the others. The Assyrians and Babylonians acknowledged¹ Ashur as their chief divinity, and after him a series of inferior deities arranged in Triads. One of their favorite emblems of deity was a *triple* figure issuing from a circle." The gods of Egypt appear continually in *groups of three*,² "and judging from the monuments, *Triad worship* was the rule rather than the exception." The most sacred hymn of the *Persian*, the magical Honover is composed of *three times seven* holy words, being *three lines* of equal length, with seven sacred words in each;³ and the duration of the world according to the Magians was to continue through *three periods*, of 3000 years in each; at the end of this period a great deliverer Sosiosh⁴ "will bring the dead to life;" "and after this, there will be neither night nor cold, nor decay, nor fear of death, nor evil from the Devs." "*Three* was regarded by the Norsemen as peculiarly sacred and dear to the gods." Their tree of life, the Ygdrasil grew from *three roots*, the sources of all existence; and it was nourished by the *three Normas* with living water from the fountain of wisdom, Mimir's well. The Druid theology of the Britons regarded everything in nature in a *three-fold* relation, and embodied all their teachings in various collections of *Triadic verses*. The Creator in the beginning uttered *three successive* sounds, these were the first *three* letters of the Bardic alphabet, and pronounced together are the true name of God; and when God himself spake it out He made the worlds by it. The letters themselves signify the knowledge, truth, and love of God.

The Brahmin unfolds the infinite Brahman⁵ into the *three* activities Brahmā, Vishnu, and Sheva. The Nirwana or Nirvritti of the Buddhist passes into the world of existence through the *triple* mode of being, Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. And there

¹Rawlinson Herodotus, 1, 208, 479, 495. ²R. S. Poole in Ency. Brit. viii, 436.

³Haug, Essays on the Zend language, etc. ⁴Hengstenberg Christology, iv, 278.

⁵Mallet; Northern Antiquities, 96, 112, 413.

⁶Barddas, vol. 1. Davis, Mythology of the Druids.

⁷Indian Wisdom by Monier Williams, p. 12. "Brahman in the neuter being simple infinite being, which when it passes into actual manifested existence is called Brahmā, etc.

is with both Brahman and Buddhist a mystic word, whose mere utterance is the expression of all the Divine perfection ; this is the *three* lettered AUM (called om in common pronunciation), which they regard as in some way a kind of spoken embodiment of the infinite deity, and which is probably¹ "significant of the Supreme Being, as developing himself in a *triad* of gods."

Among the Chinese the *three* great powers, Heaven, Earth and Man, are the active elements in the production of all existing things ; but these have also their cause in a more transcendental *Tri-unity*.² The original Tao or Way was regarded, as we have seen, as in its essence "an undiscriminated *unity* ;" but in passing into activity it necessarily becomes *three*. "The Tao produced One, One produced Two, Two produced Three and THREE produced all things." The image of the chief god of the people of Yucatan has a mitre upon the head bound with a cord, and "a *triple* locket or tassel in front." Like *triple* emblems are found on sundry objects of royal adornment among the remains of these people ; and also in Guatemala, Chiapas, and Mexico whenever the article has a reference to Divine supremacy." There seems to be a similar connection of ideas in the Brahmin custom of investing their young men, when they arrive at the age to enter into the full privileges of the order, with a sacred cord made of *three* strands, which is called the "sacrificial thread." This is worn over the shoulder,³ and the wearing of it is the mark that they have attained their second birth, that is their birth to the divine supremacy of their order. A *three* twined *three* colored cord was also bound around the victim in certain of the classical sacrifices, and the victim was led *three* times around the altar before it was slain.⁴ Also the great sacrificial festival of the sun among the Peruvians was preceded by the solemn preparation of a *three* days rigid fast.⁵

The Hebrew Scriptures do not make so emphatic mention of

¹Monier Williams, *Indian Wisdom*, 103. Hardwicke, *Christ and other Masters*, 315.

²Stanislas Juliens' *Tao-Te King*.

³Smithsonian Report, 1869 ; 391. *Indian Wisdom*, 247, 201.

⁴Virgil *Eclog.* vii, 73, 75. ⁵Prescott's *Conquest of Peru* ; vol. 1, 107.

the number *three* as do many of the authorities we have above cited; but persons and events are so frequently associated with *three* by their numbers or duration of time and formulæ, especially those having reference to the Divine are so often embodied in a *three fold* expression¹ as to indicate that it had a marked place among their significant numbers. And in the later Jewish philosophy as found in the schools of the Cabala, *three* is related as a fundamental number, with their conception of the mode of the divine manifestation as the creator of the universe; and enters very largely into all their speculations on the relations of the Deity to the creation. In the New Testament this number appears in a great variety of forms, direct and associated with doxologies, ascriptions, and definite expressions which constrain the belief that it reveals a *triplicity*, as well as an *unity* in its representation of the nature of the Divine existence.

These illustrations of the number *three* might be almost indefinitely extended, but they would all point in essentially the same direction. And we think those given will establish as a fair induction, that this number was related, well nigh universally, to the mode of being of the Deity, or primal cause; or to the manifestations of the Divine, or Causal in its first and highest forms; and also to the modes in which this highest existence is worshipped, or by which its being is acknowledged and expressed.

So that we may regard *three* as the number of the actually existing God, and of the modes in which the primal cause is self-manifested. Hence it is used wherever the Divine or things concerning God are specially referred to.

This universality of the connection between the number *three* and the idea of the Original of all existence, seems further to imply that there is some essential, and fundamental relation between the two; that there is either something in the constitution of the human mind, or some revelation or tradition, or some necessity in the conception of the Divine existence, which is represented by this number, and embodied in it.

The modes in which the various religions of antiquity presented their idea of the original, or efficient source of the creation, and

¹ e. g. Deut., vi, 4. Isaiah, vi, 3.

its connection with the universe are widely different. The Jew had his supreme Jehovah, Who was at the same time maker, cause, and governor of all things. The Parsee saw the conflict of two hostile spirits mingling their good and evil in the work, and on the very matter of creation, or perhaps, regarded them as both subordinate to the eternal Zeruane-Akerene, from whom they, alike with the original material of the universe, had all proceeded. The Egyptians, Assyrians, Greeks, Romans, Norse, Britons, and general mass of heathendom had numerous and personal Deities; but mostly with three who were supreme in place and power and who received the largest share of honor and devotion. The practical worship of the Brahmin is addressed, not to the infinite and impersonal Brahman, who is the source and substance of existence, but to the three-fold personality through whom alone it comes into relation to the world and man, viz.: Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Sustainer, and Sheva the Destroyer, or in another and profound aspect, the Restorer of all things to the infinite reality and being from which they had come forth. Nirwana, extinction, is only a bare possibility, or potentiality in itself: but the Buddhist conceives an activity proceeding from it, through the triple powers of Buddha Intelligence, Dharma the Law (or the word of Buddha) and Sangha the Congregation of the faithful, or the union of the two in a conscious community.¹

Neither the Tao-ists nor Confucianists have any belief of a personality in either the Tao-Way which is the origin of all existence, or in the primary evolutions through which this goes out for actual creation. Yet both these schools consider the essential form of this creative power to be a *Triad*. The Confucian calls the three elements, Heaven, Earth and Man (more properly humanity, or human nature). And the Tao-ist makes the Triad to be a self-evolved Three-in-one of impersonal potentialities. And these Tao-Tsze designates in a most curious coincidence,² by the

¹Max Müller calls these "Buddha, the Law, and the Church," and adds in a note "Buddha, Dharma and Sangha are called the Tri-Sarana." *Dhammapada*, p. 247.

²Remusat thinks these are a direct importation of the Hebrew consonants J. H. V. of the Name Jehovah. Stanislas Julien finds meanings for them in the Chinese: I, meaning invisible; Hi, inaudible, and Wei impalpable, and contends that the coinci-

same letters as those of the mysterious Hebrew name Jehovah.' "These three are the three expressions, I, Hi, Wei" (J. H. V.) * * "These constitute an existence which in its condition of indistinction or indivision we call Unity. This unity is not unity by itself; it is through the Triad that it is unity; so also the Triad is not by itself a Triad; it is by the unity that it is a Triad. The Triad is thus an Unity-Trine (l'unité-trine). It is by the Triad that the unity exists, and thus the unity is a Triad-Unity (ou la Trinité-Unité). And this Trine-Unity is the evolving power of the universe; for another writer says: "The Unity is the principle of direction, (force, government), the Duality is the divisible. The Triad is that which effects changes. The Unity of direction is the root, the base; the Duality is the trunk, the body; the principle which works the changes is the Divine Spirit. (l'esprit divin. CHIN). Hence it is said all things proceed from the Unity, subsist in the Duality, and are complete in the Triad."

Now the *one element which is common to the greatest number of these widely varied systems is the direct connection of their idea of the Divine with the number three.* The two factors are indeed associated in them although in the Persian the number three is apparent only in the forms of devotion. And it is implied, rather than definitely expressed in the Hebrew Canonical Scriptures. But the writings of the Cabalists show that the Jewish Theology was only a seeming exception to the general usage; and that it actually did recognize the same fundamental relation of the number to the Divine, as found a place in so many other of the religions and philosophies of the ancient world. The Cabalistic books express and illustrate their conception of the *triplicity* in the Divine existence in a variety of ways: ' Some thought that each of the three letters J. H. V. of the sacred name was meant to rep-

dence is merely incidental. There is no contradiction between the facts stated by Julien and the opinion of Remusat, and the extensive association of these consonants with the name of God in ancient times, seems to confirm the idea that this had in some way a common original in them all. Hardwicke p. 315. agrees with Julien against Remusat.

¹ Pauthier, "Chine Moderne," p. 353. * Maurice, Indian Antiquities, vol. iv., 203.

resent a different relation of His being or manifestation. The pious Israelite always had the letter *ו*¹ inscribed on his phylactery; and the Book Zohar says: "This is a symbol of the Divine; and the three branches arising out of the one root are an emblem of the Heavenly Father' named in the text, Deut. vi., 4; and who are called Jehovah, Our God, Jehovah." While their celebrated work *Jetzovah*' represents the nature of God and His relation to the universe in a figure strangely analogous to that we have just quoted from the Tao-ist Philosopher:

A tree has roots; from the root arises the stem or trunk; and from the stem proceed the branches; and the whole is one tree. There is only this difference among them: Somewhat is hidden, somewhat manifest; because the root is hidden its influence is manifested in the stem; and the stem manifests its influence in the branches; so that and for this reason the tree is called one. The Crown (the essential Deity) is the hidden root; the three higher intellectualities (*mentes*) are the stem (that in which God is manifested as to His nature;) and there are seven others, which are the branches uniting themselves to the stem. The seven last are called *Middath* (measures), and are the attributes of God visible in His works; but the three primary intellectualities (*mentes*) are not called *Middath*.

We may thus say that the number three is so related to the idea of the Divine or its manifestation, in so many of the religions of the world, that some such reference may very generally be concluded wherever the number comes into prominence; and conversely, where such a connection is intended, there, in most of these various systems, this number is expressed in words, or embodied in the performance of the act. We do not find the doctrine of a Trinity such as Christian Theology maintains it in any one of them, but the association of *Triplicity* with whatever form the conception of the Divine, or Causal source of the universe has assumed among them does seem to show, that *the idea of Threeness belongs fundamentally to the notion of the highest mode of being, or primal origin of the universe, as this has always been most widely accepted among men.*

FOUR occurs very frequently and in many religions, though not

¹Patrick, in loco, says these were called The Wonderful Intelligence, The Illuminating Intelligence, The Sanctified Intelligence.

²Maurice iv., 18. Smith's Bib. Dict., Art., "Frontlets."

so often as the number *three*. But its associations when it does occur, are almost as uniformly with *this material present world* or *its conditions* as those of *three* are with the Divine and Creative Power.

Expressions such as the *four winds*, the *four corners* of the earth, are current among many peoples as synonyms for the whole world. The number itself, or collocations of *four connected words*, like the often-repeated phrase in Revelation, "all peoples, kindreds, tongues and nations," is a common mode in the Bible of conveying the thought of a world-wide influence or event. So are the four armies of Joel, the four chariots of Zechariah, the four parts of the image seen by Nebuchadnezzar, and the four beasts of Daniel's vision; thus, too, the four Cherubim represent the totality of the Creation as the work of God, and the four Gospels the corresponding universal relations of the life of Christ.

When the three Norse gods had formed the earth out of the body of Ymir, they set *four dwarfs* called East, West, North and South, one at each of the *four corners* of the world.¹ From the body of Brahma proceeded the *four classes* of men which form the *four castes* into which they divide mankind. The Peruvians had no other name by which to designate the nations subject to the Incas² than "the *four Quarters* of the world." Their Empire was divided into *four provinces*; the Capital into *four sections*, and *four* great roads led from these to the corresponding provinces of the country. According to the cosmogony of the Quechés of Guatemala,³ the boundaries of the Heaven were fixed towards the *four* chief winds. And after some ineffectual efforts of the gods to form a satisfactory kind of man, they at last succeeded in creating *four* perfect men; then these *four* men slept, and *four* women were made for them; and from these all the people of the earth have come. In Yucatan⁴ the Creator was imagined to have produced *four* spirits who supported the *four* corners of the firmament. And the cross which the Spaniards found as a very common symbol among these nations, had probably with its *four* arms

¹ Mallet, Northern Ant., 404. ² Prescott, Conquest of Peru, i., 44.

³ Bancroft's Native Races of the Pacific Coast, iii., 45.

⁴ Bancroft *ibid.*, iii., 57, 281.

a connection with these myths. This relation of *four* to the world is distinctly expressed in Hermas' Shepherd. He sees in his vision a woman, the Church, seated on a *four*-footed chair, which means, as he is told, "That her position is one of strength, as the world is kept together by means of the *four* elements."

In the system of Pythagoras the numeral *four* belongs to what he calls the feminine or earthly numbers; hence relates properly only to the world; but it has other and peculiar characters beside this with him. He associates it with a mysterious *four*-lettered word, which he calls the Tetractys, or Quarternion, and to which he attaches a high and sacred importance. This was probably the Jewish Divine name J. H. V. H. He also unites this number with the three preceding numbers, one, two and three; and by adding it to them ($1+2+3+4$) produces ten, which is the consummation of the Decade and the number of completeness. Still further, he resolves all numerical relations into *four*. Number, Monad, Cube, and Square, and thus the number *four* stands as the signature for all mathematical combinations. In consequence of these added and peculiar attributes, *four* has with him a special value beside its ordinary meaning in his system; and sometimes is used in one and sometimes in the other of its double significations.

The Chinese have the same conception of the relation of the first four numbers to the Decade. One of their writers says' "the numerals 1, 2, 3, 4, added together make the Decade or entire universe; this doctrine had not escaped our ancients, who made it the object of their most profound studies and meditations." One of the modes in which they expressed this doctrine was by a military evolution. These consist very largely, in the Chinese tactics, in the performance of various symbolic actions and arrangements. In the present case the soldiers form themselves by groups of ten into a figure so peculiar, that I transcribe the account from Gladische as given in his notes. The soldiers are arranged by tens:

Lesquels montes sur le bouclier l'un de l'autre forment une figure . . . telle qu' on la voit; on appelle les soldats ainsi rangés le face des dix, rep . . . représentés par les boucliers qui les cachent (des Gestalt des Zehn oder Zehnheit dargestellt durch die verbergenden Schilde.)

¹ Gladische "die alten Schinesen und die Pythagoreer."

But this higher meaning of the *four* is dependent with the Chinese, as with Pythagoras on its relations to the Decade by the addition of the previous numerals, and they also call it simply as a number, an earthly number.¹

Hence *four* must be regarded as *generally significant of something belonging to the existing world*; and it may rightly be considered as the *number of the world*.

FIVE appears very prominently in many nations, in connection with things relating to *law, order, fixed institutions, and propriety*, whether in *their Divine source, or in their earthly forms*. The Bible furnishes a great variety of illustrations: the *twice five* Commandments, the Levitical ordinances nearly all arranged in *groups of five*, the measurements of the Tabernacle and temple wherever possible in *multiples of five*, and the Law itself contained in a *five-fold book*, with numerous other instances of like associations. The Buddhist devotee must obey the ten precepts of a perfect life, and when the Divine Deva announces the coming destruction of the world, he must also declare that there may be salvation for him who avoids *the five sins* and observes the *five obligations*.² The Chinese is pre-eminently the nation of order, and they employ the number *five* in a great variety of conditions. They have *five virtues, five elements, five points* of the compass, *five kinds of action, and five essential relations of life*,³ with many more.

The Zend-Avesta prays⁴ "tell me the right O Ahura, thy *five-fold* precept O Mazda." And when Zarathustra asks, "what are the most acceptable things to the earth?" he is told, "*five* acts are well pleasing to Mazda, *five* displeasing, and *five* which give

¹Pauthier, *ibid.*, "la terre par le nombre quatre."

²Hardwicke *ibid.*, 225.

³These five are, however, Gladische says, reduced in their philosophical conceptions to three, and these are singularly suggestive of the Divine relations as unfolded in the Gospel.

1. Sovereign and subject—Creator and the Universe.

2. Father and Son—Father of Mankind.

3. Husband and wife—Christ and the Church.

⁴Spiegel's translation, 2, 104; 1, 21; 1, 25.

most contentment." Plato limits the guests¹ at a marriage feast in his model State to *five*, and Browne² says, "the ancient conceit of *five* surnamed it the number of Justice. The appearance of *five* as the fundamental number in so many of the ancient codes of laws and ordinances, and its recurrence so frequently in the nations which were pre-eminent for their observance of law and method, fixes the significance of this numeral; and justifies the opinion of St. Augustine,³ "*that the number five pertains to the Law.*" In the systems of both Pythagoras and the Chinese it is regarded as one of the Heavenly numbers; but does not this accord with the conviction so universal in antiquity, and true for all ages, that "the seat of Law is the bosom of God,"⁴ and that all human law should be the issue and reflex from a Divine original?

The number *six* is that of the "days in which thou shalt *labor*, and do all that thou hast to do." It is found most prominently in nations "which have distinct ideas of the creation as the *work* of a maker, or in which the Creator is actively working in the existing universe."

The Hebrew Scriptures teach that in *six* days God made the Heavens and the Earth, in *six* days work may be done,⁵ *six* years was the term of enforced labor in the Mosaic code; in the seventh year the slave must go out free. The Persian religion teaches⁶ "that God "made the world in a year, in *six* creative acts; hence they have *six* yearly festivals commemorative of these successive stages." With them, too, man was created on the *sixth* day. Clement of Alexandria says, "in the Barbarian Philosophy' the world of sense is assigned to the number *six*. And *six* is among the Pythagoreans the Genital number." The division of the history of the world into *six* ages, after which is to come its destruction, and renovation to a higher state, has always been a favorite theory in the Christian Church; and is found also among certain

¹Plato Laws, Bk. 6., C. 18.

²Garden of Cyrus.

³On St. John Tractate, xxv.

⁴Hooker, Book 1, xvi. 8.

⁵Ex., xxxi, 15.

⁶Bleek's Notes to Spiegel, 2, 7.

⁷Stromata, Book v. 14.

of the Hindoo sects.¹ The number of the wings of the Cherubim, emblems of God's creative and sustaining work in nature is also *six*.

The distinctive idea in most of the relations of this numeral is that of *work, effort, active energy*, whether divine or human, good or bad. *Hermas' Shepherd*² implies this when he sees in vision *six* young men building a great tower, and is told, "These are the holy angels who were first created, and to whom the Lord handed over His whole creation, that they might increase, and build up and rule over (*i. e.*, do God's work in) it." It has been called by many the number of completeness; but none of its connections necessarily involve this. The obvious reference of well nigh all its associations is to *work*: this may in some cases be a completed or perfect work; but in others it points quite as significantly to "Life's endless toil and endeavor." In either case its own especial symbolism is to the act, or effort, or results of work.

SEVEN, like *THREE*, is of such wide and varied occurrence that only a few examples of its innumerable applications can be given. It was called by the Pythagoreans³ "the prince and governor of all things." In the Bible *seven* is the hallowed or divine day; the *seven* colored Bow is the token of the Covenant. All the great festivals are related to *sevens* of days, weeks or years. *Seven* is associated in most of the Eastern nations with the formalities of an oath, or covenant. The gifts of the Holy Spirit are *seven* in number.⁴ Wisdom is said⁵ to have her house builded of *seven* pillars; *seven* are the spirits before the throne of God; *seven* churches, *seven* seals, *seven* trumpets, *seven* vials, complete the cycle of the spiritual history of the world. The Jews, Assyrians, Arabs, Hindus, Persians, Egyptians, and many others made use of a week of *seven* days.⁶ The Vedas of the Brahmins were revealed through *seven* saints called Rishis. Greece had her *seven* wise men. The Hindu god Agni or fire was called⁷ "the *seven*-

¹ Indian Wisdom, p. 129.

² *Hermas*, 335.

³ Cudworth, 2, 52.

⁴ Is. xi. 2. Rev. i. 4. ~ ⁵ Prov. ix. 1.

⁶ Rawlinson's Herodotus, 2, 282. The Chinese used cycles of five days. So also the Aztecs of Mexico.

⁷ Indian Wisdom, 16, 18.

rayed god;" "the chariot of the sun is drawn by *seven* horses;" "Time is like a brilliant steed with *seven* rays," and

"Like a *seven*-wheeled, *seven*-naved car moves on;
His rolling wheels are all the worlds,
His axle Immortality."

Buddha is said to be possessed of "a *seven-fold-gift* mind."¹ Rome² always spoke only of her *seven* hills, though several of these were no more than mere rises, and there were other equally marked rises beyond this number." Plutarch³ thinks the number of the Senate of Sparta was 28, "because of the peculiar fitness of that number as being 7×4 ." *Seven* was the number of the Planets in many of the ancient astronomies. And the Temple of Birs-Nimrud at Babylon was built in *seven* receding and ascending stages, each named after one of the planets, and painted of its peculiar color. It is called in the inscription found under its base, "The Temple of the *seven* lights of the Earth," and its great builder, Nebuchadnezzar, prays, "May it last through the *seven* ages."⁴ The same reference and number were expressed in the structure, whether real or mythical, of the Median Capital Echatana, which was enclosed in a series of *seven* concentric walls. *Seven* chief spirits or Amesha-Speritas ruled the Persian world of light or goodness; and *seven* Devas or Evil Spirits were co-rulers in the Empire of the Prince of Darkness; and in accord with this symbolism the Royal Council of the Persian Realm was composed of *seven* Princes. The religion of the Egyptians was peculiarly devoted to this number. It was associated with all their more important religious acts and festivals. The age of Osiris when killed by Typhon was 7×4 , 28 years: his body was cut in 7×2 , 14 pieces: the number of the Judges of the deeds done in the body was (7×6 , the numeral of works) 42. 7 or 42 were the days of mortification of the Priests after any act of defilement or impurity; and seventy days were devoted to the mourning for the dead. In the Queché Legend, after the four

¹ Hardy, Manual of Buddhism, 286.

² Niebuhr's Rome, Translation, 1, 298.

³ Lycurgus.

⁴ Rawlinson's Herodotus, 2, 485.

men were created, who were the progenitors of the human family,¹ they prayed for light, and when none came they set out for a place called the *seven* caves or ravines; and there they received gods, each man as the head of a family, a god.

Most of these uses of *seven* have a reference to some *direct association of the divine and human*; and this mostly in the way of *benefits*. It is the number of the rest-day, of the covenant of blessing, of the place where men find God, of the spirits of God, of the planets that give man light, of the Church. In nature the *three* primal colors unfold into the *seven*-rayed beauty of the prism, the *three* primal sounds develop the *seven* notes which form universal harmony. All these confirm the very ancient signification which makes *seven* the number of *God's manifested love for man*; hence the especial number of the Church and of the Holy Spirit, and of the acts of worship in which the divine relation to man is especially acknowledged and expressed. It contrasts very strikingly with the number *five*, as to the peoples or systems in which the two are respectively prominent. *Five* is a leading number among such people as the Chinese, where law is the controlling element, and where there is little or no conception of a spiritual relationship to God; while *seven* appears with equal prominence in just those where worship, the sense of man's dependence on a helping God, is an essential principle, as the Egyptians and the Jews. It was most probably the influence of this symbolism which fixed the number of the Sacraments at *seven*.

It may be premature, but we pause here to draw attention to the obvious advance, development of meaning, which is presented by the numbers that have already come before us. ONE has a clear reference to the ONE ORIGINAL and cause of all things; TWO to the *totality of creation*; THREE implies the *triple mode of the divine existence*; FOUR the *actual world* in which we are and live; FIVE the *Law of God and its reflex in human laws and ordinances*; SIX *action, work*, the doom of man in all his earthly life; SEVEN God as the giver of *all good and perfect gifts to man*.

¹ Bancroft *ibid.*, iii. 50.

Following this, the number EIGHT is found in fitting harmony with the advancing thought, to be related in its significance and uses to the idea of *man's elevation to a higher, better state of life, or his deliverance from the evils of some present state.* This is its import in 2 Pet., ii., "God spared Noah the *eightth*,¹ a preacher of righteousness." So also in 1 Pet., iv. 20, "the ark wherein few, that is, *eight* souls were saved." *Eight* is connected with the Chinese traditions of the Deluge, and plays a large part in their Cosmogony.² The primary division of their original matter or K*u* is into *eight* principles; the representation of these in a series of symbolical diagrams constitutes the sacred *eight* K*ua*, or symbols of their most ancient and most sacred book the Y-King. In these diagrams, heaven and earth are the father and mother, the remaining *six* are styled the *six* children. Three males which are triplications of heaven, and three females which are triplications of earth. These are not as yet personalities, rather are they elemental powers. From them came also the primal humanity: this also is as yet impersonal, but contains both the male and female principles in itself, and along with heaven and earth, making the three great powers by which the present universe was formed. From this primal man came the existing race of men in which the masculine and feminine are separate. A Deluge overwhelmed the world which was thus formed; and only *eight* persons of the race escaped. These were Fuh-hi, his wife, his three sons, and his sons' wives: and of these children of Fuh-hi has the whole of the present earth (at least the Chinese part of it) been overspread.

Man's nature had, according to the Brahmins, *eight* original perfections,³ which were lost by sin; and these will be restored when Vishnu comes on his white horse in his final Avatar or Incarnation to destroy the present world and introduce a new age of righteousness and peace. The name of the *eightth* god of the celebrated Kabiri is Esmun, which means the *eightth*; and he is identified with the Greek Æsculapins, the god of healing.

The ceremonial relations of this number accord also with its

¹ "τον ογδοον." "Person," not in the Greek.

² McClatchie Royal Asiatic Journal, vol. xvi.

³ Hardwicke *ibid.*, 214, 231.

other references to the idea of deliverance, or a higher state. Circumcision was on the *eighth* day, the *eighth* day of the Feast of Tabernacles, "that great day of the feast," commemorated the entrance into the land of promise. The great feasts of the Jews always lasted over seven days, and the *eighth* day, like the first, was an occasion of peculiar solemnity. And the Resurrection of Christ was on the *eighth* day as they counted in their religious calendar. So that it may properly be called the *number of a higher life*, or as Westcott has named it,¹ "The figure of resurrection or new birth." And this was the significance attached to it very constantly with the early Fathers. Some of them thought that there were *seven* gradations in the heavens, but that the highest bliss was with the Father in the *eighth*. Hence Clement of Alexandria says,² "those in whom there is no guile do not remain in the *seventh* place, the place of rest, but are promoted to the heritage of divine beneficence, which is the *eighth* grade." He also calls this *eighth* sphere "a kind of period of recompense of what has been promised." St. Barnabas says,³ "I (God) shall make a beginning of the *eighth* day, that is the beginning of another world, wherefore we keep the *eighth* day with joyfulness on which Jesus rose from the dead," and Justin⁴ calls "Noah a symbol of the *eighth* day wherein Christ rose from the dead."

NINE is sometimes used as a sort of mystic *three times three*; but this is rather an emphasizing of *three* by triple repetition, than a specific reference to the numeral itself. As a numeral we have found fewer associations with *nine* than any other of the Decade.

The Norse gave more prominence to it than most other nations. "They offered their most solemn sacrifices every *ninth* month. These continued *nine* days, and every day they offered *nine* victims, and Hela is the ruler over the *nine* kingdoms of the dead." Clement of Alexandria,⁵ speaks of it as "the region of the universe (or heaven) that wanders not." This is explained by the notion held by some of the ancients that the universe consisted of *nine* concentric spheres, of which ⁶ the *ninth* is the outside, and

¹ Introduction to Gospels, 284. ² Clem., Alex., 2, 284, 367, 387.

³ Barnabas xv. ⁴ Trypho, cxxxviii.

⁵ Mallet. ⁶ Stromata, Book 2, xi., Book 6, xvi. ⁷ Cudworth 2, 127, note.

comprehends and encloses all the rest, the Supreme God. So likewise the Chinese¹ consider Heaven and earth as arranged in *nine* spheres, and their primeval all-embracing heaven or Shangte is the outermost and all-containing sphere. Clement of Alexandria, divides the soul into ten faculties, and calls the *ninth* the ruling faculty of the soul. And it was also the number that was thought especially effective in curing diseases of the mind.²

In the absence of any decisive associations to fix the symbolical import of *nine*, we follow what seems to be the general bearing of the references given, and the analogy of the previous numbers and call it the *number of the ruling or controlling government of God*. This seems confirmed by a remark of Bunsen in his analysis of the Phenician alphabet. In this the various letters have a symbolical as well as vocal significance, and the eighth letter as well as number refers to the Healing God as the Deity expressed by it, while³ the *ninth*, which corresponds to the yodh of the Hebrews, "stands for the Lord, the disposing God."

TEN at the same time completes the Decade, and concludes what may be called the alphabet of the Symbolic Numbers. The significance of all the numbers above *ten* is derived from the combined significance of the simple numbers that enter into them. And this is very generally dependent on the factors whose *multiplication* has produced the higher number.

TEN is by almost universal opinion the expression of completeness or finality. The *ten* plagues complete the punishment of Egypt; the *ten* words embrace the substance of the Divine Law to man, etc.

As a multiple it carries the same associations with it; or sometimes as 100 or 1,000 is used as simply a *round number*, meaning a large quantity.

Beside these definite relations, the number *ten* is also regarded as a symbolical expression of the *concrete totality of things*, as one

¹ McClatchie R. A. J., xvi. ²Hippolytus Ante Nic. Lib. 1, 123, note.

³ Bunsen's Egypt, iv., and also certain of the Gnostic systems which symbolize the alphabet, make the nine mutes to represent the Father or the Supreme God in contrast with the Logos or Saviour. Hippolytus i. 251.

is of the primal unity in which they were all contained, and from which they have proceeded. And it is very often, especially in philosophical speculations, presented in this connection.

Thus Pythagoras held that it comprehends all arithmetical and musical proportions, and hence called it "the perfect number."¹ So Aristotle says, "the Decade seems to be a thing that is perfect." And in his Logic, substance and its *nine* accidents embrace all the essential possibilities of existence. The Chinese² in like manner "thought that all nature, as well as all things are completed in the Decade," "the Decade is the completion of the numbers (*die Vallengung der Zahlen*) and they represent the universe by a character composed of three crosses which rest on a horizontal line, or are united by a common cross line. This character is called Che, which signifies *ten*. The simple character for *ten* is a plain single cross; hence each cross of the *three* means *ten*; but this is repeated thrice in this character, so as thereby to signify the all-embracing character of the *ten*, and in this of the universe."

This brings us to the end of our examination of the numbers of the Decade. A reference to the several numerals will show the special meaning which has been assigned to each, and the associations on which these significations have been deduced; but for convenience, we will place them here together and in their order.

ONE is the number of the primal source and cause of all things.

The *one, all-containing, all-producing, originating God.*

TWO indicates the *totality of the created universe*. It includes *all that has been made*, heaven and earth, mind and matter, the visible and invisible together.

THREE is the *mode of the Divine existence in Triunity*, God as

He really exists; hence, also, is used *with anything especially divine and holy*.

FOUR looks to this *actual world*, and almost always has a reference to *events or influences that concern the present life*.

FIVE gives the thought of *law, order, propriety*, and the *Divine Lawgiver*.

¹ Aristotle Metaphysics, 122.

² Gladische as above, 52, 60.

SIX suggests all forms of *work, effort or activity*; but mostly work having some reference to the present world.

SEVEN is the number of *the love of God to man, the sign of the Holy Ghost and of the Church.*

EIGHT brings visions of a *higher state, or better life, points to the resurrection, to the new birth, and any act or state of deliverance.*

NINE seems to belong to *God as the Ruler over all*; perhaps means the time when the kingdom shall be delivered to the Father and God shall be all in all.

TEN completes, concludes the whole, and itself means *completeness, finality*, the perfect end of all God's works, as *one* is that perfection in its original.

The universe has gone through all its cycles; has manifested all God's purposes, and is eternally complete in Him from Whom it came, and Whom it thus displays.

II.

We have endeavored to establish the specific value of each of the numerals as a symbol, by a comparison of their associations in the various systems of which they form a part.

Our next inquiry is, if their significance depend on any common principle, and if so, what this is?

The opinion that there is an essential relation between certain things and certain numbers was held by many of the deep thinkers of the ancient world. Many of them, too, felt what modern science has demonstrated, that number, mathematics lies at the base of all the phenomena of nature. They believed in a union of the elements in harmony with the laws of number, and they dreamed of a proportional rhythm in the distances of the planets.¹

The importance of this relation between things and numbers was recognized by most of the Grecian and Roman Philosophies, but it was especially prominent in the schools of the Pythagore-

¹ According to Hippolytus they said (vol. 1, 28) "It is neither credible nor possible that these distances should be independent of harmonious and proportional principles," and he gives a table of their distances when so calculated.

ans. Aristotle says,¹ "they appear to consider number to be a first principle, and as it were, a material cause of entities, (*ὕλην τοῖς οὐσις*), and as both their passive conditions and habits," "that the elements of numbers are the elements of all entities," "that numbers are the first and entire of nature, that the entire heaven is composed of numbers, and is a harmony and a number." They also connect the numbers with abstract ideas and subjects of pure thought. To give an instance, they say such a peculiar property of number is Justice, and such is soul and mind, and such is opportunity. Plato likewise refers often to this intellectual character of number.² "It is among the things which lead to pure reason. It compels the soul to reason on abstract numbers without advancing numbers which are visible and tangible bodies; it powerfully turns the soul to the knowledge of eternal being and the generation of truth." The author of the remarkable Pseudo-Platonic Dialogue *Epinomis*, places the distinctive characteristic of man in his faculty of using number³ as an instrument of thought. He says, "a certain god gave this to man," "but the greatest need is of numbers in the abstract, not of such as are connected with bodies, but of the generation and power of the odd and even." Gladische⁴ shows that the Chinese entertain similar opinions, and says, "they build on numbers the entire system of the universe, and the harmony that rules in the moral as well as the natural world." And the Hebrew Scriptures show that they recognized the same relation of the universe to number by several of their allusions to the weight, and measure, and number of various objects in the world of nature.

Niebuhr⁵ asserts further the influence of a doctrine of numbers in most of the political arrangements of antiquity, and says, "the numbers in the political divisions of antiquity were never arbitrary; and when we find an unusual one we are curious to inquire into its meaning." "A violation in the numerical forms of any people, whether by excess or deficiency, was deemed intolerable,

¹ Aristotle (Bohn) *Metaphysics*, Bk. 1, C, 5, 8, 6. ² *Republic*, Bk. vii. x.

³ *Timæus*, xxvii. ⁴ Bohn's *Plato*, vol. vi. ⁵ Gladische *ibid.* 53.

⁶ *History of Rome*, I. 259, II. 62. 15.

and when such a break occurred it was remedied by a remodeling of the whole body." These forms were settled in every nation and were "determined by an hereditary law peculiar to each people;" thus *ten* was the fundamental number of Etruria, and among the Romans *three* or 3×10 . "These numerical speculations characterize the chronology of Asia, and are never accidental."

But further, wide-spread as was this recognition of the significance of numbers, it was almost everywhere accompanied with the idea that there was a distinctive principle in numbers upon which their significance depended, and that was their character as odd or even. That there was an essential difference between those which were odd and those that were even, and that their meaning was derived from this relation. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9 being the odd numbers, and 2, 4, 6, 8, 10 constituting the even series. And in all these speculations *the odd numbers* were *invariably regarded* as in some way related to the good or Divine; and the *even* to the earthly or evil and imperfect. The systems of the Pythagoreans and Chinese rest entirely on this idea; and it is casually referred to by many other authorities. Aristotle states the Pythagorean notion very clearly: "the elements of number are the *odd* and the *even*:" the *even* is *finite*, the *odd* *infinite*; and they make a series of principles in contraries based on these; on the one side is the *infinite*, the *odd*, unity, male, rest, light, good. On the other the *limited*, the *even*, plurality, motion, darkness, evil." "The first monad—one or unity—becomes a principle of the numbers, and is a *male* procreating all the numbers; and the *duad* is a *female* which is denominated even." The Chinese conception as developed by Gladische is identically the same. "The origin of all things is number, and definitely the *opposition of the odd and even*." These are also considered as identified, the *odd* with *Yang* the *male* principle, or Heaven, and *Yn* the *female* with the *even* or the *Earth*. So that 1, 3, 5, 7, 9 are called the *Heavenly* numbers, and 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, the numbers of the *Earth*, or *Earthly numbers*." "One (unity) contains both these principles of the odd and even, the co-ordination and unity of

¹ Metaphysics, Bk. I. 5.

which brings forth the ALL. Out of 1 goes 2 and the 3, and with these the earthly (2) and the heavenly, (3), or earth and heaven."¹

But this idea, although more clearly expressed by the Chinese and Pythagoreans than by any others, is more or less apparent in a great number of the ancient systems; and is acknowledged by many of the Christian Fathers as the principle on which the meaning of the symbolical numbers was to be interpreted. Clement of Alexandria refers to it several times, and makes one very curious application of the idea of duality:² "the angels were hurled to earth, not having reached the stage of *oneness* by extracting themselves from the propensity to that of *Duality*."

There can be very little doubt, we think, but in the principle here elaborated we have the key to the understanding of the whole system of numerical symbolism of antiquity, both in the Bible, as well as among the other religions and philosophies of the ancient world. Its occurrence in so many and so widely separated nations is a strong presumption in its favor, and when we apply it to the significations actually belonging to the several numerals, we see from the table on the previous page, in which they are arranged in order, that they all fall into complete and fitting harmony with it. The *odd numbers all do have a reference to the essentially Divine*; 1, in *his essence*; 3, in *his mode of existence*; 5, in *his character as Lawgiver*; 7, as *dispensing love to man*; and 9, as *Supreme Ruler over all things*. So, the *even have a more creaturely relation*: 2, to *the Creation as a whole*; 4, *this our world*; 6, *work in or for the world*; and 8, *the earth and man elevated to a higher state*. While the double series read in combination presents a theology simple enough to be a primitive Revelation, and complete enough to be evolved through all the ages.

- 1—God the *original source* of all things, in the beginning
- 2—*Created the Heavens and the Earth*. And existing
- 3—In His *triunity of essential distinctions*, formed

¹ Hardwicke, 302, quotes a still more definite expression of the idea, "The one is the ground of all existence; and the two is cause of the actual manifestations."

² Clem. Alex. 2, 439.

- 4—The *present Earth and* world in which we dwell ; and
- 5—As its *great Lawgiver gives Laws* to it and us, while
- 6—We do our *work of good or ill* in it : and He displays
- 7—His *blessed and eternal love* to us, elevating us
- 8—To His *new and resurrection life* ; where
- 9—He *reigns Lord over all* blessed forever.
- 10—And all things are *complete in Him*, who is the end and
consummation of the universe, as He is its original and
cause.

A correspondence such as this between the observed facts of the several numbers, the history of the principle involved, and the fundamental truths of all right Theology can hardly be a mere coincidence ; there are too many elements concerned to make this probable. It is far more likely that the symbolical character of numbers rested on some such common ground as has been stated ; especially as this was so fully announced in several of the systems, and is referred to more or less clearly in almost all the others.

Will it be said that all this is too elaborate and mystical to have occupied the minds of men in those early ages ? It certainly would not be likely to occur to the men of our day, who see only what is concerned with the material. But the more the writings and spirit of those men are studied, the more it will be felt that such-like deep relationships and subtle symmetries were just the kind of things they did think about and seek to penetrate.

III.

It should be the subject of a volume rather than the end of a short article, to enter on the History of Numerical Symbolism in its application to the Bible, and in the construction of Theologies. All that can be attempted is to indicate the importance of such a history for a full understanding of the subject, and to express the hope that it will receive the attention it deserves from the expositors and historical theologians of the future.

The most obvious application of Symbolical Numbers to Scripture interpretation, is that of *defining the character or relations* of the act or incident with which they are connected. When, as

Swedenborg says,¹ "they resemble certain adjectives to substantives, denoting some quality in the things."

The numerals within the Decade are the alphabet of their fundamental truths. The meanings of the higher numbers, above the Decade, are compounds of those of the simple numerals of which they are composed. Sometimes these are derived from the significations of the numbers whose *addition* has produced the compound number; but this is not the ordinary principle; the import of the complex number is almost universally a combination of the meanings of the simple numerals which have been *multiplied together to produce it*.

Thus TWELVE, which is so prominent in the political organizations of antiquity, and was also the number of the Apostles; was a multiple of 3×4 , implying the Divine acting in the world—an idea in strict accordance with the universal opinion of the ancient nations, that "the powers that be are ordained of God." And in the number twelve of the Apostles there may be thus implied that to them and their successors was committed by Divine authority the Episcopate, the oversight and direction of the Church of Christ.

FORTY is the number of the days of fasting, and other means of purification, and especial communion with God; and finds its explanation in the 5×8 , (the Law and the higher life), expressive of the highest type of spiritual life attainable under or through devotion to the law, or of legal consecration and preparation for a higher state and work. So Moses fasted *forty* days before he received the Law, Jesus *forty* days before He enters on His Messianic work, and Israel was disciplined in obedience *forty* years in the Wilderness, preparatory to passing into the blessed land of promise.

FORTY-TWO are the Prophetical months of the consummation of the Apocalyptic vision; they are 6×7 , the period after which (6) the *work of* (7) *God's grace* will attain its culmination and manifest its Divine glory to the universe.

¹ Dictionary of correspondences. Art. Number.

² 70, in the same way, would refer to the whole body of the ministry of the grace of God.

The multiplying of any number, simple or compound, by *ten*, intensifies its meaning or enlarges its scope, but does not change its character. We think this is applicable to the *three hundred and ninety* days of the symbolical destruction of Israel by Ezekiel.¹ He wants to represent a siege against Jerusalem for *forty* days, and to lay the iniquity of the house of Israel upon it for *three hundred and ninety* days. The reference in this is not, it seems to us, so much the meaning of *three hundred and ninety* derived from its multiples, but to the well-known relation of the number *thirty-nine* to punishment, *forty, less one* (39) was the highest number of stripes that could be inflicted as a chastisement under the Law. Israel would receive all the Divine penalties to their utmost extent, but would attain no true correction; the punishment would be fruitless; Israel would be destroyed, but Judah in her captivity would (40) be purified and return again for a time to her country and the favor of her God.² *Six hundred and sixty-six* is another multiple by *ten*. It is *six* repeated, intensified, carried to its highest point. Man, simply as man, apart from, and short of the love of God may work, and toil, and labor to the end; and all that he can ever gain is only earthly, and essentially temporal and animal.³ The number of the beast and the number of the man are one. We need not go any farther for the evidence of this, than the fact that a large school of modern scientists maintains that man and the brute creation differ only in degree, and not in kind.

We have given the above not in any sense as entering on the exposition of the numbers in Biblical interpretation, but only in the way of a statement and illustration of the mode in which they may be analyzed when they occur "like adjectives" to the events

¹ Ezek. iv.

² There is, however, a suggestive connection. We resolve it into 10x3x13, and give 13 the significance of the numerals 4 and 9, whose addition may compose it. *Four* as this world, and *nine* the ruling God, and regard it as significant of devotion to this world as its God, or of Apostasy to "the God of this world." It has been called the schism number, but the meaning thus deduced from its component numerals is equally applicable, and more in harmony with the uniform principle of giving a meaning to the complex number derived from its constituents in the Decade.

³ Rev. xiii., 18.

and things with which they are associated. Thus read they give a double significance to many portions of the Bible. We have not only the simple text, but this is enriched by a suggestion of its relation to deeper truths that underlie and often give its main importance to the passage.

There is another way in which the Symbolism of Numbers is applied to Scripture exposition. This is through the numerical value of certain words or passages in the Bible text.

To understand this we must bear in mind that the numbers are expressed in both the Hebrew and the Greek by the letters of their alphabets; the letters as they come in order being really the figures for the corresponding numeral up to the Decade; and after these each letter stands for some number to which it has been appropriated. In consequence of this, every word in both these languages is at the same time a number, or a collection of numbers, according as the number-letters of the word were read continuously, multiplied into each other or added together. Thus a phrase may derive a special significance from the numbers which enter into its constitution, and a name, have a symbolical import according to the numerical value of its letters, "I am α (Alpha) and ω (Omega)," would give the meaning I am (α)=1=God, and (ω)=800=Salvation, the same in meaning as the Hebrew of Jesus which is Jehovali—salvation. While the sum of the letters of the name Jesus gives 888, (ι , 10, η , 8, Σ , 200, \omicron , 70, τ , 400, Σ , 200), a most significant expression of the idea of a deliverance and higher life. And the total of the letters in the Greek word for *Dove* (the Holy Spirit) is again 801, another expression for Salvation and God.

The application of this mode of study opens the entire text of the Bible to the operation of Numerical Symbolism. This is the field which has been most assiduously worked in the laborious investigations of the "Thorough Inquiry" of Dr. Mahan, and which has given in connection with his other lines of research, a vast amount of curious and suggestive analogies, and symmetries of internal structure and hidden meaning.

This was also a favorite line of study with the Cabalistic expositors of the Hebrew text; and they devoted a large portion of their time and thought to the invention, and application of all sorts

of devices for evolving what they thought the secret meaning of the original, and deducing their peculiar notions from its words and numbers.

We meet with references to the interpretation of especial numbers in both Philo and Josephus. The early Fathers assigned a prominent position to the study of the subject, and employed it largely in their searches after mystical relations between various portions of the Bible, and subtle analogies between secular and sacred history. Some of the Gnostic systems also, are almost wholly based on their conception of the inherent relations between certain numbers and corresponding ideas in Philosophy and Revelation.

We had intended to enter at some length into the history of certain of these speculations, but have already over-passed our limits, and can only give a few examples of the modes in which the subject was dealt with by some of the more prominent Theologians of the early Christian ages.

The Gnostics endeavored to treat Theology in a more scientific method than the orthodox Theologians, and sought its basis in the fundamental relations of Deity to thought and nature. In this relationship, numbers was an essential element. The one common principle of all their systems was the emanation from the Bythos, or Depth of the Divine Infinitude, of groups of existences called *Æons*. The number and character of these expressed their conception of the Divine attributes, and His relations to the world, both as its Former and Saviour. The Infinite was the indiscriminated unity. The *Æons* were its modes of action, and were unfolded from it, like the after numbers from the *one* (1). And these numbers embodied the totality of the Divine attributes or modes of manifestation. Thus, in the system of Valentinus: 'From the Depth and Silence came "Mind and Truth;" from these "The Word and Life;" then "Man and The Church," and so on to *thirty*, because 3×10 exhausts the fulness (*Pleroma*)' of the Divine relations to the universe. And Basilides calls his

¹ Hippolytus, Irenæus.

² Col. ii, 8. The Apostle says, in Jesus dwelt the "*Pleroma* of the Godhead bodily."

chief ruler or Archon Abraxas, because the sum of the letters of this word, counted as numbers, amounts to three hundred and sixty-five, and he is supreme over three hundred and sixty-five heavens or regions of the universe, which are represented each by one of the days of the year, and contain all things that exist.

Most of them place their Saviour in the *eighth* region, or make him the chief of *eight* Supreme Æons, whom they designate as the Ogdoad. While the saving influence is exercised in a lower sphere, which is called the *seventh* or the Hebdomad.

They were also fond of analyzing the alphabet into sacred constituents, the different style and numbers of the letters being made significant of corresponding spiritual realities. The *nine* mutes which were unpronounceable by themselves, represented the Father who was also unspeakable. The iota, I, the "jot" of the Gospel, the yodh of the Hebrew, was the first letter of the name Jesus, also was the number *ten*, hence both the number and the letter were symbols of His sacred being. This will explain a very curious expression in the Apostolic Constitutions: "Thou hast known the Decade, and hast believed in the Iota, the first letter of the name of Jesus." It is doubtless this sacred meaning of the letters which is alluded to in the legend of the Apocryphal Gospels, that when the master of Jesus in His childhood, began to teach Him the alphabet, He pronounced Alpha, and when the teacher bade Him say Beta, He replied: "Tell me first the meaning of Alpha," which the master not being able to do, the Child instructed him in them all.

The orthodox Fathers protested strongly against making the Bible thus bend to preconceived numerical or philosophical theories; but at the same time themselves find very many hints and analogies in the numbers which actually do enter into the text. Thus Hippolytus in commenting on Prov. xxx. 15, "there are three things that are never satisfied; yea, four: say not it is not enough," adds: "in naming four he means universal lust." Again

¹ Ante-Nicene Lib., p. 58.

² Ante-Nicene Lib., 94-122.

³ I. 434.

on Prov. ix. 1, "Wisdom hath raised her seven pillars," that is the fragrant grace of the Holy Spirit, as Isaiah saith, "the seven spirits of God shall rest on him."¹ A writer whose works are found with those of Hippolytus applies the numbers in some very thoughtful suggestions, and some which are very fanciful; the failure in these ancient expositors being as with most of those in later times, the lack of a clear and settled principle on which they may be interpreted. He says,² "There are one hundred and fifty Psalms, for the number fifty is sacred;" and they contain "three such for the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." The Eighth Psalm is called, "on the wine presses," as it comprehends the perfection of fruits; for the time of the enjoyment of the fruits of the true vine could not be before the *eighth*."³ He also refers to the remission of the fifty and the five hundred pence as of "that which was *legally* due." Irenæus implies that *four* was the number of the Gospels, to express their relation to the whole world.⁴ He says that, "So these *three* years I come seeking fruit," of the fig tree, means the *three* dispensations of Adam, Noah and Moses, which had preceded the coming of Jesus. And points out that the *seventy-two* generations of our Lord in St. Luke which lead back to Adam, corresponds to the number which the Jews always assigned as that of all the nations of the earth. While St. Augustine explains the number *twelve* of the Apostles as those who have made known the Trinity through the *four* quarters of the world, and Justin Martyr,⁵ in another aspect, as especially significant of "those who depend on the power of Christ," and "sound out His voice to the people like the *twelve* bells on the robe of the High Priest in the temple."

There are besides these, other lines of the relations of numbers deserving of study, to which we cannot even allude. We name only the very curious and interesting harmonies in

¹ Hippolytus. I. 69. ² Ante-Nicene Library, vol. vi. 499.

³ A very beautiful suggestiveness is found by reading the simple factors in their meanings. $3 \times 5 \times 10$, the highest expression of the Divine under the law.

⁴ So in the Septuagint. ⁵ See under the number 8. ⁶ Irenæus I. 293.

⁷ Ibid. I. 360. ⁸ Justin Martyr, 139.

chronology, to some of which Browne drew attention in his "*Ordo Sæculorum*," and which have also been largely investigated by Dr. Mahan. We must refer those who wish to know anything of these, as well as to obtain a fuller knowledge of the latest results of scholarly research on the whole subject of the Biblical use of numbers, to the pages of the two elaborate works at the head of this paper. We feel sure that no one can give any real care to this subject and not see more clearly into many portions of the Bible than would otherwise be possible. Even in the bare outline we have been able to present, it will be recognized as a most important element in that study, which under the names of Comparative Theology, or The Science of Religion, is now recalling the thoughts of many of our ablest inquirers to the old, but ever interesting questions of the relation of the religion of the Hebrews to the religions and history of all the other portions of the family of man.

J. F. GARRISON.

BISHOPS AS PIONEERS.

Modesty is a virtue of great price; but should not be pushed so far as to impose upon others the credit and the responsibility of plans and courses of action which really belong to ourselves. Particularly is this true of the policy of masses of men in any capacity, and especially in the Church. There is danger of a falsification of history, with all its attendant evils, when we attempt to claim for methods original with ourselves, the sanction of Christian antiquity. If in new and untried positions it has fallen to the lot of our generation to devise new ways of carrying out the Master's will, let us freely claim these ways as our own. So we shall be prepared to consider them far more fairly, and to modify and improve them as occasion demands, without feeling that we are in danger of laying rash hands upon usages sanctioned by antiquity. This is said not in regard to practices to which we have been driven only by necessity, and for which we urge no reason except our inability to amend our ways—such as the neglect of discipline, and the ownership of pews; but of those things also in which we rejoice and which in their practical working seem to very many to approve the piety and wisdom with which they have been devised.

In the latter class must be unhesitatingly placed the modern and chiefly American plan of consecrating and sending forth Bishops as pioneers of the Church into regions where as yet there are few or none of the clergy or laity of the Church. The plan has occasionally been adopted by our Mother Church also, and has yielded such noble fruits of missionary zeal, and martyrdom, and of success in the spread of the Gospel as have been seen in the life of Bishop Patterson. But that most of the actors are still among the living, reference might also be made to noble instances on our own continent of faithful and self-denying labors. There

is no occasion here for allusion to cases, if any such exist, in which less wisdom has been shown; for however admirable such a system may be in its results, and however well adapted to carry out the designs of the great Head of the Church, the only question here to be discussed is, whether it can claim the sanction of Christian antiquity. This can only be decided by an appeal to history, and it is now proposed to examine briefly what history has to say about it.

Our earliest teaching is of course to be sought in Apostolic days in the practice of the Apostles themselves. This is necessarily somewhat abnormal and peculiar, because the Apostles were in a peculiar position. They were the depositaries of the commission and authority of the Divine Founder of the Church, and around them as the nucleus the nascent Church must crystallize. Yet even under these circumstances, what was their course? At the opening of the Book of Acts we find them all assembled at Jerusalem organizing and establishing the Church, and there for a time they remained, fully occupied with the work before them, and with no known purpose of pursuing any other course. When "a great persecution against the Church" arose (Acts viii. 1) the believers who "were scattered abroad went everywhere preaching the word," (ib. 4) except the Apostles. They continued in Jerusalem. Meantime Philip, the deacon, was so blessed in his labors that large numbers in Samaria received the faith of Christ. Then, and not until then, the Apostles saw that their higher authority and power was called for by the need of those who had been already gathered into the Church, and "they sent unto them Peter and John," who laid hands on the new disciples, thus giving them the advantage of the Episcopate after they had first been converted to the faith of Christ. Even this, however, appears to have been only a temporary mission, and the Apostles quickly returned to Jerusalem. The work of evangelization, as we read in the latter part of the same chapter, was still carried on by Philip. By him the Eunuch was baptized and he, going on his way rejoicing, must have carried on the knowledge and faith of the Gospel to the remote region of Ethiopia. This same deacon, Philip, became the Gospel pioneer along the sea-coast of Palestine from Azotus to Cæsarea, (xii. 40), and

appears to have taken up his permanent abode in the latter city, (xxi. 8), where he is generally supposed to have founded the Church.

The next chapter of the Book of Acts is mainly occupied with the conversion of Saul of Tarsus. Of his remarkable activity it will be necessary to speak presently at some length. For the moment it must be passed over, as, with the exception of his preaching at Damascus immediately upon his conversion, and in testimony of its reality, he spent some years in quiet, taking no active part as yet in the spread of the Church.¹ But the 31st verse of this chapter gives the important information that there were churches "throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria." By whom were these founded? As far as can be learned—and the intimations of Scripture agree with uniform traditions on this point—the Apostles themselves still remained collected together in Jerusalem. They doubtless directed the affairs of these churches, and, as in the case of Samaria, administered to them those Apostolic rites which were committed to their hands; but the planting and first building up of the churches was accomplished by others. It was doubtless in furtherance of this Apostolic visitation of those who were already disciples that, as we read in the next verse, (32), "Peter passed throughout all quarters,"² for we find that he came down also *to the saints* which dwelt at Lydda. Thence he was sent for by the disciples at Joppa, and thence to Cæsarea for his great work of first opening the door of the Church to the Gentiles in the person of Cornelius. Yet even this was not in the way of breaking new ground for himself and discovering untrodden fields to occupy; but by the Holy Spirit's direction he was bidden to yield to the entreaties of Cornelius, who by the same direction had been commanded to send for him. He went when he *was called for*; he did not go until there was a demand for him. After this he returned to Je-

¹ The singular view of Meyer (Com. on Rom. vol. I., Eng. Ed., p. 5, note 2) that St. Paul preached three years at Damascus, is not considered, because it is regarded as entirely untenable. If adopted, however, it would not affect the argument, since there were already many disciples at Damascus.

² The ellipsis in the original may perhaps be better supplied by reading "all the churches" than, as we have it in the authorized version "all quarters."

Jerusalem and recounted the wonderful mercy of God to the Gentiles. There he was subsequently imprisoned and miraculously released (Acts xii). He is mentioned in Gal. ii. 11, as being at Antioch where St. Paul and Barnabas had been so long at work, and where there was already a great company of believers. At the council in Jerusalem we find him again in that mother city of the Church, (Acts xv. 7), and after this there is no further mention of him until his Epistles. At the close of the first Epistle (I. Pet. v. 13) he sends the greeting of the Church "at Babylon." If this be a symbolical name for Rome, we know that large numbers of Christians were residing there before he visited the city. If, as seems more probable, the literal Babylon, the great Capital of the East, be meant, it is certain that this was a chief seat of Jewish culture and quite likely that the religion of Christ had become so much known there as to call for the presence of the Apostle "to the circumcision;" but of all this we know nothing certainly and can therefore draw no inference. It is asserted on good early authority that he was at one time at Corinth, and here we know there were numerous Christians; it is conjectured by Origen that he preached in the countries of Asia mentioned in his epistle, and this is not improbable, as disciples were numerous enough throughout those regions to call for Apostolic care. Not to follow further uncertain and varying traditions, this much may be positively affirmed, that there is not a particle of evidence to show that St. Peter ever undertook what would be called pioneer work for the Gospel, or planted the Church first where it had not before been known, except in fulfilment of his great commission on the day of Pentecost and in his visit to Cornelius, which were both especially exceptional cases.

Let us now turn back to St. Paul. His life, marked by its extraordinary missionary activity, and his earnest desire "to preach the Gospel not where Christ was named, lest" he "should build on another man's foundation," (Rom. xv. 20), seems at first sight to be an abundant justification of the principle under discussion. A closer examination of the life of St. Paul will scarcely sustain this inference; and in any event his calling and career were quite too peculiar in their character and purpose to become a guide in these matters for the settled order of the Church. It is undoubtedly

true that St. Paul made extensive journeys through regions where he was the first to proclaim the faith of Christ; but it was also true that these were mere *journeys*, and that he never tarried any considerable time except when there was a body of believers needing his care. It is instructive to observe the way in which he came first to enter upon his Apostolic activity. Except his preaching at Damascus immediately after his conversion, he had remained in retirement, first for three years in Arabia, and subsequently in his native city of Tarsus. Meantime "they which were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen," preached in Antioch, not only to the Jews, but also to the Gentiles. (Acts xi. 19, 20).¹ "A great number believed," and when the Apostles at Jerusalem heard of it they sent Barnabas to Antioch, following the usual order—many believers first—then an Apostle sent to care for them. After his coming the good work still went on, "and much people was added to the Lord." In this state of things Barnabas found the work too great for himself and went to Tarsus for Saul. When he had come, they remained together a year "with the Church and taught much people." (ib. 26). Thus was St. Paul introduced to his work for the Gospel. He was sent for to help in a powerful and growing movement by which a church had been already gathered and great numbers won to the faith of Christ. The "pioneers" at Antioch were the brethren of Cyprus and Cyrene who had been driven from Jerusalem by persecution; Apostles were only sent to them when they were needed by the success and growth of the community of believers. After a time the same Apostles, by direction of the Holy Ghost, were separated for a special work (xiii. 2, 3) and thus began those missionary journeys of St. Paul which were so effective in the spread of the faith. But it is noticeable that at the outset their steps were directed to Cyprus, and although no mention is made in the narrative of any Christians already there, we know never-

¹ Ἑλλημιστας is the reading of the *text. rec.*, but the critical editors, with good reason, all have Ἑλληνας. There is really no difficulty about the priority of this to the vision of Cornelius; for we have no comparative dates and it is evident that a considerable time had elapsed after the death of Stephen before the men of Cyprus and Cyrene reached Antioch.

theless, that the Gospel had been already preached in the island, and even that it was by "men of Cyprus" that the mighty work at Antioch had been initiated. It was doubtless the needs of the Christians of Cyprus that led Paul and Barnabas thither. Probably if the narrative were more full we should find the same state of things existing also in others of the places visited. It were too long to dwell thus on the whole career of St. Paul. In the great Capital of the world which, as the Apostle to the Gentiles, he so long yearned to visit, we know from his own Epistle that Christians were already numerous before he was permitted to go among them. Wide as was his missionary activity, remarkable as was his zeal in the founding of churches, we never find him making his residence for any length of time in a place which did not already contain a body of believers. Exceptional and peculiar as was his work among the Apostles, it was yet in no sense the sending of a Bishop to a missionary jurisdiction there to spend his life in creating and organizing a Diocese.

Of the work of most of the other Apostles we know only by tradition, and that sometimes of not the most reliable character. So far as the Scripture narrative is concerned, we find them all remaining at Jerusalem ready to visit and provide for the converts made by other instrumentalities, but always returning again to the Mother Church. Of St. James we have the Scriptural account of his death by Herod's sword, while still living in Jerusalem. Of the other James we know that he was Bishop of Jerusalem and of course had his permanent residence there. Of the later life of Andrew, Philip and Bartholomew we know absolutely nothing, and the varying and contradictory traditions of ancient authors recording that they preached in various regions, if any of them can be entitled to be received at all as evidence, would yet leave it entirely uncertain under what conditions they did so, and whether their Apostolic labors were not called for by the increasing multitude of Christians in the lands to which they are reported to have gone. Of Thomas we have a narrative of somewhat better authority, for the traditions of the fourth century, preserved by Eusebius and Socrates, represent him as having preached in Parthia or Persia and been finally martyred at Edessa. The latter city we know received Christianity at a very early

date and there was certainly a reason why an Apostle should have been called to labor there among the disciples. Later traditions carry him still further East, and in Malabar he is considered the founder of the Church still known as the "Christians of St. Thomas," and his burial place is shown among them. But this has probably arisen from a confusion with a later Evangelist of the same name. To St. Matthew various traditions ascribe missionary activity in regions far remote from one another as Ethiopia on the one hand and Parthia on the other. There is nothing certain or even probable in them, except that according to Clement of Alexandria, he remained fifteen years in Judea, which seems quite in accordance with the evident purpose of his Gospel—to meet the wants of those of Jewish extraction—and that he died at last a natural death. The last point was believed to be true by Clement, Origen and Tertullian, although a tradition of his martyrdom came in subsequently. In regard to Judas (Lebbæus, Thaddæus) and Simon the Canaanite, such traditions as exist are entirely worthless for historical purposes. Of the Twelve there remains only St. John. He was still at Jerusalem fourteen years after the conversion of St. Paul (Gal. ii. 9); afterwards he was long the Bishop of Ephesus. Although he was probably at Rome and certainly at Patmos, he was carried to both of them as a prisoner and a witness for the faith of Christ; but so far as his own Apostolic activity is concerned, in his long life and abundant labors we know nothing of him from first to last, except as among Christians. It does not appear that much argument for "pioneer Bishops" can be gathered from the authentic record of the Apostles.

Turning to those who were their companions and successors, we have seen Barnabas living at Jerusalem and sent out to minister to the needs of the Church when a multitude of believers had first been gathered at Antioch. Timothy and Titus we know, from the Epistles addressed to them, were sent by St. Paul to Ephesus and Crete to care for churches already established and grown large enough to need Episcopal supervision.

Beyond this we must be guided by uninspired history. The only way to read its lessons is to look at the circumstances attending the planting of the Church in those countries of which we

have historic record. We have already shown Palestine, parts of Asia Minor, Cyprus, Crete and Italy to have first heard the Gospel from other than Apostolic men. In the last named country St. Paul found a band of brethren already gathered at Puteoli, and from his own Epistle to the Romans we learn how large was the number of Christians at Rome before any Apostle had visited them. On the day of Pentecost mention is made of the wonder expressed by men of many and distant countries, and it is altogether probable that most, if not all, were represented among the three thousand baptized on that memorable day. In the list of countries is included Parthia, Media, Persia, Mesopotamia, many of the Districts of Asia Minor and the neighborhood, (which were afterwards visited by St. Paul, and where the presence of these very disciples may have been an important element of his success), Egypt, Libya, Rome and Arabia. These disciples, returning to their homes with the fervor and earnestness of their new-found hope of salvation, must have quite extensively communicated the glad tidings in their respective neighborhoods, and the Gospel have thus obtained a wide circulation and a foothold in many lands long before the Apostles had left Jerusalem, or any others had been consecrated to Episcopal functions. We also read in the Book of Acts, as already noticed, of the Eunuch of Ethiopia who, in his high station at the court, must have had the opportunity to do much for the introduction of Christianity into his own Southern land. In all these widely scattered regions, as converts increased, they must have needed, and doubtless in due time obtained, Episcopal supervision ; but the point is that this Episcopal care was supplied as it was called for, not sent on in advance to create its own demand.

Let us now look at other countries. Following in the direction last mentioned, we come next to Abyssinia, and it so happens that we have quite a full account of the conversion of that country. (Socr. I. 19). In a voyage of investigation the philosopher Meropius took with him two Christian youths, Frumentius and Ædesius. The ship was captured and all who were in it slain by the Abyssinians except these youths, on whose tender age they took pity, and presented them as slaves to the king. In time they became tutors of the king's son, and after the death of the monarch, Frumentius was a sort of regent during the son's

minority. Obtaining the aid of some Roman Christian merchants, he built a church, instituted Christian worship, and began to train the Abyssinians in the Christian faith. On the accession of the young king, he and his companion were liberated and allowed to return to their homes; but Frumentius could not thus abandon his converts, and delaying at Alexandria to obtain the consecration of a Bishop for them, was himself consecrated and sent back to continue his labors already so auspiciously begun.

Going back to the second century, there is indubitable evidence of the existence of the Church in Africa, (a council of 70 African and Numidian Bishops having assembled at Carthage about A.D. 200, August. *de Bapt.* ii. 13), in Gaul, in Spain, Germany, Britain, and other countries, but of the way in which the Gospel was first introduced into those countries we have no trustworthy traditions. The mission of Pantænnus to the Indians from Alexandria is well established. Ancient authorities differ as to whether he went forth of his own will or was sent by Demetrius, and it is somewhat difficult to decide who were the "Indians" among whom he went—probably they were Arabians; but this is certainly recorded, that he went or was sent in consequence of an application by these Indians for a Christian teacher.

In the following century the chief work of the Church was in extending itself in countries, as Britain, Gaul and Germany, where it had been already planted. We have nevertheless two instances of successful missionary work among new nations, but in both cases by men who were of no higher ecclesiastical rank than presbyters. Origen preached for a time among some of the Arab tribes, and large numbers of the Goths were converted by priests whom they had carried captive in their wars with the Romans. (Soz. ii. 6). In fact Sozomen (*ubi sup.*) gives this as the general method of the spread of the Gospel among the Barbarians at this period, and later.

In the fourth century Christianity became the established religion of the vast Roman empire, and within the bounds of that empire it is no longer necessary to seek out the foundation of the Church. Beyond those boundaries, however, the same process which has just been mentioned, continued, and Socrates (i. 20) gives a very interesting account of the conversion of the Iberians

by a woman of exemplary piety whom they had taken captive.

The general result of these facts is this: from the day of Pentecost onward men who received the blessed Gospel themselves, filled with the love of Christ, were zealous to communicate it to others. Men who heard and received it when away from their homes, as happened to the strangers gathered at Jerusalem at Pentecost, or a little later to those whose business or pleasure led them to the great Capital of Rome, carried it back with them on their return and spread it among their neighbors. Men, on the other hand, who were scattered abroad by persecutions, as from Jerusalem in the time of St. Stephen, carried it with them into their exile. In this way some knowledge of Christ was very widely and rapidly spread through a large part of the world. As soon as these new disciples were heard of at the great church centres, and as fast as suitable men could be trained for the office of Bishop, they were sent forth to organize and build up these infant, but growing Christian communities. The constant wars of the Romans on the outskirts of their empire had also a great effect on the spread of the Gospel. Captive priests, laymen and even laywomen taught their captors of Christ, and when sufficient numbers had received the faith to make it desirable, there was no longer serious difficulty in obtaining the consecration of Bishops for them. Often the Church had but a struggling existence until this point was gained. The advantage of Bishops *when there were enough Christians to need them* is very strikingly illustrated in numerous instances. It was the consciousness of their importance that led to such applications as that of Frumentius to the Bishop of Alexandria, and the result of their labors under these circumstances was most happy. Occasionally too, Bishops of established dioceses, in imitation of St. Paul, made more or less extended missionary tours, as a temporary thing to return to their own dioceses again, and such journeys sometimes bore very blessed fruit.

Later legends ascribe the founding of the Gospel among almost every nation to some Apostle or Apostolic man; but as already said, these legends rest on no historic basis, and seem to have grown up partly perhaps from an unintentional confusion of names, but mostly from national vanity. It is not known that

there is any earlier instance of the sending out of a Bishop to plant the Church in what was supposed to be new ground than the mission of Augustine to England at the close of the sixth century. The results of that mission were not in all respects so happy that they would now be considered worthy of imitation.

The principle of the early Church seems to have been that of modern warfare—to keep her highest officers somewhat in the rear of the fray where they might best direct and command the subalterns sent on in advance. As ground was actually won they pressed forward to occupy and establish it; but they were reserved as too valuable to be employed on work which could as well be done by others. It is said that in recent wars it has become necessary for the lives of officers to be much more freely exposed in battle than formerly. It may be that a similar change has come over the spiritual warfare of the Church. If this be really so, and not a mere poetic figure, let it be accepted as a modern necessity, born of the changed circumstances of the times, and the wisdom and zeal of the Church will doubtless rise to the occasion. Indeed, in no small measure, it has already done so, possibly in some cases going even beyond the occasion, and men have not been found wanting to meet the Church's requirement. But if we attempt to rest this new policy upon ancient usage and vaunt it as a following of primitive antiquity, we rest upon a false basis, which sooner or later will give way under us, and we make boast of that which is not true, to the neglect of the Church's real merit in adapting herself to the times and circumstances in which she is called to act.

The real attitude of the ancient Church in regard to the Episcopate was that of looking upon the Bishop as an officer of a special character who was not therefore to be ordinarily employed in a sphere which could be as well worked by his subordinates. The difference between Bishop and Presbyter was not so much one of station as of the character of their work; the former had a work of larger scope, and to place him where there was no opportunity for this work, was to degrade his office. Accordingly the size of Dioceses was proportioned to the number of Christians. Theodoret complains bitterly of the immensity of his Diocese. It was scarcely ten miles square, but it contained over eight hundred

clergy. So the Egyptian Dioceses were very small in territory, but very large in their constituency. On the other hand, where members of the Church were more thinly diffused among a heathen population, as for a long time in Mesopotamia, Dioceses were sometimes of great geographical extent, even 160 miles across, and this in view of the facilities for travel, was far larger than any of our Eastern Dioceses.

Of course, in these latter cases, which in many respects represent the condition of the Church among ourselves, there was large opportunity for the Bishop to do a certain kind of pioneer work in the neglected nooks and corners of his fully organized Diocese. Such nooks and corners are always soonest discovered, and the means of providing for them most readily devised by one who has the chief oversight of the whole. That they may thus be seen and provided for is one of the chief evidences of the wisdom of the Episcopal constitution of the Church. It does not follow from this that Bishops themselves are needed to actually do the work which they discover needs to be done, rather would this hinder and interfere with their proper work of overseers, organizers and directors.

Similarly, in regions to which the Church has not yet been extended; the pioneer work needs to be organized by the Church where it has already been planted, and in such organization the Bishops would naturally have a prominent voice; but it does not require that they should be sent out to do it. They are not called for until there are members of the Church in sufficient number to need their care. When this takes place the increase of the Episcopate to meet a real and acknowledged want must be wise; until it does occur, there will always be those who will think that the Bishop in the wilderness is a man out of his proper place, a general without an army, a shepherd without a flock.

In conclusion reference may be made to the office for the consecration of a Bishop. The view there taken of the office of a Bishop is very distinct. He is evidently regarded as the shepherd of an existing flock. The whole enunciation of his duties, the whole tenor of the vows he is called upon to pronounce, have reference to an already existing community of Christians, and the office must be largely modified to make it appropriate to the case of the pioneer Bishop.

FREDERIC GARDINER

LUCRETIVS.—THE POET.

In these days when it may happen, on any bright morning, that some one or other of Religion's family, hearing suddenly the sound of a pick close by, and apparently on their own premises, jumps without a thought of consequences, out of bed ; fires off a fearless revolver, and when upon the dreadful outcry which follows, as if one or two of the bullets at least had taken effect, the neighboring public, followed, in course of time, by a guardian or two of the peace has made a ring, round the spot there is found an indignant and furious figure holding fast the loosest part of its trousers, and proclaiming itself to be Science, and demanding the life of that stupid scoundrel with the pistol. And when again it may happen any day that Science, because it has put on working clothes and has its fingers very dirty, is inclined to recognize no fences or walls or limits of property, allodial, or in fee ; and to fling the first thing it can lay hands on at whoever complains of trespass, at such a time, well disposed people must be a little careful about drawing near lest they should get hit by an indiscriminating orthodox bullet, or by a very impracticable congeries of primordial elements which, at the moment, are in the shape of a bit of stone or iron.

Being assured, as we are, that religion will hold all the ground which belongs to her, and that God has laid open the world to be explored by whosoever wills in an honest way, we are not afraid to grant whatever merit of right belongs to any man, religious or otherwise ; and as the wondrously imaginative poet-philosopher, Lucretius, must be read, for his poetry and philosophy both, so long as there are minds to appreciate, we want him read and taught by Christian scholars.

It is a great deal that noble descriptions, and skill and strength of utterance, often matchless, are to be found in him ; it is a good

deal, that one may see in him, as nowhere else, the might, and stretch, and liveness, and the nicety of touch, of the Latin tongue; and it is a good deal, that the great physical theory of this and of by-gone ages, in which he follows Epicurus, has been nowhere else made so interesting, and nowhere else set forth so well, as in Lucretius' poem on "The Nature of Things." All this is much: but we want Christian teachers familiar, also, with the huge gaps in his strong reasoning, which are as fatally impassable as wide rifts in fields of ice. We want ripe Christians to be reminded and young Christians to be made to see how the burden and scandal of an undignified, and, in many points, ridiculous mythology, whether that of heathen Greece and Rome, two thousand years ago, or of Spain or South America, of yesterday and to-day, may drive a strong and imaginative genius to seek emancipation for himself and his fellows and even the world of men, from such religion, and to seek shelter in infidelity.

The philosophers of old time (Grecian men, every one of them) as most men know, having come into the world long ages after their fathers had dropped and chattered, and so multiplied greatly and belittled extremely in the breaking, the first faith in One most holy God, framed each man his own system for the universe or worked-over one already framed. He set forth, also, his plan of morality for human life. Each man's system of science differed from those of others in being framed, wholly or partly, on some new theory. Their moral systems, also, differed much among themselves, in statement and in the principles on which they were professedly founded—for they were all reasoned out from principles—and while their scientific theories often show a wonderful amount of insight and true conjecture or deduction, their moral teaching was generally wise and good and pure and spiritual, in our sense of the word.

All well-taught Romans, from long before our poet's time, studied the Greek writers; and all who wrote formed themselves upon the Greeks. Philosophy was not otherwise to be learned, and there was no such poetry as theirs elsewhere. The fresh, free, daring and fellow-feeling manhood, which leaped through the veins and looked from the eyes and listened through the ears of Homer and the rest of his race, which also had, for the outward bodying

of its thought, a language flowing as free and untrammelled as water, and fitting itself to everything as readily as water, but capable of taking shape as easily as ice-crystal, and sharply and lastingly as spar, of itself enchanted all poetic manhood. The quick and confident theory of the Greeks, which went into and through all matter and reached to other seen or unseen worlds, and their skill in strong and shapely argument had a drawing for men's reasoning powers and fancy.

One peculiar element in the thinking of the heathen men of old time, and of course, also, in their writing, was the mythology of their day; the collection of stories told by poets and fanciful people, after the original true, faith in one God, holy and just, had been lost or marred and increased and qualified by the additions which bubbled or started up, just as additions and qualifications are made in the mythology of some of our neighbors to-day, by the frights and surprises, and half seeings of ignorant or lying men and women.

Gods were varied or multiplied in the Greek and Latin mythology, to represent every form of human character, and to control every working in nature; and all strange happenings outside of direct human agency, were taken as present interferences of Gods acting like irresponsible men. Such men as the Greeks were, with such a language, and with such materials as the stories of the Gods and the doings of men furnished; living where they did, on islands and shores of a summer sea—in a land whose face and soil and climate were every made changeful, nowhere harsh. By countless mountains and dales, by bays and gulfs and inlets from the salt deep, and by inland lakes, they made their poetry and philosophy. Sometimes their poets moralized; sometimes their philosophers put all their thought and theory into verse, and took, perhaps, as much credit to themselves for the form, as for the often less substantial substance. So Empedocles claimed for both his thought and expression that they were divine.

Our Lucretius came into the world while things stood as we have shown them. He came, after ages of Greek philosophers and poets, some of them as lofty and strong thinkers, as clear reasoners, as excellent in painting by words, and in what we call creation, as any that ever lived. All ages since have witnessed, as the Romans

witnessed, to the unmatched strength and melody which was the birth-gift of the Greeks; and now, our age, after all the discoveries of science, goes back and accepts the principles of philosophy, and the statement of them, from men of more than twenty centuries ago, who worked from within outward, and who needed—being such men as Democritus, or Empedocles, or Epicurus—no other ground-work of observation than such as the five senses might gather, from within arms reach, to philosophers

Stretched on the soft grass, beside a running stream under the boughs of lofty trees.¹

Romans, too, had been before him, for an age or two, working in poetry and history with more or less life; in philosophy, not at all. He was contemporary with a broad and clear reasoner and philosophizer of his own land, of vastly less inspiration and strength of purpose than himself—Cicero.

Full of strong, thoughtful and imaginative manhood, Lucretius, having read both Greeks and Latins, was willing to learn his system of philosophy of one or two of the former, but felt that he could be the teacher of the Latin world, and win a place among great writers of the earth, beside the Greeks. The thorough trust in his own might of thought and speech, which he shows throughout his great poem, is very taking from its child-like and happy straightforwardness of assertion.² It is not that he rushes blindly in, among thoughts and words as a fool might sit down at the keys and hope for melody and harmony from the flinging about of his clumsy fingers on them. Lucretius sees and owns to himself (B. i, 136, etc.) how "hard it would be to put into Latin verse the obscure discoveries of the Greeks;" especially as the Latin tongue lay, as yet, altogether apart from philosophy, and had never yet been supplied with such words as should match in meaning those which the Greeks had already, and long before, fitted to the thoughts. But he knows that he can think with the strongest of them, and, for language, he has read all the Latins with a feeling which grew, as he read, that there was no thought of his mind

¹Lucr. B. ii, 29.

²See B. i. 411 et seq. and especially B. iv., beginning, and the like.

which he could not throw at once, into fitting outward shape, and make beautiful, if it were capable of beauty.

Come, now, and what remains hear and know clearly all.
Nor does my mind mistake how dark this is. Great hope
Of praise has smitten with its rod upon my heart
The while it flung into my breast the most sweet love
Of the fair Muses. So inspired, with vigorous mind
I tread the trackless haunts of the Pierides, not yet
Trodden by man. It glads me to pluck, there, the fresh blown flowers,
And for my head to seek a crown of honor, thence,
Whence never yet the Muses decked the head of man.
First, for I teach of great things, and from tight-drawn knots
Of superstition seek to set all bondmen free;
Next, for I make, about a dark theme, brightest song
And with the Muses' charm light everything I touch.
When to a child the nurse would loathly wormwood give
First, all about, the brim of the health-giving cup
He touches with the honey's yellow flood of sweet
That the child's unsuspecting age may be deceived
At the lips' edge, and so take in the loathly draught
Of wormwood; and so, being cheated, be not caught.
But rather, in this way being refreshed, grow strong.
I, too, because I know high reason to be hard
To those who have not handled it, and that the herd
Shrinks back from it, have thought to set my reasons forth,
And as with honey of the Muse to touch it first;
If in such wise I might hold in thy soul
Within my verse, here, whilst thou beholdest all
The world of things, how ordered now it stands.

B. i. 921.

Lucretius must have seen, too, as we see, the difficulty of taking not merely, as above, "obscure discoveries," but of taking a system of science for the subject of a poem. To be sure he was familiar with what Empedocles had done in this way; but the doing was no easier to others, because one man had done it well. There is, certainly, enough of what is grand and inspiring and poetical in the thoughts about the heavenly bodies and the great elements, and height and farness, and boundless sea, and snow-topped peak and flaming mountain and earthquake and comet and meteor and eclipse; but to undertake the explanation of the "atomic theory," and the proof of it in the hope of making the work come out poetry, seems so bold a thing that as we take his book in hand, we cannot help fearing in spite of his own enthusi-

asm and in spite of the favorable opinion of many admirable scholars, and notwithstanding a strong wish of our own to do him justice and to agree with good judges, that it will be necessary to make great allowances before we shall be able to bring ourselves to call his verses poetry, and to feel to him as we feel to Homer and Virgil, so stubbornly unfit does his subject seem.

We know—not, most likely, by our own reading, but by hearing from our fathers—what work good Dr. Darwin made, in writing backwards Ovid's metamorphoses with the hand of a romantic botanist, so that flowers and trees became social beings, with loves and histories; for which thing clever men took him off in the "Loves of the Triangles." What sort of poetry has this old Latin given us in his theory of atoms, making the world, taken from Epicurus and Democritus, Greeks?

Let it be granted that, being a heathen man, living where many gods were accepted—gods who were gross, grotesque, grim, gigantic men who were sheltered by a nature which escaped men's hands and eyes, who were mightier to wreak their foul or cruel passions on men, than fellowmen were, and who exulted in the power of outliving all other beings who are born and die, Lucretius indignantly set himself to the task of wrenching men away from the wilful degradation of living forever in the belief that the control of this world of men, was in the hands of such beings as those fabled gods. His whole soul is roused within him to think that so wretched a superstition—the belief in gods so unworthy—should be strong enough (for example) to exact of the leaders of men, not what our neighboring unbelievers quarrel with, the sacredness of the marriage-vow and bond, the reverence for the stream of life-blood, the owning of one great, good God as the giver of all the good things, of which neither we nor any of our race ever made the smallest part or particle, or ever understood or guessed the making, and giver of this being of ours which not only neither we took (which would be absurd) nor our fathers gave us by any will or wisdom, but the life of a pure and lovely maiden such as Lucretius writes of in one of the most overwhelmingly sad, and moving descriptions ever thought and penned. Our rendering may give some idea of the character of the thought, though not of the strength and beauty of the original.

At Aulis chaste Diana's altar stained
 With Iphianassa's virgin blood. Ah! when
 The bridal fillet her young locks restrained,
 And evenly on either fair cheek hung,
 She felt her sad sire near the altar stand;
 The servants hide the dread knife, close at hand;
 The common crowd weep for her own sad fate;
 And so she sank down, dumb and desolate,
 And to the earth with her weak knees she clung,
 The poor child, all in vain, had first bestowed
 The name of father on that Argive king:
 Un-kindred hands upraised the tender load
 And to the altar bore her shuddering,
 No troop of youths and maidens might be there
 With merry marriage-song to fill the air;
 At marriage-time must she, a victim, go
 Forth of glad life; and by her father's blow.
 This, that a favoring wind their sails should fill:—
 So much religion could persuade, of ill.

Lucretius undertakes with his pen to drive divine agency such as was, out of the world, utterly; to reason it, steady and straight, back to the brink, and tumble it over. He does not disbelieve in the being of gods; he takes them for granted (such as they were thought to be): he does not even argue, openly, from the badness of most of the gods, great and small, male and female, he even seems a little afraid of them, or at least inclined to conciliate them by the cheap flattery of calling them or their abodes, whichever he may be speaking of, 'holy' and 'blessed.' He treats them a good deal as if, in pulling their chairs from under them, he should express great satisfaction from seeing them in his house, and as if in edging them out of his door, he should wish them much enjoyment of the fine weather, and a very pleasant walk. And this behaviour to them, considering what sort of representatives of the divine nature those were who were believed to visit the earth and men's abodes the oftenest, was not to be wondered at. The poets, Greek and Latin, had already mocked at gods, and shown them up to common laughter.

At the same time, Lucretius, by one of those inconsistencies that men are liable to, invokes the aid of at least one divinity, and

¹ Sanctas sedes; immortales et beati, and the like.

ascribes to that one a mighty influence in the world of being. Whether the taint of the old superstition, or whether, as we rather think, the strength of the poetic nature in him, led him to this, he now and then tramples suddenly across his own well-made argument, and calls upon Venus to come in and help him spoil his own careful work. It would seem as if he felt so sure of the strength of his reasoning that he thought himself able to afford an inconsistency or two, of this sort, and indulge in them for the sake of the charm which they would add to his book. The extraordinary and wonderful beauty of the well-known passage in the opening of his poem, almost of itself proves that it was only the poetical element in him which made choice of that subject as a fit one to draw its strength and grace and manifold skill, and make the opening of his work attractive.

He argues against the belief that this world comes from the hands of the gods as unnecessary when there is a boundless host of first beginnings endowed with perpetual moveableness and solid singleness to be at work through all eternity, in concert with boundless and unexhaustible emptiness, in coming together and driving one another off, until world and all things are made. Moreover he assails the opinion that the gods made the world, because the world, as made, is so faulty, "Ignorance of causes," he says (B. vi, 54) "drives us to put things under the command of the gods."

Arguments of this sort were no more new arguments in the days of Lucretius than they are in our day; and, then as now, were those of infidels; for although among believers in divine power there have been always sensible men who did not consider every peal of thunder as the direct voice of God, or every stroke of lightning as the direct administration of God's justice, yet never was a believer willing to grant that the Divine Governor could not, if He would, or that He does not, indeed, use any one or more of the elements or agents of His world to work His will or to give witness to His presence; or that the exertion of His will, in providence, must be inconsistent with the exertion of His will in creation. This poet does, then, argue in behalf of infidelity. He must be confessed to have thrown his great mind, and his heart with it, into the work of destroying the whole system of accountability, in this

life or any other, to divine power. He would leave no relation between man and gods, but that of mutual consciousness of each other, as of orders of beings existing at the same time in different parts of the universe.

We cannot but wish, as we read, that Lucretius might have come to the faith and given himself to the teaching to which Socrates and Plato devoted themselves; and believe him to have been quite as capable of writing an undying vindication of the ways of God to man, as Pope or Milton was. At the same time we cannot help feeling that he has been forced into the part of "devil's advocate," in certain points, by the contemptible and disgusting character which the so-called religion of his time, and of his heathen fathers before him, was wearing and had for ages worn. The same process which has always disgusted men with a government of kings, after long endurance (where they have unhappily been brought to it) of kingly faithlessness and profligacy, worked in Lucretius the Roman, and Lucian the late Greek, against the government of such things as were accounted gods. Yet it can be said for the former that while, as all who know him must know, there are passages in his book which cannot be taught and need not be read, there is no trace to be found in his writing of a wish to loosen the bonds of morality; no proof of a delight in sinful or sensual indulgence, while Lucian seems to have been rotten at the heart.

Lucretius praises, in glowing words (beginning of B. v.) his master Epicurus for teaching man to live holy lives, and, for this work, sets him above such as have been called chief well-doers to the human race, Ceres and Bacchus, givers of corn and wine. "Life may endure," he says (v. 16) "without those things, as is reported of some nations now; without a pure heart life cannot well go on."

Not so much, however, for his morality, as for reasons which, we hope, we have made to appear,—we want ripe Christian scholars to read and teach Lucretius.

Let us say for him, to those who do not know him, that he has such a might and such a skill, in moulding thought in melodious speech, as has been given to few men. He flings out from himself a statement of scientific deductions, and, behold, instead of standing to the reader's eye in the shape of Arabic numerals, or dull, mathematical symbols, here are green boughs and bubbling fount-

ains, and the song and laugh and dance of children, perhaps; and all so real that it seems as if a painting were put upon the page, or rather as if a bit of the evergreen earth, and its on-dwellers, clad in pallium or toga and sandals, had been taken fresh, and set forth and kept still fresh, before our eyes and close to our ears.

As a specimen (at random, almost) in a rendering which claims no higher merit than to be not quite unrhythmical and to keep pretty closely to the meaning, take a passage in his Second Book after lines 333-341, in which he has set forth that the atoms differ very much among themselves in shape. (*Præter eat genus, etc.*)

Make pass the human race, and the dumb scale-bearers
In swimming shoals, and the glad herds, and savage beasts,
And changeful birds who to the gladdening waters throng,
About the river-banks and springs and meres; and who
In fluttering flocks frequent the pathless woods: of these
Take any race you will, after its kind, and still
The several ones who make it differ, each from each;
Nor is there other way by which the dam its young
Can know, or the young thing its mother; which we see
They can, and be as known, each for itself, as men
For victim oft before the fair-carved shrines of gods
And incense-breathing altars, slaughtered falls, and there
Breathes the warm tide of living blood forth of its breast.
The mother, all-bereaved, wanders the green meads o'er,
Knows each track stamped in earth by the young cloven feet;
Searches, with burning eyes, all places, if somewhere
She may behold her missing young, and with her cries
Fills, from afar the leafy wood, and hurries oft
Back to the stall, pierced through with longing for her calf:
Nor the soft willows, nor the grass all strung with dew,
Nor those smooth-gliding streams which lap their banks' green brims
Can soothe her heart or turn her new, deep grief aside:
Nor other shapes of calves which wanton on the green
Can draw her eyes that long for that loved thing, her own.
Moreover weakling kids, with trembling, broken cries,
Know their own horn-decked dams, and so the butting lambs
Their bleating mothers: so—the thing which nature craves—
Each runs to its own udder full-stretched with white milk.

This is his way of showing, in this place (for elsewhere when he wants close argument, he gives it more closely jointed than coat-of-mail of Milan) how the first atoms, countless and limitless in number, whose looser or closer packing together, makes all things differ among themselves by manifold shapes.

And here is his way of showing that no existing thing goes back to nothing, although all things by their sundering go back to the first beginnings (B. i., 250, etc., *Postremo pereunt imbres*).

Lastly the showers are lost, when the great father, ether,
 Into all-mother earth's wide breast has poured them down.
 But glossy fruits spring forth, and branches wave with green;
 The trees, themselves grow out, and load themselves with fruit;
 Hence our own race is fed, and the strong race of beasts;
 Hence see we cities, joyous with their thronging youth;
 And, on all sides, the leaf-clad forests sing with birds;
 Hence, weary with their load of fat, on happy meads,
 The herds lay down their bodies, and the milky stream
 Trickles from o'er-full udders, and the new-born race
 Unsteady in their limbs, wanton amid the grass,
 Their fresh minds smitten through with joy of the pure milk.

Our English lags, heavily, behind the Latin, which is particularly beautiful.

That there are unseen bodily elements in the viewless mind he sets forth, thus: (B. i., 290, etc., *Principio venti vis*.)

First the wind's heady might lashes the harbor's face,
 Sinks the huge ships, and hurls the hurrying clouds along.
 Sometimes with restless whirl running across the fields
 Strews with great trees its way, and beats the mountain tops
 With its wood-chattering blasts. So rages, with fierce roar,
 And with its threatening murmur raves, the mighty wind.
 Bodies there are, then, doubtless, in the wind, unseen.
 Which sea and land, in short the clouds in heaven, aloft,
 Sweep and so strongly driving, snatch, with sudden whirl.
 Not otherwise these flow and spread their ruin wide
 Than as the water's yielding nature, when at once
 It bursts, with overflowing flood, which from large rains
 The mighty downcome from the towering mountains swells,
 Tumbling great broken trunks from forests and whole groves,
 Nor can the fast-set bridges stand the sudden stress
 Of the assailing water, in such wise the stream,
 Swelled with great rains, in mighty strength smites the broad piers.
 With far-heard roar it lays all waste, and neath its waves
 Rolls the huge stones and rushes where aught dares withstand its strength.
 Thus, then, it must be that the blasts of wind are borne.
 Bodies there are, then, in the wind, unseen.

The Fifth Book, next to the First, is a rich one to make reasonably short quotations from, and we intended (until we saw what

length we had already reached) to try one or more out of the description of man's earliest condition and advance. The picture of the time "when wild in woods the noble savage ran," and fought his way with other less reasoning beasts—seeing, sometimes, the flesh from his own body buried in the living tomb of a wolf's or lion's belly—(B. v., 991-3) filling mountains and woods with his shrieks, as he clutches what is left of himself, until death comes to his call (994-6) is worthy of Doré or Holbein or Albert Dürer; and there are a plenty of others as good.

ROBERT T. S. LOWELL

THE INCARNATION NOT DEPENDENT UPON THE COMING IN OF SIN.

It is commonly supposed that the WORD became Flesh in order that He might redeem men from sin ; this the sole reason. It is well to inquire, whether the Incarnation was conditioned by the entrance of sin ? " Which things angels desire to look into." They do it with veiled face.* Not less reverently, as, also, with no less of desire, should we look into these things.

I. Marriage, as instituted in Eden, was an anticipatory representation of the union to obtain between the Second Adam and His people.† A type is ever a prophecy, fulfilled in its ante-type, the coming substance casting its shadow before. Marriage was not contingent upon sin. And, yet, it foretold the oneness of the Christ with men. Failure to see this is to miss the central meaning of marriage. The Incarnation could no more hinge upon the entrance of sin than marriage could. Better to teach : Marriage was ordained notwithstanding the foreseen coming in of sin ; and so, the Incarnation, its correlative, was decreed irrespective of sin ; rather than teach that, Marriage was appointed because of the anticipated sin, to modify it, and the Incarnation to heal it. This last premise carries in itself the conclusion, no sin, no Marriage ; no sin, no Incarnation.

II. To man, sinless, an adequate knowledge of God were impossible without the Incarnation. " And this is eternal life, to know Thee the only true God, and Him Whom Thou didst send, even Jesus Christ."‡ The knowledge of God in Christ would be necessary to the eternal life of man as man. There could be no innermost

*1 Peter, i. 12.

†Eph. v, 22-32.

‡Isaiah, vi, 2.

§John, xvii, 3. Alford.

communion and fellowship with God without such knowledge. Would revealings through Nature, and in dreams, visions, and voices suffice? They could not but be meagre; and, at best, preliminary to an absolute revealing. Sin, or sinlessness, could make no difference, save in the degree of incapacity. Purity of heart would give deeper insight into the Divine Nature; but, it could not do away with the need of a complete revealment; "neither doth any fully know the Father, but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son is minded to reveal Him." Whether could God be known at all to man, through any media, without the Christ? Would God be approachable by any other way than the Christ? Holy Scripture teaches that, as in the adorable Trinity, the Son is the middle-term between the Father and the Holy Ghost, so He is the middle-term between God and the Universe.¹ Is this due to the presence of sin in the Universe? Could man, if sinless, have had access to God by any other way than through One who, Himself a member of the race and its representative Head, should be also of the same substance with the Father, and, therefore, One upon whom the Father could look with infinite satisfaction, accepting all in Him? The intercourse of God with man before the Fall was mediated by the Logos.² And He came to Adam in anthropomorphous methods, as if to foretoken the Incarnation.

III. The Divine Ideal of man—would it have come to its accomplishment without the Incarnation? Man was to attain unto the image and likeness of God.³ Read the interpretation thereof in the Archetypal MAN, Christ Jesus. "*Ecce Homo*;" "the brightness of His (the Father's) glory, and the express image of His substance." This is said of Him, not as to His Divine Nature exclusively; but, of the Christ, Who, "when He had made purification of sins, sat down on the right hand of Majesty on high; Having become so much better than the angels, as He hath inherited a more excellent name than they."⁴ Men, having been united to the Christ, and having received of His fulness, shall be like Him.⁵ Thus, at last, man shall answer to the great idea of his Maker. It

¹Matthew, xi, 27. Alford. Also. Luke x, 22. John i, 18, v, viii, xiv.

²Proverbs viii, Eph. ii, Col. i.

³Genesis i, ii, Proverbs viii, John i.

⁴Gen, i, 26, Psalms viii, Col. i, Heb. i, ii.

⁵Hebrew i, 3. 4. Alford.

⁶Romans viii, 29, I John iii, 2.

will be through the Incarnation. Is there reason to suppose it would, or could have been brought to pass in any other way, even in a sinless race?

Man was created good; but, he was in the novitiate, "the fluidity," of his being. He must needs be solidified in holiness. He must become god-like in the possession of an understanding tending infallibly towards the true, a heart fixed unchangeably upon the good, a will determining freely, yet inflexibly, to the right. This is to be a result of the Incarnation. Would not the Incarnation be necessary thereto, even in a sinless race?

It belonged to the Divine Ideal of man, that he should inherit the everlasting life. Such was the significance of the tree of life in the midst of the Garden. In order to this, man must pass from the life in the flesh into the life in the spirit, out of the choic state into the pneumatic. By creation, he is of the earth, earthy, dependent upon material Nature, subject to her forces. He must needs be clothed upon with the house from heaven, the spiritual body, and so become superior to physical Nature, "all things put under him." And there must obtain with this a corresponding exaltation of the mental and moral nature, as noted in the foregoing paragraph. It cannot be said, that the life in the spirit is inherent, though latent, in man. The capacity for it is there; otherwise, no arrangement could ever bring it into being; but, it will not be an evolution, the terminal of a process beginning in his creation and moving forward normally to that end. Rather, it will be a transition from the original state into the higher one. It was set before man as the reward of obedience, and he was put upon trial that he might win it. He failed. Redemption redintegrates man. The everlasting life does not necessarily follow redemption. It suffices that redemption ransoms man, heals him, and replaces him in the state from which he fell; thus taking out of the way every barrier to the attainment of his original destiny. These done, man is as if sin had not been. It remains to transfer him, body, soul, and spirit, into the *pneumatic* state, which carries in itself the imperishable life. This is something to be super-added to recovery. It will be a consequence of the Incarnation. Would, nay, more, could this be for a sinless race, if there were no Incarnation? There must be the taking of

human nature by the Son of God, the glorifying of it in Him into the life in the spirit, and the imparting of His transfigured humanity to the individual men of every successive generation.

Thus would the Divine Ideal of man come to its full satisfaction.

IV. When man shall have entered into the heavenly state, he will not be independent. A ceaseless nutrition will be as necessary then, as it is to the choic life now. This last is not conditioned by sin. So, the need the heavenly life will have of its peculiar aliment will not be because man has been diseased with sin. Dependence inheres in man, without regard to his moral qualities. Self-sufficiency belongs to God only. It is a necessity of man's nature that he should live, move, and have his being in God.¹ His *pneumatic* life will be derived, and, therefore, dependent. Its subsistence will be in the God Incarnate. He will ever be the substance of man's life. Perfected man could not be severed from the Christ at any period in the coming eternity without losing the life he has from Him. "Except ye eat the flesh, and drink the blood of the Son of Man, ye have no life in you;" "severed from me ye can do nothing," will be true forever. But, this involves the need of a perpetual Incarnation. Accordingly Holy Scripture teaches that the Incarnation was not temporary, but remains forever. If its only purpose was redemption, that purpose having been served, the human nature of our Lord might be laid aside. How this could be done, and what would become of it when put away, are insoluble problems; having such repugnance to Scripture and reason as to show the Incarnation was once for all. This assures the eternal duration of man's glorified life. "Because I live, ye shall live also." "As the living Father hath sent Me, and I live by the Father: so he that eateth Me, even he shall live by Me." Men have this life by union to the humanity of the Christ. It can be maintained only by an incessant abiding of men in the Christ, and of the Christ in men. And, the tree of life in the Paradise of God implies, that there will be sacramental media there for the continual inflow of the Christ-life into men.² "Lord, evermore give us this bread."

¹ Acts, xvii, 28.

² John vi. 53.

³ John xv, 5. Gr.

⁴ John xiv, 19.

⁵ John vi, 57.

⁶ Rev. ii, 7, xxii, 2.

⁷ John vi, 34.

Such fruits of the Incarnation warrant the position, that the need, and, therefore, the promise, of the Incarnation lay in the original constitution of man, as man, irrespective of sin.

V. A Difficulty. Holy Scripture declares, "that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners." Do not this, and kindred passages imply, that if sin had not come into the world, the Incarnation would not have been?

To infer from the avowed purposes of the Incarnation that there were no others is a *non sequitur*. A statement of certain necessities, unless it claim to be exhaustive, does not deny the existence of other, and even deeper, ones. Whatever effects flow directly from the Incarnation must be taken to be of the number of its final causes.

Holy Scripture may not be so construed as to gainsay itself. Those parts which show redemption to be the proximate intent of the Incarnation do not in any wise contradict those that cover remoter designs. They do not therefore conclude the Incarnation to be an accident, contingent upon the entrance of sin.

Sin is the commanding fact in the history of our race. The ruin wrought by sin in man and his surroundings is so utter and hopeless, that redemption becomes the grand necessity before the first ends of the Incarnation can be attained. The Incarnation were useless, unless it carry redemption in its constitution. Hence, the saving purposes thereof might well occupy the fore-front in Holy Scripture; while, at the same time, sufficient hinting is given as to the primal intent. The burden of the Church's teaching has been, and must be, Sin and Grace, Ruin and Recovery. But, this does not forbid the searching out of the whole truth, and placing it in a scientific form. The Church has for her duty, not only to win men to the Christ as their Saviour; but, also, to solve, as best she may, the profound questionings which will present themselves to men; questionings which unbelief fashions into weapons of deadliest warfare. The resolving of these disarms the enemy, and sets free beleaguered souls.

The teaching that the Christ would have come to sinless men lays wondrous stress upon John iii, 16. "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son." The Incarnation was not abandoned when man sinned. Divine Love adhered to it, and

carried it through, although sin so modified the condition of things that the Christ must become a sufferer even unto death. This teaching puts an infinite emphasis upon the particle, *so*. "For God so loved the world." It opens to us the heart of God.

VI. Light is thrown by this doctrine upon many mysteries. It is invaluable as clearing up some of the darkest problems concerning the origin of evil. The Incarnation shows, of itself, that evil does not inhere in matter, nor in man, as an integral element; for, then, a perfect Christ were impossible. But, the Incarnation has given us a perfect Christ.

Beyond this there lies a darker question. Was sin necessary to the Incarnation? Let there be no Christ, and the Universe would be robbed of the grandest manifestation of God. If the absence of sin would cause a failure of the Christ, and of all the magnificent purposes fulfilling themselves in and by Him, then, to make sure the coming of Christ, sin must come; its entrance must be secured, at all hazards, by the Divine decree. Men have thought and said this; and have almost persuaded themselves to believe that the glorious fruits of the Incarnation justify God in having determined to bring sin into the universe. It is horrible. Only the want of malicious intention saves it from being a blasphemous impeachment of the Divine Purity and Love.

Take the position, that the Incarnation was included in the original plan of the creation; and it is seen, that sin was not necessary, in any sense, as furnishing the reason for the Christ, nor the occasion for Him. The Incarnation did not need that sin should be fore-ordained, and forced upon man. This position enables us to put sin where Holy Scripture, and the human conscience put it upon the free, accountable will of man.

The Incarnation of Christ did not hinge upon the entrance of sin, was not an after-thought, a make-shift, an episode, a provisional economy to tide over a hidden reef. It was the preordained culmen of the creation. In the First Adam all would have been unsafe. In the last Adam, "the counsel of the Jehovah standeth forever." The position, that the Incarnation belonged to the plan of creation, independent upon sin, secures, in scientific theology, the doctrine of the Divine Sovereignty.

C. P. JENNINGS.

¹ Psalms xxxiii, 11.

LEO X.

LEO X., the son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, of Florence, was born in that city December 11, A. D. 1475. He was designated from his infancy to the priesthood, and received the tonsure at seven years of age. When only nine years old he obtained, through Louis of France, the appointment of Abbot of Font Douce in Saintaigne. At thirteen years of age he was created Cardinal. These facts strikingly exhibit the deplorable condition of the Church at that period. From political connection with the Papacy, and with his ally the King of France, Lorenzo was enabled to put a pressure upon them both which resulted in this premature advancement.

Lorenzo the Magnificent was the most illustrious prince of his time, distinguished alike for his splendid personal qualities, and for his munificent patronage of learning and of art. Florence, at the close of the XVth century, was not only the city of flowers, as it still is called, the abode of gaiety and festivity, but it cultivated literature, science, and philosophy with all the fervor of a new and engrossing passion. Some learned Greeks, driven from Constantinople, about the middle of the century, established themselves at Florence, at the invitation of Cosmo, the father of Lorenzo, and continued to be treated by Lorenzo himself with munificent hospitality. It was a peculiarity of this period that learned men and great artists were treated by princes and men of rank as equals, and were made the recipients of the highest honors and offices in Church and State. These honored exiles were established in calm retreats on the beautiful hills which surround fair Florence. There they pursued those studies, and thence exerted that influence in behalf of letters, art, and philosophy, which made the city seem in one of its aspects like a vast academy over which Lorenzo the Magnificent presided, and in which they

officiated as professors. Florence already was an abode of wealth and a scene of commerce, and the home of a high and elegant civilization, which had no peer in Europe. Thither resorted from France, Germany, and England large numbers of mature scholars and of students, to devote themselves to the study of antiquity, and to that new Platonic philosophy which the Greeks had recently introduced into Italy, and which so fascinated Cosmo as to lead him to establish an Academy for the exclusive purpose of expounding the philosophy of Plato. Rome had scarcely begun to revive, when Florence already boasted her libraries, her academies, her gymnasia, and her societies of learned men. Lorenzo invited these savants to his table, and conducted them to his villas, where were gathered master-pieces of ancient sculpture recently exhumed at Rome, or brought from Greece, and precious manuscripts which the Jew merchants purchased in the East, and sold again in the West. "Never lived a prince," says one of his biographers, "who had so genuine and enlightened a love of letters as Lorenzo de Medici. He counted himself the most happy when far from Florence, in the evening, in one of his palaces he could show to those who were intrusted with their keeping some precious manuscripts which a Jew had sold him for their weight in gold."

Such was the father of Leo X., and such were the circumstances of splendor and of luxury, in the midst of which the future Pope was born.

Giovanni—this was the name of the future Pope—was placed at an early period, under the tuition of three teachers illustrious for genius and learning. The first of these was Marsillio Ficini, an eminent disciple and translator of Plato. The second was the wonderful Pico della Mirandola. This remarkable youth was distinguished for all those gifts and attainments which captivate all classes. In personal beauty he was said to have been the only man of that generation who excelled Raphael. In point of genius and learning he was the unapproached prodigy of the age. His biographer declares, and all contemporary history confirms the statement, that nothing equal to him had ever before appeared in history. "He possessed," says his biographer, "an oriental imagination, a vivacious discourse, an artistic mind, apt to all the

influences of painting, music and eloquence, an exquisite judgment, and a memory that was truly prodigious. If a page of Homer was read to him he would repeat it, reversing the order of the verses. A few months enabled him to learn the entire dictionary of a language. At eighteen years of age he was the master of twenty-two languages. Then after dinner he would improvise before his friend Benevieni an entire new canto of the *Paradiso* or the *Inferno*, and Florence, seized with stupor, did not know whether they were really the verses of Dante, its own poet, discovered after two centuries, or the invention of the *Improvisatore*." The mind of Pico, in the field of speculation, was daring, universal, reaching beyond the bounds of the ascertainable and delving into Cabalistic Gipsy lore. His many-sidedness was most remarkable. This most learned of scholars had a fondness for roaming on foot over Europe and of mingling and chatting with all classes of people. It was after such a journey that he arrived in Rome and published his theses on a wide range of topics, and threw out a challenge, while yet a mere boy, which the most learned scholars of Rome dared not to accept. Such was one of the three great teachers of that pampered child of fortune in his youth, who was afterwards the accomplished and luxurious Leo X.

Politiano, another of his teachers, was a person of quite a different character. He was the first great classical star of that age in which, a few years later, there was a constellation of brilliant lights. Living outside of Florence, on one of its charming slopes, studying, teaching, composing mellifluous verses, he troubled himself little with deep problems which racked the brain and gave feverish activity to the all-embracing studies of the young Mirandola.

Such were the various influences under which the young Cardinal was reared. We can trace the effect of them all on his character and life. His fondness for the Platonic philosophy, for art and for the classics, had each their separate source in one of the teachers of his youth. Perhaps, too, his alleged infidelity may have been fostered by the scepticism, or the at least questionable orthodoxy of Pico.

The Cardinal de Medici—such was his title—entered Rome at seventeen years of age. In the description of the beauty of his person and the charm of his manner we are reminded of Pius IX. It seems indeed as if there must have been much similarity in the natural character of the two. The one, however, took a literary, artistic, philosophic, luxurious, licentious direction; while the latter, passing through the phases of practical zeal in religion, and liberalism in politics, now croaks in the stagnant pool of bigotry and absolutism.

The following description of the young Cardinal at this period is given by his French biographer, Audin :

The painter, the sculptor, the artists in general, in seeing him could do no less than admire in him the agility of his body, the harmony of his features, his agile and vigorous legs, his exceedingly white hands, his Græco-Roman aspect, his deep blue eyes, his large head upon stalwart shoulders, his lip slightly turned up—in short, all the perfect proportions with which he was adorned, and of which it appeared that he was the model which had long been lost. He appeared to them as a god who had crossed the seas and come to Rome, there to inaugurate the worship of form. We must pardon in sensuous men this worship of form. The youth had studied with much application his own language, and spoke it with an exquisite accent. His perfect pronunciation and his words constituted an indescribable harmony, almost like that of musical cadences.

Within a year after the young Cardinal removed to Rome his father died, and the infamous Rodirego Borgia, Alexander VI., ascended the Papal throne. These events led to his return to Florence, where he was warmly welcomed. But suddenly there came a change in his position. Charles VIII., of France, set out upon his famous expedition to Italy. Pietro Medici, the brother of the Cardinal, hastened to meet and propitiate the King. He succeeded only at the expense of surrendering to him many important cities within his jurisdiction, including Pisa and Leghorn. The inhabitants of Florence were enraged at this concession, deposed Pietro, sacked the palace, and made it necessary for Pietro and the Cardinal both to flee, the former to Bologna and the latter to Castello.

Pietro was unsuccessful in various attempts to recover Florence, and at length died, unlamented by Florence, in the service of the French King in the siege of Gaeta. The Cardinal, after many journeys and temporary sojourns, returned to Rome in company

with his friend, Cardinal della Rovere, afterwards Pope Julius II. Here he occupied himself during the Pontificate of Alexander VI. with letters and the arts.

The name of Alexander, and of his son Cæsar Borgia, are justly as infamous as any in history. It is an indication of the atrociously immoral character of that period, that some of the most treacherous and cruel murders of Cæsar Borgia should have been lauded, without reproof, as masterly strokes of policy, by Machiavelli in his "Prince." Even with all the horrors that have been enacted at Rome in successive generations, these three names—Alexander, Cæsar, and Lucretia Borgia—have attained a preëminence of infamy which no efforts of that modern school of historians who seek to wash Ethiopians white, and rub out the spots of leopards, can diminish. They seem still to haunt the place like evil ghosts, that cannot rest, brandishing daggers, concocting poisons and revelling in ghastly and obscene debaucheries. In this case truth is stranger than the most cynical fiction. The writer of this article had an opportunity to see the contemporary portraits of the three, which are contained in the rooms of the Vatican, where the library of Cardinal Mezzofanti was deposited. It would be difficult to conceive a face more expressive of low and base passions, blended with an iron and remorseless will, than that of Alexander. The portrait of Cæsar impressing us at once as that of a knight of eminent beauty, great refinement and a somewhat melancholy cast of mind. It surprises one to learn that it is a faithful representation of one of the most selfish, cruel, and remorseless characters in history. Lucretia looks like a gay, sensuous, light-hearted Italian beauty. Such was the character of the Papacy, and such the influences to which the young Cardinal was exposed. But in his case these influences lost something of their power of contamination by their grossness and their excess.

Julius II., the successor of Alexander VI., was not friendly to the family of the Medici. But the Cardinal came into favor with the Pope through his intimacy with his nephew. Through the agency of Pope Julius, the brother of the Cardinal, Julio de Medici, was restored to supremacy in Florence and the Cardinal himself placed upon a vantage ground which enabled him to take possession of the Papal throne in 1513.

Julius II. was one of the most remarkable of the Popes. Essentially a warrior, his Pontificate was marked by an exclusively worldly policy, by perpetual wars, and by a disregard of the externals of religion, which was sometimes offensive to Churchmen even at that period of the revival of classic literature and art, which so thoroughly Paganized the learning and the worship and theology of the Church. A grand and imposing presence, which still lives in the wonderful and celebrated portrait of him by Raphael, must his have been! It is said that Michael Angelo, in that marvellous statue of Moses, which was to have crowned the mausoleum of Julius—a statue which one does not know at first whether to regard as magnificent or grotesque, but which one always concludes at length to be unique indeed, but strangely powerful and majestic—, took his inspiration from the strong, indomitable face of Julius, and gave to it somewhat of the form and quite the expression of the Pope's formidable features. His skill as a warrior who adopted the name Julius from his admiration of Julius Cæsar, was said to have been not unworthy of one who made the great Roman his model. The relief of Bologna and the restoration of Florence, with the small resources at his disposal, were regarded as evidence of such military skill as, under favorable circumstances, would have enrolled him among the celebrated captains of the world. Nor was he deficient in strategy of a peculiar Papal kind, which on one occasion was very ludicrous, and must have been very annoying to his victims. The city of Perugia had thrown off the Papal yoke, and was subdued by Julius with so much difficulty as greatly to exasperate him. Nevertheless, after it was captured he expressed a determination to conciliate and win the Perugians by lavishing benefits upon the city. Among other things he would build them an immense hospital, on the crowning elevation of the city, which had formerly been a fortress. An army of workmen were sent from Rome, the enclosure surrounded with a high wall that they might not be interrupted, and in due time the great hospital was announced as completed. Nothing was needed but beds and furniture which were to be sent from Rome. The Perugians saw with astonishment feather-beds drawn on carts up the hill by six buffaloes each; and laughed at the absurd excess of strength. Soon

everything was completed. The enclosure was taken down and the Perugians saw with horror and dismay a formidable fortress, manned by a sufficient garrison, and with guns which had been brought up in feather-beds, pointed down upon the town.

The thoroughly paganized character of the Church at this period appears not only from the almost exclusive cultivation of classical literature by all ecclesiastics, but by the transfer of Pagan terms to Christian truths and institutions. The Latin language was the subject of special and minute study. Words and forms of expression not found in Cicero were branded as barbarous. Instead of the word Christianity they used the phrase the *Christian Republic*; instead of grace, the *Divine afflatus*; the *Sacred College* became the *Senate*; *heresy* became *sedition*; *faith* became *persuasion*; the *interdict of fire and water* was substituted for excommunication; and even the word *God* was changed into the *Immortal God*.

Erasmus has left an interesting record of a sermon which he heard at Rome under the Pontificate of Julius II. He says:

I was invited some days before by learned men to assist at this sermon. "Do not fail," said they, "for you know the charm of the Italian language from a Roman tongue." (Hence the proverb, *Lingua Toscana, Bocca Romana*). I repaired to the Church with extreme curiosity, and placed myself very near the orator, that I might not lose a word. Julius II. was present, a rare thing with him, on account of his health no doubt. There was also a great number of Bishops and Cardinals, and many of the learned men, who at that time thronged to Rome. The exordium and the peroration were almost as long as the rest of the discourse, and they exhibited the praises of Julius II. under every variety of form. He was the all-powerful Jupiter, brandishing in his right hand the trident and the thunderbolt, and by a single movement of his eyelids accomplishing his profound designs. Everything which had occurred for some years past in Gaul, in Germany, Spain and Portugal, in Africa and Greece, were all the results of the mere expression of his will. The plan of the orator was to represent Jesus Christ, at first in the agony of his passion, then in all the glory of his triumph. He recalled Curtius and Decius, who were dedicated to the infernal gods for the safety of the Republic. He recalled Cecrops, Iphigenia and other great victims, who had regarded their lives less than the honor and dignity of their country. The public gratitude, he added with tears and with a voice profoundly pathetic—*valde lugubriter*—had always surrounded men of this noble and generous character. Sometimes statues had been erected to them in the forum; sometimes divine honors had been decreed to them, while Jesus Christ, for his benefits had received only death. The orator then compared the Saviour, *meriting so well of his country*, to Phocian and to Socrates, to Epaminondas, to Scipio and Aris-

tides. Can you imagine anything more cold, more inappropriate? And yet I assure you he sweat blood and water to rival Cicero. In short, my Roman preacher was so fully *Roman* that he was not *Christian*. I heard nothing of the death of Jesus Christ.

Such were the two Pontiffs whom Leo had known as his predecessors in the Papal chair. It must have been a comfort to him to know that, half infidel as he was, he could not be worse than they, and that unless he made special efforts in the direction of badness, he could scarcely fail of being somewhat better.

Some account of the election of Leo, and of the ceremonies connected with his investiture will exhibit the blasphemous extravagances to which the Papacy had proceeded. It should be remembered that the homage thus rendered was to a man who was a mere amateur in literature and art, and a luxurious worldling, perhaps not even a Christian in his convictions. And yet the homage was little short of idolatry. It will be seen from this description that the Reformers had abundant justification for the representations which they made of the claims of the Papacy to universal supremacy, and to the practical exaltation of the Pope to the position of a divinity upon earth. The mottoes which are adopted on such an occasion form a good indication of the prevailing principles and policy of the Papacy at that period.

The balloting continued seven days. The Cardinal de Medici, as the youngest member of the college, was appointed to collect the votes; and on the seventh day he himself was elected. When the Cardinals desired to know what title he would assume, he answered that among the vain thoughts that had passed through his mind, he had imagined that if he were elected Pope he would like to take the title of Leo X., and if they had no objection to it, he would be so called.

The Cardinal was but a deacon when elected Pope. Passing rapidly through the orders of Priest and Bishop, he was consecrated Pope on the 17th of March, 1513, in the Basilica of St. Peter. Splendid as that ceremony was, it was wholly eclipsed by his enthronization at the Church of St. John Laterano, *omnium urbis et orbis ecclesiarum mater et caput*. As an evidence, however, of the extent to which the Papacy had become heathenized while it still maintained all its high spiritual claims, it may be

mentioned that over the platform erected for the occasion on which he was consecrated, the motto in letters of gold made reference to the Pope's literary munificence and benevolence rather than to any spiritual or even ecclesiastical qualifications. It was as follows :

Leoni Decimo Pont. Max. literarum presidio, ac bonitatis fautori.

His procession to St. John Lateran was incredibly magnificent. An admiring Florentine annalist has minutely described all the Princes and Cardinals, and their following, their adornments, and their devices. That, however, which conveys to us, better than anything that could be briefly described, the significance of the ceremony, is the series of mottoes and devices which were set up on the way. At one point the Pope passed a structure which is thus described :

Below the frieze there was a cornice, which from a distance looked like marble. The vault was covered with a blue lining. At each angle of the cornice there was a gilded globe and between the two globes the coat of arms of the Pontiff. At the foot of each pilaster there was a picture by a skilful painter. That at the right represented the High Priest transported into heaven under branches of palma, conversing with St. Peter and St. Paul. An angel was blowing a trumpet. Under the seraphim was a rainbow, and beneath it green fields and flowers and men. There was also a flying ribbon, upon which was inscribed the motto: "The world is open and the King of glory enters it." In the picture at the left the kings of different nations kneel to the Pontiff and offer him gold and silver, and above is the motto *parcere subjectis*. Near the Pontiff are seen some emperors and princes *standing* and above their heads appears the motto *debellare superbos*.

At the extremity of the bridge of St. Angelo a magnificent double triumphant arch was erected. Above the capitals of the columns arose an architrave and frieze, and upon the latter, in allusion to the name of Leo, were represented the heads of lions in various ways, together with plumes and jewels. Upon the cornice was this motto: "To the Pontiff Leo X., studious of consolidating ecclesiastical union and of assuaging Christian tumults." In the upper cornice two lions were depicted. One of them supported his claws upon two globes, and the other upon the Pope's coat of arms. The motto upon the first was: *Præda mea gloria*, and the other, *Mihi cura est*. The vault of the arch presented different scenes. The one represented the Pope upon his throne surrounded by emperors, kings and princes in adora-

tion. Upon the cornice was represented an image of Christ in the act of speaking; He held in His hand the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and said to His vicar, "*Trado tibi terras et celi regnum.*"

These are but specimens of many others of similar blasphemous character. They claim for the Papacy all that its most decided enemies have charged against it; indeed, they claim all that is possible short of absolute equality with God. Other mottoes more appropriate to the personal character and habits of the man, than to the office of the Pope, were also conspicuously displayed. Prominent among them was one over the shop of a celebrated goldsmith. A magnificent statue of a naked Venus was placed over the portico, and on her sandals was this inscription: "*Mars fuit, est Pallas, Cypria semper ero.*"

At the Basilica ensued the ceremony called the enthronization and adoration of the Pope. Anything more blasphemous it is difficult to conceive. In the Church of Rome the Altar is regarded as the most sacred object. God in the form of the host is worshipped upon it. In this ceremony the Pope himself is placed upon it, and the ceremony of adoration is performed. Nor is this an extinct blasphemy. An eye-witness of the adoration of Pius VIII. in 1829, thus describes the ceremony:

The day after the breaking up of the conclave the Pope proceeded to St. Peter's. Arrived at the entrance he was carried on men's shoulders to the grand altar, situated in the section of the cross, in the form of which the upper end of St. Peter's is built. He was seated upon it in the place of the host, which is commonly among those of the Roman Church supposed to represent the presence of the Deity, thus fully exemplifying the words of the Apostle when speaking of the man of sin: "He as God sitteth in the Temple of God, showing himself that he is God."

The same ceremony was performed upon the consecration of Pius IX.

It would have suited the easy, luxurious, tasteful Leo to have had a peaceful reign, in which he might have enjoyed letters and art and repose in the midst of leisure and plenty. Julius was a sort of ecclesiastical Mars; Leo was rather an ecclesiastical Apollo. In both the Pagan predominated over the Christian, and even the ecclesiastic. Leo endeavored to calm the agitation which Julius had everywhere awakened, in order that he might enjoy his peace-

ful tastes undisturbed. There was an immediate gathering at Rome of the most illustrious artists of Italy. Bramante, Michael Angelo, Raphael, Perruzzi, Sodama, and many others, at once resorted to Rome in the assurance of patronage and favor. The piazza of St. Peter's was alive night and day with laborers drawing and cutting marble, and with artists shaping it into form; and the neighboring hills were as vast cemeteries from which, not dead bodies, but the buried masterpieces of art, in all the undying life of genius, were disinterred. To scholars and artists it seemed as if the Millennium of the kingdom of taste had come, and as if to the triple crown of Leo, signifying his dominion over the world of spirits, and his spiritual and temporal supremacy over earth, there should be added a fourth crown of kingship over literature and art. If all the kings of the earth would have done what the flattering artists represented them as doing on the occasion of his enthronization, viz.: gathering around him, kneeling and offering to him homage and service, Leo had been well content. But at the close of his Pontificate the same populace which hailed his advent to power as that of a god, followed his funeral train with scoffs and reproaches, uttering the words originally used on the death of Boniface VIII. which had become the proverbial expression of their feelings in reference to an unsatisfactory Pope: "You came in like a fox, you ruled like a lion, and you died like a dog." Princes, too, who flattered him on his accession, fought against him before the close of his reign.

A man is known by the company he keeps. Leo's intimacies were with literary men and artists rather than with statesmen. His three private secretaries were Sadclato, Bembo and Bibiena. They were all literary ecclesiastics. Bembo was the foremost scholar of the Court of Leo. But Leo's bosom friend was Bibiena—a man of infinite humor and unbounded spirits. He discharged many duties and performed much faithful service for Leo, but he turned all the business alike of schools, of learning, of the Church and of courts into an excellent jest. His wit was rich, his temper sweet, and his activity boundless. His love of art seemed to be the only thing in which real earnestness was exhibited. Leo's fondness for him was very great, and with him

probably more than with any other man of his court, he was intimate and confidential.

Such was the intellectual life with which Leo surrounded himself. Audin, lamenting the predominance of the Pagan element of the period, still asserts that Sadoloto—"a tranquil and reflective mind, whose love of the antique did not become a fanaticism," "as much of a spiritual man as was possible for that time"—exerted an influence which prevented art from becoming thoroughly paganized, and the theory of Bembo, that it should be a mere copy of the ancient art, from winning a complete triumph. Nevertheless the Pagan element in art was vastly in the ascendant. The Greek and Roman sandal peeped out under priestly robes, and the Basilicas of modern Christianity were adorned with the mythology and history of Pagan times. In the church of San Giovanni at Perugia, the walls were adorned by Raphael and Perugino with a ludicrous mixture of saints, sybils, gods, goddesses, poets and philosophers, which constitute an expressive symbol of the period in which they were produced.

The principal events which occurred in Leo's administration between the years 1513-17, were the following: The Lateran Council was held, in which there were introduced some minor administrative reforms. Great activity prevailed in the purchase and publication of classical manuscripts. The Vatican library was greatly enlarged and improved. A Roman university was established. Francis I. invaded Italy and seized Milan, and imposed conditions upon the Pope, who concluded a concordat with him, more favorable to the Pope than was agreeable to the French.

In 1516-17 an event occurred which is more appropriate to a biographical sketch than general historical transactions. It illustrates also the condition of the court of Leo. There was a conspiracy of Cardinals to destroy him. It will be remembered that Leo was the youngest member of the College. Others of the young members, somewhat older than himself, had combined to put him in the chair. Hence they expected more favors from him than he was willing or able to perform. Among these, the most turbulent, ambitious and passionate of them all, was Cardinal Alphonso Patrucci, whose family was prominent at Sienna. When the Pope promoted a rival to the government of that city, Patrucci openly and loudly expressed his disappointment and indig-

nation. He became reckless in his threats and denunciations, which had proceeded to the extent of intimating assassination. In concert with other Cardinals, he plotted against the life of the Pope. It appears that Leo had a chronic issue upon his person, into which Patrucci endeavored to bribe a physician to inject poison. The Pope's favorite and trusted physician was absent. Patrucci laid his schemes to have a distinguished physician whom, by a high bribe, he had made an accomplice, substituted in his place. But the Pope was unwilling to receive him and preferred to wait for the return of his own favorite physician. The plot failed. But Patrucci's excessive passion and imprudence led to its discovery. The Pope was made aware of his proceedings, and sent a kind invitation to him to come to Rome. He suspected no harm and came, but had scarcely set foot in the Vatican when he was seized and immured in the castle of St. Angelo. Subjected to torture he made a full confession. He had determined, on destroying Leo, to secure the election to the Papal throne of Cardinal Riario, his friend and accomplice. He denounced him and Cardinals Sodorini, Adriana, and Sauli, as accomplices.

Riario had already been involved in a conspiracy against the Medici of Florence, before he was made Cardinal. He was rich and magnificent in his tastes. Having at one point of the balloting come very near to a sufficient number of votes to make him Pope, he had never forgotten it, and never forgiven his successful competitor. Sodorini was the brother of the Gonfaloniere of Florence, who had succeeded the deposed Medici—he too was a bitter enemy of the Pope. He was learned, cultivated and elegant, but avaricious, cunning and venal. Adrian of Cornato was learned and dexterous in affairs, but exceedingly superstitious. An astrologer had predicted that one would succeed Leo, the description of whom seemed applicable to himself. The name Adrian was included in the predictions, and strange to say another Adrian was Leo's successor. Sauli also relied upon the prediction of astrologers who promised him the tiara. The scene at the consistory at which Leo came out with the charges and the proofs of the conspiracy was very dramatic.

On the 27th of May, 1517, everything was disposed for the sacred assembly, through the arrangements of Paride de Grassi,

who suspected nothing. The Cardinals came in one by one and took their seats. The Pope called to him the Cardinal of Ancona, with whom he conferred more than an hour. The master of ceremonies, De Grassi, astonished at so long an interview, kneeling down, looked through an aperture of the door and saw in the chamber of his Holiness the captain of the palace and two armed guards. There entered in the meantime, into the consistory, the Cardinal San Georgio and the Cardinal Farnese. For some days past there had run a rumor of a new promotion of Cardinals, and Paride concluded that they had come to confer on this subject with his sanctity. But no sooner had Riario put his foot within the Pontifical apartment than Leo immediately issued from his chamber precipitately, slammed the door, and with a resolute mien ordered the master of ceremonies to organize the Cardinals in consistory. Paride obeyed. He then understood that the Cardinal of St. Georgio had been arrested; but of what crime had he been guilty? The Pope explained that the Cardinals Patrucci and Sauli had made such revelations as implicated the Cardinal of San Georgio. "We could scarcely bring ourselves to believe," said De Grassi, "that the Cardinal de San Georgio, whose prudence and dexterity were so well known, should have been thought to have taken part in the conspiracy, or that being indeed guilty, he had not sought safety in flight." In this perplexity the college of Cardinals secured the Cardinal from being transferred to the castle of St. Angelo, and obtained permission for him to remain under custody in the palace.

But the matter did not end here. Other guilty ones remained to be discovered. On the eighth day the Pope convoked a second consistory, in which enlarging upon the benefits which he had lavished upon them, he complained of the black ingratitude of some among them. Then raising his voice he exclaimed: "There are here two guilty Cardinals;" and then invoking the name of Christ and uncovering his head before His image, he solemnly swore that he would pardon them if they would confess their guilt; and then fixed his eye upon Adrian and Sodorini; but they remained silent. Accolti and Farnese, to put an end to the anguish which oppressed the consistory, proposed that every Cardinal, upon being interrogated, should swear before God and his

Vicar that he was not guilty, or should confess his guilt. The proposal was accepted. Sodorini, when his turn came, hesitated and stammered ; but when pressed to swear, threw himself upon his knees and lifting his hands to his Judge, with his eyes bathed in tears, confessed his crime and implored mercy. Leo was far from tranquil. "There is still another," he exclaimed, "who should disclose his guilt before God." All eyes were turned to Cornato. The Cardinal rose to his feet and looked defiantly at the Pope, it was but for a moment ; he also turned pale and kneeled like his accomplice and confessed his guilt.

These two Cardinals were heavily fined for the crime of disguising a conspiracy of which they were cognizant ; and being still fearful of the vengeance of the Pope, removed from Rome. Petrucci, Sauli and Riario were condemned to death. On the following night Patrucci was strangled in his prison, but Sauli and Riario were at length pardoned.

It would be interesting, if space permitted, to dwell upon the wonderful revival of art in Rome during the reign of Leo, and of its influence upon the theology and the practical Christianity of the Papacy. But I hasten to a close.

Although Leo was by preference a man of letters, of taste and of pleasure, and indisposed to politics or war, and with an absolute aversion even to the external part of ecclesiastical affairs, yet his capacity was so great and varied, his mind so quick, and his grasp of affairs so comprehensive, that he dispatched business with great rapidity, and showed himself a master of the then Papal policy of playing off one great power against another, and of siding with the strongest, and of coming in with a good share of the common spoil. While Charles V. and Francis were striving for the Imperial Crown, he secretly encouraged the German Princes to place one of their own number on the throne. When Charles succeeded he made with him a treaty, and just before his death had the great gratification of seeing the French driven from Milan and the extension of the Papal territory and power secured. It was even said by the French historians that the excess of his gratification, and the excitement which succeeded, was the cause of the illness which ended in his death.

Leo X. had no religious earnestness—scarcely religious convic-

tions. He was luxurious, sensual, prodigal, and utterly careless of the moral character of the means by which his treasury was to be supplied, so as to meet the demands of his careless personal munificence, and his unbounded patronage of literature and art. But he was at the same time good-natured, placable and kind. He endeavored to bribe and purchase heresy and heretics, and reluctantly resorted to the alternative of coercion and persecution. On a review of his character and achievements, it appears that the exceedingly conspicuous place which he occupies is due more to a concurrence of remarkable events than to his own personal qualities and endowments. His Pontificate was the point from which the Reformation in an organized form took its departure. It was the era of the revival of classical learning and of the recovery of the long buried treasures of literature. It was the precise point at which modern art sprang at once to its climax of perfection. The most wonderful creations of human genius which have attracted generations of admiring pilgrims to Rome, and attract them still, were wrought under his Pontificate and under his immediate patronage and oversight. These three causes have concurred to make the name of Leo associated with all that most interests the scholar, the artist and the amateur; and hence have given to it a universality of popular diffusion which is not surpassed by any other in the long line of the Pontificate.

There are a few names which are inseparably associated with certain prominent eras and characteristics of the Papacy. We associate with the thought of its consolidation the name of Gregory the Great. When we think of the culmination of its claims and of its highest attainment of spiritual and temporal power, we at once pronounce the names of Hildebrand and Innocent III. When we think of an honest effort to reform the awful corruptions of the Curia, the name of the godly but baffled and broken-hearted Adrian occurs to us. When we think of its last hour of unbroken supremacy and the first of its decline, we pronounce the name of Leo X. God grant that future generations may be able to associate with the thought of its most extravagant and blasphemous pretensions, its drivelling superstition, its obstinate and judicial infatuation, and its final destruction amid the applause of the world, and the rejoicing of the saints, the name of Pio Nono!

CLEMENT M. BUTLER

CHURCH MUSIC.

Considering what we see and hear at the present day, he may very properly be called on to explain himself, who ventures to write or talk about Church Music ; and of reasonable excuses for doing so there are, as it seems to me, but two. To try to stem the current of public demands, or to think of reforming the popular taste, would argue a self-confidence bordering on lunacy. But it is not out of order to give utterance to righteous disgust at the pass to which things are come ; nor is it inexcusable to seek, in dreaming aloud of a better condition, that

“Ideal peace which truth can ne’er bestow.”

Indignant remonstrances and lamentable threnodies on the one hand, Utopian visions and wishful longings on the other, appear to me to constitute the limit of rational thought and sober speech on the subject before us ; but he who should seriously entertain the idea of being able to put brains where no brains exist, or of awakening and developing a relish for what they ought to like in the souls of those whose tastes are totally depraved, is on the verge of a midsummer madness into which we trust that we may not be driven. My object then, in the present writing, is simply to relieve my mind, by speaking plainly about some of the dreadful things that are wrought among us under the name of Church Music, and by babbling (for it amounts to nothing more) about what might be, and would be, if, letting go the modern and the popular, and cleaving to what is old and honest and profitable to the soul, we could but rid ourselves of the tormentors who now oppress us, and rejoice in a music in harmony with those ancient formulas wherein we profess the faith of all past ages, and offer to God the traditional worship of the Catholic Church.

Norman McLeod, in his “Book for Notes and Thoughts,” gives

an entertaining summary of the music of divers nations; it may be found in the first volume of the delightful "Memoir," page 152. Somewhat abbreviated, it runs thus:

Irish Music—The struggle of a buoyant, merry heart, to get quit of thoughts that often lie too deep for tears. It is the music of an oppressed, conquered, but deeply feeling, impressible, fanciful and generous people. It is for the harp in Tara's halls.

Scotch Music—A bonny lassie with her plaid, among the braes of Yarrow, waking the sleep that is among the lonely hills with some tale of love, domestic sorrow, or of the flowers of the forest, a' wede awa'.

Highland Music—The pibroch; the music of the past and gone, of lonely lakes, castellated promontories, wild superstitions, and of a feudal glory and an age of romance and song which have fled on their dun wings from Morven, * * deep sorrow checked by lofty pride.

German Music—The music of the intellect and thought; passion modified by high imagination. It is essentially Gothic, vast and grand. * * The shadow of the Brocken is over it; the solemn sound of the Rhine and Danube pervade it.

French Music—A dashing cavalry officer on his way to fight or make love.

Italian Music—A lovely woman breathing from her soul, under the influence of one deep and strong passion, beneath a summer midnight sky, amidst the ruins of ancient Roman grandeur. It is immensely sensuous.

Spanish Music—A hot night, disturbed by a guitar.

American Music—Yankee Doodle.

Surely we are come to a lame and forlorn conclusion. Yet under the burlesque and satire of this droll winding up, there lies more truth than the affronted patriot may be disposed to admit. What is American music? What is really popular? What is thoroughly relished by the community? What sells best? What enriches its authors? What draws the people by thousands and tens of thousands? Eliminate the classical and foreign elements, the oratorio, the opera, the symphony, the sonata, and come down to the indigenous production; and what is the residuum? We arrive at a sprouty upgrowth of little sing-song tunes, having a kind of sentimental savor, or a certain briskness and elation, and set to words in keeping with the lightness of the composition; we come to a school of music represented on its secular side by the lay of the negro minstrel, the patriotic melodies in vogue during the recent war, and the maudlin ditties about the moon, the beautiful sea, etc., etc.; and on its religious side by Sankey's "Gospel Hymns." We all know in what estimation the nation holds or has held such productions as "Glory, glory, Hallelujah," "Old

Folks at Home," "Way down upon de Swanee river," "Rally round the Flag," "Put me in my little bed," "The Ninety and Nine," "Hold the Fort," etc., etc. These are the measure of the popular knowledge and taste; they mark the level of the tide to-day. After all, there is truth under the stout old Scotsman's banter; let us not refuse to join in the laugh, though it be at our expense.

It would not help the matter to try and draw a comparison between the songs most popular among us to-day and the old ballads of the English, French, German and other nations. No such comparison can be seriously undertaken. It is true that Ireland had her bards, Wales her harpers, and Brittany her troubadours, and that we find rich lore in the "reliques" of minstrelsy collected by the student of time long ago. With the grand recitals of war, love, and adventures, which form the earliest literature of races, our songs, ballads and hymns have nothing in common. The secular lays are without individualism or purpose; the religious, without divinity. As for the former, they are mere ephemeral melodies, with which the very persons who most delight in them will soon be thoroughly disgusted; while as for the latter, their attractiveness lies, not in any sacredness or strength, but in the pretty turn of the tune and the effect produced when, as at the Hippodrome, they are sung by a great many people together. The prodigious number of the singers shows at once the earnestness of their interest, and the wretched state of their musical taste and knowledge. With a view to get at the secret of the Moody and Sankey songs, I made a careful study of them, and was easily able to trace them to their origin. Some thirty or forty years ago, before Italian opera had been introduced in this country, the music most in vogue was of the ballad and parlor-song school. Some of those compositions were exceedingly agreeable; for example, the sweet old songs, "Farewell to thee, Araby's daughter," "The leaf and the Fountain," "The Rose and the Nightingale," "The Soldier's Tear," "A place in thy memory dearest," and others of that ilk. These melodies of other days, or such as these, long since forgotten, have been revived, with all their characteristics and with the old method and construction; and now adapted to sentimental and subjective verselets, express-

ive of the tone of modern religionism, they are sung, and sung, and sung, in 'hippodromes and in gospel tents, and in parlors and boarding houses on Sunday evenings, under the name of "Sacred Gospel Hymns." In one collection I found the hymn—

"There is a land of pure delight,"

set to the old tune,

"Drink to me only with thine eyes,"

and that without change of a single note. Elsewhere I found the hymn—

"God's temple crowns the holy mount,"

adapted to another old-time song,

"Pensez à moi, ma chère amie ;"

while we have the well-known verses beginning,

"Hark, hark my soul, angelic notes are swelling,"

arranged to the beautiful old air of "*La Suisse au bord du lac*,"

"Home, fare thee well ! the ocean storm is o'er,
The weary pennon woos the seaward wind."

The study of the most popular phase of modern hymn singing leads us back, not to any sacred places or half-inspired originals, but to the forgotten melodies in which our fathers and mothers or our grandfathers and grandmothers used to discourse to each of the tender feelings of their hearts. Nor should mention be omitted of another class of sacred (?) canticles belonging to the genus of the rollicking and jolly ; as, for example, one in the Sankey collection known as

"Pull to the shore,"

a carol which, when heartily rendered with a good rolling, rattling clatter in the fourth and eighth lines, carries the meditative hearer right back to old college days, and to the merry music of class dinners and secret society spruces. I refer to these matters thus particularly, because I find in them the very text I desire in preaching of the aberrations of these days, of the loss of a true conception of what befits the worship of God, of the depravation

of the public taste ; for this is the kind of music which the multitude most desire to sing, and the degree of their delight is the measure of the extent of their disease. If these and such as these be our "Folk Songs," so much the worse for the Folk. They have brought forth nothing original, and what they have culled from other sources indicates the absence of taste and the lack of culture.

But whatever may be said, *pro* and *con*, about Norman McLeod's brief summing up, let us try our own hand at a definition or description, not of American music in general, but of American Church music in particular. By way of a venture, I will express it, mystically thus :

American Church Music—CHAOS.

Reflection will justify the use of that concise formula. Every one knows what is meant by chaos and cosmos ; chaos is the confused mixture of parts and elements, cosmos their orderly arrangement ; chaos is the realm of discords, cosmos that of sweet and satisfying harmonies ; the dense and shapeless swirl of things ill-matched, if not incompatible, stands contrasted with the scene of order and law. Now the first thing that strikes us is the lack of unity. There is no dominant influence ; individual caprice runs riot, regardless of precedent, history, or law of any sort ; every one does what is right in his own eyes, and will have that sung which is pleasant to his own ears ; and so, as tastes differ greatly, and as every congregation has one or more dabsters at this business, no one can tell, in going from church to church, what he will find there. It is not so in other places ; it would not be so among us if we had a musical accompaniment to Divine service as worthy of respect and veneration, and as dear to our hearts as the services themselves. That is what other communions enjoy. To hear German chorales you must go to Germany ; and if you go to church in Germany you are certain to hear German chorales. At Bremen, at Dresden, at Nuremburg, and wherever else I went in recent travel, I always heard, to my great delight in the Evangelical churches, the same ancient melodies, the same noble harmonies ; there sat the people, singing all together, old and young, boys and men, women and maidens, just what their forefathers had been singing for three hundred years and more. In the Roman

Catholic churches, also, there was a distinctive school; the same rich mass music, the same archaic but most devotional plain-song, the same tender cadence of litanies, the same monotone of many voices all chanting together a music which had in it the sound and memories of ages and ages of Christian worship. But what is to be expected in our churches? No one knows what to expect; it depends on the constitution of the music committee, or the whim of the clergyman, or the appetite of the audience. The traveller, desirous of investigating the American school of music, will find, in one church a quartette choir, performing one knows not what medley of airs, with involutions, evolutions and convolutions, with execution and excruciation apt to charm the ear of the excitement-loving listener; in another a chancel full of men and boys rendering, crudely and harshly, the English cathedral service, while some resolute but uncomfortable clergyman, with little voice and less knowledge, intones in a way to drive the hearer wild. Farther on he will come upon a sextett or octett, interpreting the truly original works of some imitator of the modern French or Italian school; anon, elsewhere, he will be saluted with the dull congregational drone of the "Sicilian Hymn," or "Old Hundred;" and still further he will come in upon a self-satisfied and pert set of people, warbling "Balerna," or Sankey's songs. No one can foretell, on approaching an open church door, the things that await him within. We have the Anglican school and the Lowell Mason school; the Italian school and the French; the Gregorian school and the Hippodrome school; the high and dry, the Ritualistic, the severely Protestant Episcopal, the Evangelical, and other types. We have Tucker's Hymnal, and Goodrich & Gilbert's, and Greatorex's; and divers Lyres, Harps, Shawms, Hymns Ancient and Modern, and Hymnaries; and many diverse pointings of the Psalter; and we have Barnby, Boyce, Buck, Cornell, Cutler, Gounod, Handel, Haydn, Hodges, Horseley, Mosenthal, Mozart, Nares, Ouseley, Walter, Warren, and others, all moving up and down before us in inextricable confusion. And why not? What else could be expected? Is not this a new nation? Is not ours a recent civilization? Are we not a medley of all races? American society is in a state of fermentation; bubbling, seething, frothing, not yet crystallized. A friend of mine

in apologizing for a young person, a great favorite of hers, who was more than a child, but not yet a young lady, and, in consequence, as awkward as might be expected at that awkward age, said: "Susan, you know, must be excused for her *gaucherie*; she is *floundering*!" Now we Americans are "floundering" in more respects than one; in religion, in politics, on financial questions (notably now, when so many think paper money to be better than gold coin), in views of moral obligations, in manners, and generally in all kinds of ways and on almost every subject; why not then also in our ideas respecting the music of the church and other matters connected with the worship of the Lord?

Among the indications of our chaotic condition may be mentioned, the habit of mixing up things secular and sacred. I have already given instances of the way in which secular tunes are put to sacred words, but I mentioned only cases in which the tunes were so old that few would remember their former use. It is ten-fold worse, when songs of our own day, which people know, and have sung a dozen times to common words, and must associate with common everyday scenes, are adapted to hymns among the most solemn and devotional that ever were written. There is, for example, a sighing, soft love-canticle called "Agatha,"

"When the swallows homeward fly."

I have heard the melody sung to the words,

"Jesus, Saviour of my soul."

Again, I have known the "Gloria Patri" rattled off to a tune called the *Mandolinata*, which is, I believe, a Spanish or West Indian waltz. What shall be said of these and similar profanities? What shall be said of the people who not only tolerate but take pleasure in such indecencies? Is not this of chaos, chaotic? The Church is the sanctuary of Almighty God; everything there should bear the stamp of "holiness to the Lord;" everything used in divine service, or pertaining thereto, should have upon it the signet of that divinity which doth hedge holy places and holy things. The music of the Church and the music of the world are not the same; each has its laws and bounds; and a wrong is done when one is thrust into the other's place and set where it ought not to be. What may be very properly said to Agatha is, not the

thing to say to the Lord; and what befits my address to her may be totally unsuited to express what I ought to feel towards her God and mine. The songs of the affections and of the heart are good and sweet in their own proper season; but in the Church we must be thinking of other things; and to sing the sublime stanzas of some great song of God and Christ and things divine to a pretty melody associated in every one's mind with amatory scenes and human passion, is to profane the hour of prayer and the place of the Divine Presence. As well might the priest appear in the chancel in secular costume and easy familiarity of manner, or the people occupy themselves in church with the newspaper or the latest romance.

Let me give another instance of this lack of judgment, this monstrous incongruity between the music performed, and the occasion and circumstances. If ever we feel the need of a solemn, and heart-searching music, it is when we must bury our dead. What shall be sung, at that supreme moment, when it comes to the end of all, "Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust?" What do we desire and demand, for our friends, for ourselves, when for the last time the service of Mother Church is to be said or sung over us or ours? Let there be, if possible, something lofty, thrilling, and profound, some massive effect of full, strong voices, rising and falling like the gale in the heavens, or the cadence of the ocean waves, in the deep diapasons of the tomb. And yet, to tell what one has suffered at the burial of the dead, from star singers and *blasé* choirs, would be to harrow up the heart and rake over all the old sorrow. I well remember a case in point some years ago. I went to the funeral of a young friend whose life had been a sad and strange one, and the end cloudy and very dark; many a bright hope was buried in that untimely grave; of the sad mystery which invests human life, more than the average share had cast shadow over his. We were all subdued and tearful, awed and silent. It was one of those occasions, on which anything unfit, unsuitable, incongruous, is mere torture, and more than can be borne; what we needed was some grand and sombre effect of sacred art; some chant of other time, full and deep, to bring home to the soul the lesson of that hour; something *manly*, at all events; something like that tremendous

Gregorian Tone, at the sound whereof, according to the old story, when organ and choir together rolled forth the startling and dire refrain, the Archbishop shook in his coffin, and half rose up, as if he heard already in the air the voice of the archangel and the trump of God. But such things as these are not for us; the age cannot comprehend them; it desires what we had on that occasion. The hymn was announced,

“Guide me, O thou great Jehovah,”

truly also a beautiful and noble composition which, if rightly sung, might have touched and comforted our hearts. But presently, after some preliminary chords on the organ, a single female voice was heard; the woman, whosoever she was, “interpreted” the hymn as a solo soprano, with an affectation of trills, flourishes, roulades and vocal gymnastics beyond the power of language to describe, with pianos and fortes, and pianissimos and fortissimos, with crescendos and diminuendos, and sighs and sudden explosions, and ear piercing shrieks and scamperings up and down the scale, such as they only can imagine who have had to endure the torture of listening to it. And there I stood, groaning in spirit, and feeling as if my poor friend were insulted in his very shroud and cements, by the absurd bravura nonsense thus executed in that mournful presence. O incorrigible generation! How shall ye ever be taught? The case I have mentioned occurred some seven or eight years ago. But it was only last March that one of our organists died, and his funeral took place at Trinity Church. The service was sung by the choirs of Trinity Church and Trinity Chapel; the music was the grand burial service by Croft; the performance was magnificent, the whole effect as fine as anything ever heard in ancient abbey or cathedral of our mother land; yet soon after the service I was accosted by a young lady of one of the first and most cultivated of the families of New York, with the words: “I came down to Trinity to-day to hear this service, and expected something very fine; but I have been quite disappointed; I thought I should have heard some fine solo singing.” That is a specimen of the taste of the age; and again I ask, who shall teach these people? How can they ever be made to learn? What more terrible than the idea of a church music adapted to the taste of the age, when we consider what the age really amounts

to ? The measure of the popularity of music appears to be its capability of being performed on that instrument which the vagrant Italian grinds under our windows. So great is the enlightenment of the period, so fine its sense of the good, the true, and the beautiful, that a small fortune has been made by one successful negro melody. I was recently told by one of our most learned and accomplished church composers, that, while his own writings found next to no sale at the publisher's on Broadway, the same publisher had just paid a first instalment of several thousand dollars to the lucky author of a little duet relating to advancing years and "silver threads among the gold," which every one remembers who reads this page, and which we have heard played, carolled, whistled, and ground out *usque ad nauseam* day after day, and month after month, till life becomes a burden. It is chaos; people drift about, catching at a pretty tune, running after varieties and sensations, demanding fine solo singing, having itching ears, but neither educated taste nor settled convictions; delighting to sing Christian hymns to carnal love-songs, and charmed to listen to some prima donna imitating the canary and the mocking bird in the office for the burial of the dead.

Let me give another illustration of the chaotic state of the popular mind on music. There are churches in which the idea of a grand service is realized in a sacred concert consisting of the works of a dozen masters, without regard to unity. At Christmas and Easter especially, these instances appear in rich profusion. Each prominent church announces its programme, each programme bristles with the names of composers of all schools and nations, as if the object were to see how many different writers could be accommodated with a place and a notice. Now surely, a church service arranged for some high feast or great occasion, and directed toward the glory of God Almighty, should be, as nearly as practicable, complete in itself; it ought to have a plan and a purpose, and unity; it should make one clear and definite impression; it should be something in which not only the devout heart but also the intelligent and cultivated mind, could rest. Such is the case with the immortal masses of Beethoven, Mozart and Haydn for example; all is in keeping throughout, congruous, orderly, complete, from *Kyrie* to *Dona nobis pacem*. But look at many of our

church services, when great things are attempted, and be astounded at what you see ; by no means, however, go to hear, lest you lose your senses. There are services, elaborately arranged, which amount to nothing but a kind of polyglot concert, with the Prayer Book offices brought in as an accompaniment, like the *melodrame* in some foreign compositions. A melo-drama is a dramatic performance accompanied by songs and music ; first, there is a bit of music, vocal or instrumental ; and then some one reads out of a book, more or less ; then follows more music, or a song ; then comes more reading ; and so on. Now there have been, and doubtless will continue to be, till we get out of chaos, services of that description in our churches, in which the priest and the choir are quite at variance ; the priest's part is to read from the Prayer Book or Bible when an opportunity is allowed him for that purpose, and the duty of the choir is to perform a concert of selected pieces, having no artistic relation to each other. For instance, take this Easter programme at one of our prominent city churches ; the *menu* contains, you observe, nine pieces or numbers, no two by the same composer ; nor is there a trace of unity from first to last.

Carol,	<i>Monk.</i>
Anthem,	<i>Chappel.</i>
Te Deum in B flat,	<i>Lloyd.</i>
Jubilate in B flat,	<i>Berge.</i>
Gloria Tibi,	<i>Warren.</i>
Offertory sentences,	<i>Barnby.</i>
Trisagion,	<i>Gilbert.</i>
Communion hymn,	<i>Tucker.</i>
Hallelujah chorus,	<i>Handel.</i>

And here is another of the same composite order :

Hymn,	<i>Morgan.</i>
Christ our Passover,	<i>Hopkins.</i>
Te Deum in B flat,	<i>Millard.</i>
Jubilate in F,	<i>Thomas.</i>
Introit,	<i>Gawmlett.</i>
Anthem,	<i>Wallace.</i>
Offertory,	<i>Handel.</i>
Communion hymn,	<i>Sieboth.</i>
Gloria in Excelsis,	<i>Gounod.</i>

But why should one dwell on the trials of the past? Alas! there is a kind of terrible fascination in the memory of our sufferings: we cannot put it away. *Infandum jubes renovare dolorem*, and we renew it in spite of ourselves. Who could not tell of trials grievous to be borne? Who is the fortunate clergyman who does not know how it feels to have to stand at reading desk or stall, (if facing the congregation, so much the worse), to stand, I say, for ten or fifteen minutes, mute and miserable, with the congregation, also mute, glaring at him, while the choir performed some incredible fantastic composition, with chorus, bass solo, soprano solo, duet of soprano and tenor, duet of alto and soprano, trio of soprano, tenor and bass, and Heaven knows what other refinements of torture? So have I stood, my eyes riveted to the book, mumchance, doing nothing and having nothing to do, ashamed to look up, afraid to move, rueing the day that brought me to such a position. Or else the horrors come in some other and nearer shape; as for example, when the clergyman finds himself in a chancel with an organ chamber adjoining it, and the choir, in part composed of women, close behind him, on the level of the chancel, in full view of the people, and divided from the holy precincts only by a light screen or by the backs of the sedilia; and then the service proceeds thus: All rising there is a grand chorus; then all take their seats except the soprano, who with many graces, carols her part; she then sits down rustling, adjusts her bonnet and fans herself gently; next up rises a great German *basso profundo* and with an awful accent begins to growl the words,

“*De glorush gombanee of d’ Aposulsh braize De,*” etc.,

after which an alto, contralto and tenor come up smiling, and proceed; and so forth, till the poor priest, compelled to wait in silent resignation till it is over, feels himself a mere fool and baby in the midst of this operatic bedlam, as if the church and her services were not his but theirs, and as if his part were altogether unimportant and insignificant. And again, there are instances in which the prevailing national habit of exaggeration comes out very oddly. Imagine a little bit of a country church, the chancel perhaps eight feet wide and ten deep; and a little mite of a melodeon just outside the rail, presided over by a delicate youth;

and then imagine an eminent city divine going to preach for his country brother, who naturally desires to be equal to the important occasion ; so, presently, after the little bell has stopped tinkling, a procession of two emerges from the little robing room, with care not to strike suddenly on the other side of the chancel, while the organist, clutching resolutely at the key-board of his tiny melodeon, attempts to perform on his scrannel pipes, by way of opening voluntary, the Hallelujah Chorus ! This actually happened to one who told me his experience. Misery has its comical side also. Let us, at least, amid our sorrows and sufferings, be thankful for that.

But enough of the outpouring of these woes ; though in sooth the Jeremiad might be indefinitely prolonged. But ye, who have also gone through these things, take up the sad refrain and indulge at your leisure in dreary retrospections ; while the writer will leave off complaining, and by way of relief, fall to dreaming awhile—to dreaming of what might be among us, as it is among others ; to dreaming of a Cosmos which may some day come out of this Chaos, though we shall not probably live to see it.

We dream then, first, of a music belonging to our own Church, in harmony with her rank and state as a branch of the Catholic Family, having that indescribable flavor and quality which are perceptible in the words of our liturgy, the collects, the great canticles, and the sacramental offices. The English of our book of Common Prayer is as different as possible from the language of modern compositions ; it breathes of antiquity, of a remote age, of other times. So might it be with the music of the Church, if it could be happily reformed and brought back to a reverent and dignified pattern and type.

We dream, secondly, of a grave, earnest, churchly teaching through the art of music as brought to bear upon the spiritual life. It will not be the teaching of a self-willed people, who heap to themselves instructors, and are content with platitudes, sentimentalism, and a sensuous gratification ; it will be in harmony with our liturgical teachings, and it will aid and strengthen the priest in his efforts to stem the tide of modern sectarianism and dissent. We dream of a true ecclesiastical music, to the exclusion of all else, in the house of God ; of the ignominious banishment of

whatsoever pertains to the drawing room, the theatre, the opera, and the amusements and diversions of social life. We dream of a day when we shall hear Church music in the Church; music written for the service of the Church of God and baptized, as it were, for its due religious purpose, by devout hearts and reverent worshippers.

Again, we dream of services at unity throughout; such that to an intelligent mind the whole thing shall sound like one complete action, telling its own story and making its profound and lasting impression. Divine service, as we imagine it in our dream, is not a feast of scraps, but a complete and finished movement, from the first voluntary and prelude to the processional, down to the last faintly heard *Amen*. It is not necessary that the entire musical performance should be the work of one composer; there are writers of the same school who resemble each other, yet differ, as brothers of one house; their works may be fitted together with good effect; but let the whole be and sound as one complete thing.

And, lastly, we dream the most fantastic dream of all, that the time has come, when men will see and confess that there is in the Church herself the power to do all that the Church needs; when bishops will leave off railing at those who follow the old ways of the fathers, and, reversing their steps, will lead their flocks back to the sweet, pure pastures from which they strayed long since; when priests and laymen, gladly renouncing their errors, and thoroughly converted and reformed, will set themselves to building again the walls that were broken down; when the Lord's song shall be heard once more as in the former days and as in the generations of old. For such foolish dreams as these we crave pardon; yet in doing so, we may offer, by way of excuse, our reasons for those infatuated notions which this cultivated and enlightened age will, of course, promptly reject.

But really it seems to us that this thing is in the Church's own hands; we have advantages which can hardly be valued too highly; things are possible to us which to others are impossible. We have nothing to boast of, indeed; in some respects we deserve a sound rating as being too lazy or too timid to take of our own and use it, as always scared by popular clamor; but yet, sluggish,

fearful, slow, dull as we are, the case is, in the main, clear; the thing is in our hands; by us might be done what certainly ought to be done. When chaos became cosmos, of old, the change was wrought from without; it did not come from spontaneous, healthful work inside, but by the interference of a Will and a Voice from above which could neither be disregarded nor disobeyed. And this is true of all real reforms; the motive power is applied from without; it is exerted on man by One higher than he, Who bending toward us from heaven, helps those who cannot help themselves. It is so in the Church in her action on the world; whatever is wrong in society, if we undertake, as churchmen, to set it right, let us remember that we have no power of ourselves to help ourselves; that what real power we have, lies in our system and principles; that we can only act effectively by falling back on our old traditions, by reviving forces lodged long ago in the corporate frame, by re-asserting the maxims and principles which made the past glorious and constitute the hope of the future. And now, as for this question of the music of the Church, the line of policy is the same. Our success as reformers depends on our taking and adhering to the old paths; we must reach back and lay firm hold on our venerable traditions, and make them a living law amidst the confusions of these days. A *living* law, not a dead one. For we want, not a body of dry precepts, stiff and rigid, but a law in sympathy with the age, so far as the age deserves consideration, and in harmony with the conditions to healthy progress. Let us then look to the past, to our long forgotten rights; let us see what actually belongs to us; and it will be found that in things musical as well as in things theological and ecclesiastical, order would soon show itself in the midst of the chaos of American religionism, if one powerful body like our Church would cast off idle fears, dismiss unworthy prejudices, claim the birthright, and act out its own principles with courage and calmness.

First, then, it is certainly true, and every churchman ought to know, that music is of the essence of our worship as a system. I mean this: that the entire Book of Common Prayer is capable of musical expression and was, at first, set to music and pointed and notated for singing. To read the service in a colloquial or orator-

ical manner, or in the voice and tone ordinarily used in conversation, is one of the most remarkable of novelties, one of the most startling innovations that ever crept into the Church of God; it is a departure from the old paths as signal as was the substitution of presbyterianism for episcopacy in the Great Rebellion. This is mere matter of history; and of history no one ought to be afraid. The Jewish services for thousands of years have been set to music and after some sort, sung or chanted. The worship of the Christian Church has, in like manner, from the earliest days and all the world over till a comparatively modern date, been a musical service. The reformers in England did not intend to depart from that most ancient and excellent way. Legally and traditionally we have a right to a musical service and a Ritual Song coextensive with the services and public offices in the Book of Common Prayer. Now observe how this bears directly on the question of musical reform.

First, if the entire service of the Church be a musical one, and adapted to musical notes, we are rid at once of the notion that the singing is a kind of interpolation and appendage, a mere external decoration and addition, to be performed by a select group of persons, detailed and paid for that purpose, and intended for the diversion and relief of the worshippers in the midst of their devotional acts. The singing and the service are one and the same thing always proceeding together.

Secondly, if this be so, then the music of the Church should be eminently devout and severe, since it is in fact the Voice of the Church in her ordinary and continual address to her Lord.

And, thirdly, since the service of our Church is a "Common Prayer," wherein the people are to bear their part, the music must be such that it may be "understood of the people," and readily and easily joined in by the congregation.

If then we were to do no more than leave off experiments and imitations, return to our own traditions, and assert and exercise our rights as a historic body, three great points would at once be gained. The Music of the Church and the Public Worship of the Church would be once more, as of old, one and the same thing; the music being the vocal expression of the worship, would be once more a grave and reverend performance; the voice

being that of the great congregation and not of a little finical quartette, would be plain, strong, and full. Here already would be a great advance. We should enjoy once more a musical worship, reverent and edifying, apt for congregational use, and modelled after the pattern of that worship which, for thousands and thousands of years was the only one known in God's Church, under the old covenant and under the new.

But, secondly, we come to the question what the Music of the Church would be as thus reformed and restored. Like her faith and her worship, it would be old and new; old in form, new in adaptation; having the purity and devotion of the ancient days, and the flexibility demanded by the state of modern society and the changed condition of the world. And to this end also, everything is prepared and made ready; for, in the service of the Church historically considered, there are a permanent element and a variable one, and in these two the conservative and the progressive alike have what they desire and need.

The permanent element in the true music of our Church is what is commonly known as the "Plain Song;" a musical notation and inflexion, used, from time immemorial in our services, and to which we have as clear a right as to the offices themselves. It appertains to the morning and evening services, the litany, and the sacramental offices. It is the simple recitative, or more elaborate *cantus*, and cadence of collects, versicles, and responses. The part of the officiating minister is always the same; the part of the people can be learned by any congregation of ordinary intelligence, in about half an hour; in all this there is little or no change, and once learned it is learned forever. That is the permanent part in our musical worship; as old as the faith of the Church and her sacramental rites. The variable part is in the hymns and anthems; and here the spirit of the age would find ample room for movement and expansion, remaining, meanwhile, in accord with the liturgy and the special directions and restrictions of the Kalendar. With these two, then; the Old Plain Song, and the ancient tones, for Psalter, Versicles and Responses, Creed, Prayers, and Litany; the flexible hymn and anthem music by way of foil and contrast; woven together devoutly and appropriately, we should have a Church music deserving of the name;

one which would be recognized and known everywhere as our own; one sufficient for the needs of the devout; one in which should be heard the earnest voices of the past, blended with the inspirations of this present day of the world.

That these things are worthy of the attention of those highest in the Church, there can be no doubt. To try and set the music of the Church on its old and lawful basis, is a task which even our prelates might honorably undertake. To re-establish the ancient uses; to draw the lines of holy tradition, leaving us free within them; to set forth by authority the Old Plain Song as the approved mode of rendering the services of the Book of Common Prayer, while giving us liberty in anthems and hymns, subject to such restriction as might be necessary to preserve the truth and purity of the Catholic Faith; this would be a noble work, and useful for these chaotic times and this stiff-necked generation. And it would be no new or strange thing, nor beyond the province of legislation. At the time of the Reformation, when the yoke of the papacy, with all that hung suspended on it, was cast away, to the end that the old customs should be maintained and innovations barred out, Archbishop Cranmer took order for publishing together with the Reformed Book of Common Prayer, first, the Litany with musical notation, and secondly, the whole of the remainder of the services, all with their proper music for singing. John Merbecke was the editor of those most interesting, important, and necessary publications, which contained, be it ever remembered, no novelties, but the music of the ancient time, simplified and adapted to the revised and translated services. It should never be forgotten, that our Book of Common Prayer, when first published, was noted for singing, from beginning to end, and printed with such full musical notation. To say that it is a novelty to sing the service is a bold misrepresentation of facts; the truth lies in the opposite direction; the novelty consists not in the use, but in the disuse of the old ritual song.

This then is our ideal of the music of the Church: that it should be a grave, earnest and melodious service, in honor of Almighty God, wherein worship should be done to Him, in tones and song as old as the dogmas of the Creed and the institutions of religion; and that we should also have, by way of supplement

to the steady movement of the Plain Song, a light and flexible music in the hymns and anthems adapted to the proper service of the time, and the changing seasons of the Christian Year. The former would give strength and dignity to the performance; it would repress vulgarity and common place; it would stamp the whole act as catholic and churchly and distinct from anything elsewhere heard, while the latter would serve the ends for which the "Anthem" was first introduced into the service of the Mother Church. As the Royal Injunctions of 1559 express it, the anthem was intended to be an offset and relief to the formal music of the old offices, to add dignity and interest to the worship of the Almighty, to comfort musical people by giving to Church music a greater freedom than the mere chant and plain song intonations admitted, and, to encourage amongst all classes the study and practice of music.

Finally let it be observed that none of these things should be done in a hurry, but with deliberation and due preparation. Nothing has thrown back the cause more than attempts to bring the services to a better shape by persons who have neither proper appliances nor means of success, no voice, no musical knowledge, and no competent assistants. Such persons, however good their intentions, do no more than to travesty the patterns which they revere. Their frightful performances, have so disgusted the hearers as to lead to that detestation of the choral service which is so frequently found among us and no wonder, for it is torture to be forced to listen to a choral service badly done.

But why speak of haste in the work of reform? All this is mere dreaming, and nothing more: let no conservative be frightened; we are very far off from the attainment of our desires. I said at the outset that only two good reasons can be given for talking about Church music in these days; the desire to express indignation at the evils under which we suffer, or the wish to muse of a happiness which we shall never see. There is too much against us: we must be content to dream, it were idle to hope for a change in our day. The suggestions which have been made will be received with disgust and derision; be it so. Many other reforms are needed among us; for these also we must wait with patience. Little can be done, except in individual instances,

The thing we want to see, a uniform musical arrangement of the services, known as widely, and used as constantly, as the old and familiar chant-tune to the "Gloria in Excelsis," a choral version of our Prayer Book used wherever the book is used, and known and recognized of all as the Church's own expression of what is in her heart; this will be long a coming if it ever comes. Here and there a good choral service may be heard; in some congregations nothing unseemly is sung: in some places the service seems so good, so sweet, so orderly, in such perfect taste, as to leave nothing to be desired: yet such instances are, after all, exceptional; they make the chaos on every hand more conspicuous and offensive. Unity in worship, as well as unity in faith; that is the dream which we dream in vain. What we desire will come, when other things come. When bishops shall have each his cathedral, and when the cathedral system shall have supplanted the parochial system and remanded it to its own subordinate place; when the work of the diocese shall be done from the bishop's cathedral and house as its centre; when vestries shall no longer have the power to alienate or encumber church property; when clergymen shall no longer be subject to the caprices of factious men in their congregations, nor compelled to preach on trial before a criticizing array of voters; when the General Convention, leaving off unprofitable debate about millinery, genuflections, etc., shall do some earnest legislation on unpopular things, such as the degrees within which marriage may not be contracted, and the disciplining of divorced persons who dare to marry again; when churches shall be free, and the rich and poor shall meet together in them without distinction; when the question of the tenure of church property shall be so settled as to secure it forever to God's service; when churches shall no longer be sold and torn down because the rich have moved away and none but the poor are left; when mission work in cities is done by orders of sisters instead of by committees of independent and irresponsible ladies; when every congregation has its parochial school, and the Church her grand universities, drawing in the youth of the country from every side; when the episcopate shall no longer be barred to the most learned, eloquent, and devoted of our clergy, against whom no action for heresy or lawlessness could possibly be made to hold;

when bishops shall dare to take the unpopular side and lead boldly onward, instead of holding back and keeping others back; when theologians shall find it possible to declare the truth without instantly adding a string of caveats and negations:—in short when water runs up hill, and wolves and lambs feed together, and the rich and the poor love each other, and labor and capital are reconciled, and politicians seek the country's good and not their own advancement, and when other like phenomena are seen;—then, in that happy age, may we also look for the realization of our fond visions, in the thorough reformation of ecclesiastical music, and in the adoption of a system of choral worship worthy of that Church which dares not drop the name of Catholic, though deformed and weakened by the influence, the manners, and the opinions of an age which dislikes and rejects that word, and which ceases not to boast, as it never doubts, of its superiority in knowledge, in judgment, in learning, in piety, in taste, in culture and in every other particular, to all that has been since the world began.

MORGAN DIX.

SEAFIELD, WEST HAMPDEN, L. I.

THE CHURCH AND THE NATION.

The independence of these United States from the mother country virtually carried with it the independence of the Church therein, and her formation as an autonomous branch of the Catholic family. For though not fully established here with a complete ministry until some years later, still from that period she was left to her own resources, without even the slight supervision which the Church of England had previously exercised. It is therefore very appropriate that this Centennial year we should invite our readers to a review of the past and present position of the "Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America," and offer some suggestions drawn therefrom for the future.

I. In reviewing the history of the Church we are struck with the disadvantages under which she has labored and her growth in spite of those disadvantages. Previous to the Revolution there were few parishes, fewer clergy. Without Bishops there could be little increase and scarcely any discipline. The growth of the Church was hindered by the difficulty of obtaining ministers. The clergy were either sent out here from England or candidates were obliged at great expense and risk to cross the ocean to obtain holy orders. In 1771 there were less than 100 clergy in the whole colonies. Bishop White in his "Memoirs," states that when the "war began there were not more than eighty (80) parochial clergymen to the northward and eastward of Maryland, and that those clergymen derived the greater part of their subsistence from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel," for outside of Boston, Newport, New York and Philadelphia there were no self-supporting congregations. In Pennsylvania, exclusive of Philadelphia, the clergy were never more than six (6) in number; in that city there were four (4). In Maryland and Virginia, because having a legal establishment, the clergy were more

numerous; but this connection with England was a hindrance rather than a help to the growth of the Church, on account of the jealousy against it thereby excited.

When the war of the Revolution began it placed the clergy of the Church under great difficulties. Most of them felt hampered by the oath of allegiance they had taken to the British Crown and the obligation imposed of using the prayer for the King. Naturally the Church was looked upon as connected with the English Government.¹ And though some of the leading men of the American party belonged to it, it was unpopular, being regarded as favoring the Tories. A great many of the clergy left the country; and for want of Bishops no new ones could be ordained. Bishop White says that during the war "the doors of the far greater number of the Episcopal churches were closed for several years. In Pennsylvania there was a part of that time in which there was through its whole extent, but one resident minister of the Church in question," meaning himself.²

Thus when the war was over and those who remained true to their church, both of the clergy and laity, came together for consultation and reorganization, the condition of the Church was indeed most feeble. In the convention of 1785 there were present from seven States only sixteen clergymen and twenty-six laymen. The Journal of the General Convention of 1792, the first to which Diocesan reports were made, gives us five (5) Bishops and one hundred and seventy-nine (179) other clergy, altogether one hundred and eighty-four (184) as the whole number in the nine States reporting.³ And for many years, as may be seen by the annexed table the increase was very slow.

But the Church was not only small in numbers, she was also weak in position. Until quite recently her whole effort was a struggle for mere existence. She seemed scarcely conscious of her own authority and privileges as a member of the great Cath-

¹ It is within the memory of the writer that the Episcopal was popularly called the English Church.

² *Memoirs*, p. 20.

³ Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Rhode Island and South Carolina.

olic family. Despised by other Christian bodies because of her weakness, and also contemned on account of what they considered her intolerance in her teachings, or rather practice, regarding the ministry; and yet too often claiming nothing more for herself than to be tolerated as merely one more among the numerous sects, and by them regarded as a very unnecessary one, what wonder that for years her growth was slow. How could she expect others to believe in her when she scarcely believed in herself. It was not, as statistics show, until she began to be aggressive and to assert her Divine claims that she manifested a more rapid increase. We annex a table of the number of Bishops and clergy taken from the Journals of the General Convention for every six years down to the last; i. e., from 1792 to 1874, that our readers may examine for themselves.¹

Not only her original weakness and the prejudices so long existing against the Church, as already mentioned, hindered her growth, but also and perhaps even more than these, the discords within her borders. The violent contests between the parties, known as High and Low, and the unhappy ecclesiastical trials, troubles which would have rent asunder any other body than one divinely guarded, were great hindrances to her prosperity. And though these controversies were doubtless in the wise Providence of our God over ruled for good, as being the means of bringing out more clearly the Church's true position, they were none the less scandals and hindrances.

Under all these drawbacks then, the rapid and substantial growth of the Church calls for our warmest gratitude to her great head, and we may fairly cite it as an evidence of her Divine origin. Instead of the five (5) Bishops and one hundred and seventy-nine (179) clergy of 1792, in nine (9) Dioceses; we now have fifty-seven (57) Bishops and three thousand one hundred and thirty (3,130) other clergy in forty-five (45) Dioceses. The ratio

¹ We call attention in this table to the rapid increase where Dioceses have been sub-divided so as to approach nearer to the true idea of an Episcopate. Thus, in 1835 the whole State of New York reported 191 clergy; in 1841, after the division "New York" had 191 and "Western New York" 101 clergy; and in 1874 the five dioceses had 5 Bishops and 712 clergy.

to the population has increased from about 1 in 20,000 to 1 in 12,000.

These statistics, however, give but an imperfect idea of the real position of the Church and of the work she has accomplished in the United States. The great prejudices against her are rapidly passing away, and she has acquired in the community a position of great importance. Moreover, her influence for good has not been confined to those more immediately under her care as members or attendants on her worship, but her quiet teachings and healthy example have been felt and yielded to by many others who would perhaps be unwilling to acknowledge if indeed they are conscious of it. We do not wish to speak boastingly, yet we cannot but believe that the steady position of our Church, in spite of misunderstandings and revilings, as to the importance of a divinely instituted ministry; the value and respect due to creeds and to the teachings and testimony of the universal Church; the reverence to be shown in holy places and towards holy things; the necessity of the sacraments; together with the prominence she has given in her public worship to the word of God, even its most distasteful portions, and the beauty and order of that worship itself, have largely influenced the community and helped much to restrain the lawlessness and materialism which is the danger of the age. In minor things even, most of us can remember how practices once laughed at as superstitious or Popish are now widely imitated. The observance of Christmas and Easter, and other holy-days, Gothic churches, floral and other decorations; chants, anthems, carols, etc., are no longer, as formerly, confined to Episcopalians. The good effected by our Church in maintaining Catholic verities and ancient usages may be noticed far beyond her own borders.

II. But notwithstanding this growth, for which we have great cause to "thank God and take courage," there is, after all, little whereof we may boast. On the contrary, with her high claims and great privileges, our Church ought to have attained a far wider influence, and be much stronger in numbers. It is a hopeful symptom that her members are becoming fully conscious of this, and are investigating causes which may have hindered her growth, and are looking about for and discussing means which

may be used to give her greater efficiency in the future. In every Convention, and Convocation, and Church Congress,¹ we hear lamentations that the Church does not yet widely reach the masses, that her influence is not sufficiently felt throughout the community. Numerous suggestions are thrown out, and theories propounded in speech and pamphlet, of greater or less value, but all showing an earnestness and a keen sense of the situation and wants of the Church, which with God's blessing, cannot fail to do good.

We have before us various pamphlets, each setting forth the favorite panacea of the author, the adoption of which in his opinion would remove all the ills to which the Church is subject, and produce in her perfect health and strength. One sets forth "Free Churches" as the great desideratum, another proposes the "Cathedral System." Choral and highly ornate services, sensational music and preaching, a wider opening of our doors, both as to discipline and doctrine, and a greater freedom in the services; parochial missions and street preachings, sisterhoods and retreats, the abolition of vestries and parishes, and an increase in the appointing power of Bishops, small dioceses, and a provincial system, etc., etc., all have their zealous advocates, and, we repeat, it is a healthy sign that it is so, for it shows life and activity in the Church.

We do not, however, believe, that in any one of these, or, indeed, in them all together, will be found the desired remedy. In the words of the Bishop of Connecticut:

Their variety and utterly discordant character, only prove that it is a great deal easier to discover evils than to devise adequate remedies for them; for should all the methods that have been proposed * * * be tried together, the Church would be plunged into a state of chaos from which nothing but a miracle could rescue her.

We have no pet theory of our own to propound, but desire to utter only a few reflections and make one or two general sugges-

¹ We must here bear our testimony to the value of the Church Congress, in bringing up, for discussion, by men of such different views, practical questions about Church work. Suggestions have been made, which in time will do good.

tions, which we hope may be the means of drawing forth more valuable ideas from some of our readers.

Is it not time that our Church should be more truly independent than she has hitherto been? Catholicity, we take it, does not consist in a slavish following of former customs, or in an imitation of other churches; but in the maintaining intact of certain great general truths of doctrine and discipline. There are a few of these which we cannot give up without cutting ourselves off from the great Catholic and Apostolic Church of the ages. For example, we cannot give up the doctrines set forth in the Creeds, such as those of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Resurrection, and the Judgment to come; nor may we renounce the Three Orders in the ministry and their Divine commission as received from Christ through the Apostles; neither can we do away with the sacraments, or allow anything else to take their place as means of grace; nor can we abolish forms for public worship, for while we may not claim for them the same authority as for the others mentioned, still they have been always of use in the Church, and are therefore to be maintained. But while it is our duty to hold fast to such as these, even though they may be unpopular and perhaps in some degree not in accord with what is called "the spirit of the age," there are other matters to which we seem inclined to cling with almost a superstitious reverence, which yet we have a perfect right to modify so as to suit the wants of the time and adapt the Church better to the peculiar character of our own people.

In establishing the Church in this country, our Fathers very naturally followed almost slavishly the model of the Anglican Church. The peculiar system of large dioceses and of parishes was imitated; their forms of worship, such as they had become during a period of coldness and formality, were imposed upon the Church in a country where circumstances and the character of the people were entirely different. And, it was probably due to this feeling that they failed to give us, the very thing best adapted to our needs, a cathedral system. For understanding of cathedrals only as they had then become in England, vast, expensive establishments, with which the Bishop or Diocese had little connection, they must have deemed them useless and impracticable for this

country. Thus blinded by the English model, they neglected to establish among us a true cathedra or Bishop's seat, to be, however humble, a centre for missionary and other church work throughout the Diocese.

Now in saying this, we do not intend to impute any blame to those who gave form to our Church's laws and customs, they did the best they could under the circumstances. But we do say most decidedly that the time has come when if we would make our Church more efficient we must carefully look at these things, and if we cannot altogether change them, must at least supplement them. Under this head the following points deserve attention.

1. We need more liberty in our use of the Prayer Book and of the Bible Lessons. Custom, following the English, has made it binding that on every occasion of public services the whole Morning or Evening Prayer must be used, with two long chapters from the Bible. Liberty is indeed now taken in some places of separating the Morning Prayer from the Communion Service. Still the whole thing is left very indefinite and we need further legislation. Especially there ought to be a liberty, of shortening the service when preaching is to be the main feature; and, on special occasions, of adapting the lessons to the service.

2. Our whole parochial system needs remodeling. We would not do away with the Parish, it is a necessity, and is very useful in its place. But there ought to be a power greater than the Parish which can modify its actions. Observation will show that the absolute control given a Vestry over Church property, over the election and salary of a Rector, and the power allowed the Rector of preventing church extension within the bounds of his parish, have too often been most injuriously exercised. An appeal might be allowed to the Bishop and Standing Committee. And certainly the Bishop ought to have the right to inaugurate mission work wherever he may deem it necessary, especially if the consent of the Standing Committee be required. We are aware of the difficulty of making such alterations, they can only be brought about by constantly showing their necessity, and by inducing the ablest minds in the Church to investigate how they can be made.

3. The necessity of smaller dioceses has within a few years

been felt and in many cases acted upon, with results which prove the wisdom of the change. This is a practical question which will best regulate itself. But we would say, in this connection, that the true nature of a Diocese will not be understood until we better realize the position and work of a Bishop. Our Bishops have not sufficient authority. Much is expected of them, and yet we do not give them the means necessary for doing their duty. We are apt to find fault with them if mission work languishes, or districts are left unsupplied with services, yet fail to give them the men to send, and the money to support them. Here we think is felt the need of what is commonly called the cathedral system: that is of a Bishop's church and establishment, not at all like the English, but adapted to our country.¹ We are inclined to think that the present system of Deans and Convocations will not be found sufficient for our wants, and we very much doubt if it is based on true church principles. Our theory is to place the Bishop in the centre of influence of his Diocese, with a residence and suitable buildings, comprising church, refectory and dormitory, with library and common hall: give him an assistant presbyter, as chief missionary. Then around this centre will gather candidates for orders and deacons and finally presbyters, supported by teaching and missionary contributions, from a common fund; these will go where he sends them, both to supply vacant points and to aid such parishes as may ask for help. We have not space to work out this plan, which is by no means new. But we believe that it could be carried out, if begun on a small scale, and enlarged by a natural growth. And if done for work, not for show, as a practical business and not as a hobby, without any affectation of mediæval names and customs the use of which often excites prejudice against things in themselves good, we are sure it would commend itself to the common-sense of the Church as more economical and yet more efficient than our present missionary systems of boards and convocations.

4. The necessity of some further subdivision of our Church for

¹ We call attention here to a valuable pamphlet, "THE CATHEDRAL SYSTEM, adapted to our wants in America," by the Rev. Francis Granger, M.A., 1876. It is well worth reading.

legislative purposes is more and more felt. The General Convention has become so unwieldy a body that it is almost impossible for it to do its work. A Provincial system of some kind must be instituted before long. The attention of thinking men should be called to consider what kind is best for this country.

5. We suggest that it might be well, to utilize those organizations already existing, viz., Vestries and Standing Committees.

The Vestries represent the lay element in the Parish, their work now is almost entirely confined to finances, except when a new pastor is to be chosen. Many Rectors seem to look upon them as necessary evils, and talk as if they would be glad to be rid of them, yet are constantly calling for lay help. Why should not the representatives of the congregation be used instead of voluntary associations to aid in Church work?

The Standing Committee represents the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese. It has certain official functions prescribed by the Canons of the Church, and is moreover declared to be the Bishop's counsel of advice. But practically its work is confined to a formal signing of testimonials; we presume a Bishop would feel quite astonished if, unasked, it gave him any advice as to his work. Yet chosen, as its members generally are, from the older and abler men of the Diocese, they certainly might be utilized by the Bishop, and from their experience be of great help to him both in suggesting and carrying on church extension in the Diocese.

A very important subject pressing on our attention is that of the education of the young of the Church, and the position we ought to take in regard to the Public School question. That instruction in morals and religion should form an important feature in every system of education, and that mere intellectual training without these is incapable of making even good citizens, cannot be doubted. It is impossible to introduce religious teaching into our common schools, yet the Church is not now prepared to offer to her members anything which can supply their place. In theory the parochial school ought to do it, practically it does not. We have at present no suggestions to offer on this subject, further than to say that until we have something better we must not oppose the present system of common schools, but do all we can by parental and parochial teaching to supply this great defi-

ciency. Archdeacon Sinclair in his charge on "School rates in America and England, 1860,"¹ has said much that is worthy of our attention in regard to this. We wish some of our Laymen would study the subject and give to the Church their conclusions.

The education of candidates for orders in our own Church is one over which we have absolute control, and in our opinion, the present system needs modification. It is too entirely scholastic, it makes no provision for diversities of gifts, and it ignores too much the demands of a restless investigating age. But this subject opens so wide a field for discussion that we forbear to enter it, though one of the most important which can occupy the attention of the Church. We trust at some future time to be able to present it more fully to our readers.

Our Church ought to exert a wider influence on the National life. We do not mean that she should take any part in politics; God forbid! In nothing has the wisdom of our General Conventions been more manifest than in their careful avoiding of any action on public events. But in our dread of political complication we have gone to the other extreme, and held ourselves too much aloof from questions affecting public morals, and sanitary and benevolent reforms. The fear of compromising our Church position has doubtless had a great deal to do with this isolation. The result is that as a rule our clergy have taken very little part in forming public opinion on points of general interest. Yet our holy religion is intended for the forum and the market place, to influence public as well as private life, and one great object of the Church and also an important means of spreading her influence is to benefit the bodies as well as the souls of men. We ought then from our pulpits to enforce true principles of Christian Politics, of public honesty, of obedience to authority, etc., and instead of being, as is too often the case, the last to come into any general benevolent movement, we ought to inaugurate such. In short the time has now come when as Churchmen we must learn to take a wider view of our position, our advantages and responsibilities, if we would assume the place in forming the national character to which we are fairly entitled.

¹ See THIRTY-TWO YEARS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, 1842-1874, etc. Charge xi, p. 286.

In making any alterations or additions to our manner of Church work, we must bear in mind that in non-essentials the peculiar character of our citizens should be considered. The Americans are pre-eminently a practical people. That a certain rite or custom is of antiquity has little influence with them. There is among us a plain common-sense which cannot understand that because an observance was in use and liked by the semi-civilized nations of Europe centuries ago, or by the Greeks of the later Empire, or even by our English ancestors of the time of the Reformation, therefore we ought to retain or restore it. It is a pity that some of our people cannot see this, and will persist in the endeavor to introduce, merely because they are ancient, observances which are no way essential to Church principles, or will obstruct the introduction of good and even necessary things by giving them names liable to be misunderstood and so to convey false impressions to the public mind. While our Church ought not to court popularity, neither ought she to hinder her own usefulness, by doing anything to make herself unnecessarily distasteful to the people among whom she is to work.

We have not said all we desired to say on the prolific subject before us, want of space compels us to close. If we have said anything which will set our readers to thinking what they can do to aid in the growth of our beloved Church, if we can bring out any suggestions of practical value, our end will be accomplished. Meanwhile we have no hope or indeed desire of any wonderfully sudden growth of the Church. There is a steady healthy increase which is more desirable because more permanent, more in accordance with God's dealing both in the world of nature and of grace. It is for this we should pray and strive. We should use diligently all the appointed regular means, we deprecate as hurtful all sensational, spasmodic efforts of man's devising. We cannot better close than in the wise words of Bishop Williams' address to the Connecticut Convention of 1876:

Let us all remember that it is never worth the while so to brood over existing difficulties, or so to ponder on ideals of what might be, as to be drawn off from the patient and vigorous discharge of immediate duty. Patient effort and patient endurance must always, in the Christian vocation, go together if any great good is to be attained.

E. B. BOGGS.

DIOCESES.	1792.		1799.		1804.		1811.		1817.		1823.		1829.		1835.		1841.		1847.		1853.		1859.		1865.		1871.		1874.	
	Bishops.	Clergy.	Bishops.	Clergy.	Bishops.	Clergy.	Bishops.	Clergy.	Bishops.	Clergy.	Bishops.	Clergy.	Bishops.	Clergy.	Bishops.	Clergy.	Bishops.	Clergy.	Bishops.	Clergy.	Bishops.	Clergy.	Bishops.	Clergy.	Bishops.	Clergy.	Bishops.	Clergy.	Bishops.	Clergy.
Alabama.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Arizona.....	1	8	1	4	1	4	1	4	1	4	1	4	1	4	1	4	1	4	1	4	1	4	1	4	1	4	1	4	1	4
California.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Connecticut.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Delaware.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Florida.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Georgia.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Illinois.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Indiana.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Iowa.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Kansas.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Kentucky.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Louisiana.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Maine.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Maryland.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Massachusetts.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Michigan.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Minnesota.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Missouri.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Montana.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Nebraska.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
New Hampshire.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
New Jersey.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
New Mexico.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
New York.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
North Carolina.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Ohio.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Pennsylvania.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Rhode Island.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
South Carolina.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Tennessee.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Texas.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Vermont.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Virginia.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Wisconsin.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Oregon and Washington.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Colorado and Wyoming.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Montana, Utah and Idaho.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Nevada.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Niobrara.....	1	56	1	24	1	21	1	30	1	36	1	46	1	56	1	70	1	88	1	106	1	110	1	129	1	148	1	169	1	178
Total.....	5	179	7	212	7	209	8	280	7	283	10	350	11	409	16	745	21	1087	26	1376	31	1697	40	2049	50	2388	49	2758	45	3020

THE LIFE OF ROBERT GRAY, *Bishop of Cape Town and Metropolitan of Africa*, Edited by his son, the Rev. Charles Gray, M. A., with *Portrait and Map*. RIVINGTONS, LONDON. NEW YORK: E. P. DUTTON & Co. Two volumes, 8 vo., pp. 548, 672. 1876. \$12.

Bishop Gray was a chief actor in the ecclesiastical events of the last thirty years in England and her colonies. The son of an English Bishop, he early distinguished himself for his fidelity to his parish work, for his love of learning, especially for his love of modern literature, and for his interest in the missionary plans of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. This led to his selection in 1847 for the difficult post of the first Colonial Bishop of South Africa. The English Church in that region was then small and feeble. The population was divided into many nationalities and as many religions, with numerous modern sects striving for a foothold. The chief city, Cape Town, had more than 20,000 inhabitants, the greater part of whom were Dutch, and the largest class in the colony were slaves from the Indian Archipelago and from the African interior. Bishop Gray's diocese extended 600 miles from east to west, 330 miles from north to south, had a sea coast of 1,200 miles, and comprised an area of about 200,000 square miles. The English government consisted of a governor and executive council. The Colonial Church throughout the British possessions, unless Canada be excepted, was bound hand and foot, by the fiction of letters patent, to the State Church of England, with all its legal complications. It was not an admirable situation for an earnest man to be placed in, and Bishop Gray was not one who could allow any unreasonable restraints to interfere with his spiritual work as a leader in his Church. He at once set to work to gather the scattered English families into congregations, to bring out clergy from England, and to obtain voluntary aid from home and grants from the local government for their support. In 1848 the English Church had 11,000 adherents out of a population of 200,000; in 1850 his charge embraced 800,000, and his Church had obtained a practical ascendancy in the colony. The sight of a slave ship at St. Helena, just captured by the British squadron and filled with suffering humanity, determined him to begin missionary work at once among these negroes then released upon the South African coast. His plans for the evangelization of the country were bold and comprehensive, and his constant trial was the want of both men and means to keep pace with his rapid organization of missions. He found great difficulty in obtaining competent clergy. He says in one place, "I do not want mere gentlemen;" in another, "Sentimental men are the last that

will do any real good in such a land as this. What we want is a body of men who will work under every discouragement and disadvantage, and not theorize;" in still another, "Missionaries should be men having the power of living together without private interests and almost without private purse, men who do not want to make reports and call the eyes of others upon them." Judging the Methodist missionaries by this standard, he says: "I distrust the Methodists, not their sincerity or zeal, but their self-denial and self-discipline. Methodism does not seem at all the system to make a good missionary." Again he says: "There is very much of the world in all their undertakings; very many are more traders than missionaries." The Bishop himself tried to come up to the standard by which he judged the shortcomings of others. The following sketch of four days, during one of his visitations in 1850, is a specimen of the ordinary life of the man:

On May 3d the Bishop arrived at Bloemfontein, already a rising place, and had scarcely outspanned before a deputation of military and civilians came to present a list of prominent subscriptions for a church, together with their earnest desire to have a resident clergyman. The Bishop and his host (Major Warden, British resident) went about and fixed on sites for church, burial-ground, parsonage and school. The Bishop had no chaplain, and the greater part of the next day was spent in preparing candidates for confirmation. The Sunday (May 5th) was not an idle day, for the Bishop celebrated Holy Communion, married a couple, baptized, confirmed, consecrated the military burial ground, and had matins and sermon for the troops in an open shed, even-song and another sermon in the school house. The next day he spent mainly in writing business letters, for, as he said, he should probably have no opportunity of writing again for a month, and on the 7th the Bishop started for the interior of the country on horseback, accompanied by two Cape-corps orderlies as his guides.

His visitations always occupied from three to six months—once extending even to nine—during which he travelled from one to three thousand miles, his more important stations often being a thousand miles apart; and at such times he forded rivers, slept on the sand at night, often passed a whole day without food, and ran great personal risks to keep his appointments. In like manner he thought nothing of going to England, to raise funds to meet the demands for men and services which sprang up in the path of such activity, and the interest which he developed in the Mother Church for a wide-spread mission movement throughout the Colonies was scarcely less than that which he aroused in his own diocese.

The demands laid upon Bishop Gray in shaping his vast diocese and in developing its interests were quite enough for any man, but it was or-

dered that he should bear the brunt of the great ecclesiastical contests of the last twenty years between Church and State in England. The starting point of these difficulties was South Africa, and from the State connection with the Colonial Church it was inevitable that they should be transferred to the mother country. While Bishop Wilberforce was engaged in restoring the House of Convocation to its ancient position as the national ecclesiastical synod, Bishop Gray led the movement for the independence of the Colonial Church. The Queen's letters-patent authorizing his consecration to the Episcopate narrowed his ecclesiastical authority and made even the division of his immense diocese dependent upon the pleasure of the Crown. In order to obtain authority for this and to have the oaths of obedience taken to himself as Metropolitan of South Africa, he was obliged to resign his see in 1853 and was actually for fifteen days a Bishop *in partibus* till letters-patent with additional powers were issued by the government. His next difficulty was the contumacy of one of his clergy in refusing to publish the summons for a diocesan synod to his congregation. The case was tried in Africa and thence transferred to the English Court of Appeals and decided against the Bishop. This contest was hardly over before the famous Colenso difficulty made its appearance. Careful as Bishop Gray wished to be in the selection of subordinates and helpers, he made great blunders, and the choice of Dr. Colenso as the Bishop of Natal was one of them. A man of fine spirit and generous feelings, he was also wilful and headstrong and had not the judicial quality of mind so necessary for success as a Bishop; but it is to the honor of Dr. Gray that he stood faithfully by him and bore the burden of his entanglements till he felt obliged to proceed against him on account of his theological opinions. This is not the place to revive that contest, though this biography is intended to show the justice of Bishop Gray's part in that painful matter. There will always be two opinions on the question of Dr. Colenso's treatment. The English Church is known for the toleration of widely divergent opinions, while as a body it is faithful to the ancient Catholic creeds. It seemed to Archbishop Thompson, Bishops Thirlwall and Tait, and Dean Stanley that Bishop Gray had forced an unwelcome difficulty upon the home Church, and they apparently mistook his persistence in securing the condemnation of Dr. Colenso's opinions for personal hostility to the man. He was indeed a good fighter, but there is abundant evidence in these volumes that he was unselfish and generous in his private life and that he engaged in these public contests only on the spur of what he regarded as his duty. It seemed to men like Bishop Wilberforce that the Church

must take action and request Dr. Colenso to resign his office. Bishop Thirlwall also said on this view of the case that "no one could entertain a stronger opinion than himself that the position of the Bishop of Natal was utterly untenable; it was absolutely impossible that he could remain in the Church of England." In fact, the pressure within the Church was so strong in England that Bishop Gray, after Convocation had condemned Colenso's book, had no option but to hear the charges against him. It is well known that the judgment of the Ecclesiastical Court in South Africa, on the appeal of Dr. Colenso, was reversed by the Privy Council in England, but this reversal was double-edged. Lord Westbury had in 1847 given to Dr. Gray the very letters-patent which he now declared as Lord Chancellor to be only so much waste paper, and this decision was the last tie which bound the Colonial Church to the British Crown. Dr. Colenso paid no attention to the proceedings against him, but it was inevitable that, already condemned by Convocation, he should be deposed and excommunicated by his Metropolitan. The affair had so largely engaged the attention of Christendom that both the English and Colonial Church could do no less. It must, however, be the conviction of most persons that this affair made a noise ten years ago out of all proportion to its importance. Dr. Colenso's contributions to Biblical criticism were not original, and derived their chief importance from his ecclesiastical position. Like Dr. Newman, he had been bred in Calvinistic teachings, and his venturesome mind instinctively walked forth from those narrow limits. The distinctive character of both prelates appears in this contest, and in stout adherence to their convictions they bear much likeness to each other. Painful as this whole contest was as a religious strife and as a debate between the supporters of Church and State, much practical good grew out of it. The large toleration of the English Church was not narrowed, and the Colonial Church gained its independence of the Crown, and the freedom necessary for its proper ecclesiastical development. One almost smiles at the gravity with which the English lawyers discussed the question whether, as in the case of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, it was lawful to consecrate an English Bishop for a jurisdiction outside of the British Empire, and the English Church in Judea is to-day hampered and shackled in its free development by the same restraints of Parliament, which fetter the home Church, but which Bishop Gray was instrumental in removing from the Colonies. The freedom to call provincial synods, to divide dioceses, to appoint and consecrate missionary bishops, to exercise proper ecclesiastical discipline, to act as a free religious body in a free country, so far as the Colonial Church of England is concerned, was the work of Dr. Gray.

There are many side-lights in such a history as this—points on which one would like to dwell if the central story were less absorbing. The glimpses of English and Colonial life, the near views of many great leaders in Church and State, the outspoken opinions of one who watched the course of British social and political life as an outsider, the sympathy with ritualism in its best phases, the Bishop's interest in the sisterhood which he transplanted to Cape Town, the correspondence with his son from boyhood till his entrance upon clerical life, the healthy glow of an active life, visible in numerous letters, the account of his intimacy with Bishop Wilberforce, Dr. Pusey, John Keble and Mr. Gladstone—these constitute the side-lights of a history which no man can neglect who wishes to enter largely into the thoughts and purposes of the Anglican Church for the last generation. Bishop Gray was not a great thinker; he rather had greatness thrust upon him; his position developed greatness; but still he was a great missionary, a greater leader, and if the Church of England had done nothing more than bring to the front the Apostolic Selwyn in New Zealand, the murdered Patteson in Melanesia, the fearless Gray in South Africa, it would go very far indeed as a compensation for having lost in an unlucky moment the best theological mind of two generations—John Henry Newman. The life and career of Bishop Gray carry one back to the days of the early confessors of the Church. As Mr. Keble truly said, it seems "like a bit out of the fourth century."

J. H. W.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF ISRAEL. *By Heinrich Ewald. Translated from the German by Henry Shaen Solly, M. A.* BOSTON: LOCKWOOD, BROOKS & Co. pp. 399. \$5.

This ample octavo volume was intended to be the appendix to the second volume of the *History of Israel*, but it grew in the hands of the lamented author, who had a genius for Hebrew history, to be an independent treatise on the contents of the Pentateuch. It aims to reduce the heterogeneous and bewildering mass of laws to an orderly system, and to exhibit the facts in their living connection with the history of the nation. Its high reputation in Germany is the best testimony to its worth, but the slightest synopsis of the order of the book at once reveals its great value. After an introduction in which the laws and customs of the theocracy in its transition to the monarchy, are presented, the institu-

tions of Moses for religious worship are philosophically arranged so as, on the one side, to show human effort and action towards God, and, on the other side, the Divine demands for holiness and righteousness. Then the connection between the two sides by means of the organization of the Kingdom is traced out, and Prof. Ewald shows how both sides were supplemented in the course of time by the great Sabbath-cycle. It is as thoroughly arranged with reference to its handy use by the scholar as it is clearly and intelligently written. The Jewish ritual system, its meaning and character, is the constant puzzle of all students, and only those who have given the subject great attention can be said to have gone further than general ideas concerning it. Prof. Ewald has gone to the bottom and has furnished the best explanation of the Pentateuch yet accessible in English or German,—a work which is thoroughly interesting and attractive to the general reader, without sacrificing its value to scholars. Prof. Ewald handles the vast mass of materials as the potter handles his clay or the sculptor his block of marble, and, since there is little chance for rationalizing in the orderly arrangement of Jewish antiquities, it is a work on which one can rely as a somewhat authoritative and correct exposition of Holy Scripture. It is an expensive work but one could hardly spend five dollars to better advantage in increasing his theological library, and the publishers have rendered the clergy an important service in placing the work within their reach.

J. H. W.

THE CHILD SAMUEL, *a Practical and Devotional Commentary on the Birth and Childhood of the Prophet Samuel, as recorded in I. Samuel, i., ii. 1-27; iii. Designed as a help to meditation on the Holy Scriptures for Children and Young Persons, By Edward Meyrick Goulburn, D. D.* NEW YORK: POTT, YOUNG & Co. 1876. pp. 264.

The title of this little book sufficiently explains its design, and the name of Dean Goulburn, the author of "Thoughts on Personal Religion," is a sufficient guarantee of its excellence. It is unnecessary for us to say more.

A MANUAL OF DEVOTION, *Chiefly for the use of Schoolboys. By the Rev William Baker, D. D., Head Master of Merchant Tailors' School.* RIVINGTONS, LONDON; NEW YORK: POTT, YOUNG & Co. 1876.

This little book contains, I., Daily Prayers; II., Prayers Special and Occasional; III., Confirmation; IV., Holy Communion; V., Collects. They are nearly all taken from the Prayer Book. It appears to us well adapted for the use of boys.

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN BURLINGTON, N. J. *By the Rev. George Morgan Hills, D. D., Rector of St. Mary's Parish and Dean of the Convocation of Burlington.*

"This volume is inscribed to the memory of the Rev. John Talbot, M. A., founder and first rector of the church in Burlington, who, after twenty years of missionary toil, with ceaseless, but ineffectual entreaties that a Bishop might be given to America, was induced to receive consecration from a line of Non-jurors in England, and returned to Burlington, where after three years more of ministration, followed by two of inhibition, he died and was buried within the walls of the Church which he built, November, A. D. 1727." We have given this inscription entire, not only because it so fully sets forth the character of the book, but on account of the allusion to one of the main points of interest, that it contains. The history of the Church in this early day may be said to be given in Dr. Hills' book, so much of it hinges on the work done by the first rector of the church in Burlington. His entreaties to the dignitaries of the Church in England to appoint a Bishop, and the care and craft with which his plans were thwarted by the high officers in the State, to win favor with the enemies of the Church here, are again brought to our notice in the series of letters from Mr. Talbot to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts, and to others. The very highest praise must be given to the editor for his industry and perseverance. The handsome octavo volume of over seven hundred pages attests the devotion that has been manifested in the pursuit of every item of note that could be gathered having any bearing upon the subject. The topic of chief general interest will naturally be the matter of John Talbot's consecration by the Non-jurors. This is more clearly stated with the reasons why no apparent use was made of the Episcopal prerogative than it has been heretofore. The very great importance of this one item of history with the many others scarcely less weighty—some that make us wish that the clergy of that day had had a little more back bone, is the one cause of complaint that we make against the book. We do so in the interest of the many who would like to see and know what has here been collected with so much pains, but who will be unable on account of the expense. And we suggest, not with any hope that our remarks will affect this and other works of kindred character already printed, but to remind editors and publishers that there are many more than five times as many persons who will give one dollar or two dollars for a book than there are that can give five. The remark so common, "No clergyman's library is complete without it," painfully reminds many of that ancient hardship not "making bricks without straw," but making the bricks and having to find the straw.

THIRTY-TWO YEARS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, 1842-1874. *The charges of Archdeacon Sinclair, with a Preface by Archibald Campbell Tait, D. C. L., Archbishop of Canterbury, and an Historical Introduction by Robert Charles Jenkins, M. A.* RIVINGTONS, LONDON: POTT, YOUNG & Co., NEW YORK. 1876. pp. 493.

Archdeacon Sinclair died May 22, 1875, in his seventy-eighth year. He held for thirty-three years, from 1842 to '75, the important position of Archdeacon of Middlesex. His lot was therefore cast in the very centre of Church life in England during the agitations and controversies which have attended its revival in this half century. He was the very type of a conservative Anglican High-churchman. A man of learning and of knowledge of men, wise and cautious, though not free from prejudices, with strong love for and faith in his Church, as he understood it; with little enthusiasm, fearful of innovations, yet not averse to reforms, desirous of the extension of the Church and its influence among the people, with a power of seeing the results of measures, seldom given to more zealous dispositions, by his very temperament he was fitted to be a calm observer and prudent adviser. The charges of such a man to the clergy of Middlesex deserve attention. His mature and carefully written opinions and advice are not to be lightly disregarded. Even where we may differ from his conclusions, we feel that they are the result of careful thought and demand our respectful consideration.

In the volume before us there are twenty of these charges, and they touch on most of the subjects which of late have interested the Church, such as, National Education, Party-spirit, Interpretation of the Rubric, Divisions in the Church, Convocation, Election of Bishops, Church Extension, Church Difficulties of 1851, Synodal Action, Preaching, The Parochial System, Modern Scepticism, Rights of Bishops Presbyters and Laymen, Progress, The Primitive Church, Church Reform in 1874.

On these topics he has spoken plainly, yet wisely, and it would be well if some of those whose zeal may have outrun discretion would ponder what he has said. If in anything he has shown enthusiasm it is on the subject of Religious Education of the people. He felt deeply the importance of this, reverts to it continually in his writings, and devoted to it a great deal of his time, as Secretary of "The National Society." Of course, in what he has said in these charges there is much which is inapplicable to the American Church, but there is a great deal more which will be found very instructive and suggestive. Those who are interested in Church work will do well to consult this volume.

THE VICAR OF MORWENSTOW, *A Life of Robert Stephen Hawker, M. A.*
By S. Baring-Gould, M. A. New and revised edition, with Portrait.
 T. WHITTAKER, 2 BIBLE HOUSE, NEW YORK. 1876. pp. 299. \$3.50.

The name of Mr. Hawker has become somewhat notorious because of his death-bed reception into the Romish Communion, and the disputes which have arisen whether this was in accordance with his own belief and wishes. The impression made on us from reading this book is, that Mr. Hawker was a man too much given to speaking out his mind, and naturally too honest to have remained for any period in the communion and ministry of the Anglican Church, while at heart believing in another. The Vicar of Morwenstow was a man *sui generis*. His biographer tells us he was "a combination of contradictory elements. The master-power, the balance wheel of a well-ordered judgment was left out of his composition." From his boyhood he was given to practical jokes and quizzes, and it was always difficult to tell when he was in earnest. With all his oddities he was of a generous disposition and kindly heart, ready to give to the utmost and even beyond his ability. His kindness to the mariner shipwrecked on that dangerous coast, and his exertions in recovering the drowned and procuring for them Christian burial, testify to this. He was also of a highly poetic temperament, and some of his verses are not unworthy of the Poet Laureate. We had marked one or two for quotation, but have not space. As a preacher we are told he was above mediocrity. "His clear, full voice, was most mellifluous, and his language, whilst plain and homely, was highly poetical, and quite enchanting to listen to. He riveted one's whole attention." The book is very largely a collection of the strange sayings and doings of its subject and of the queer Cornish people among whom he lived. The reader will find in it a fund of amusing stories.

His usual dress was a clerical coat, of claret color, displaying beneath, a knitted blue fisherman's jersey; at the side, just where the Lord's side was pierced, a little red cross was woven into the jersey. He wore fishing boots reaching above the knees; for a hat he wore "a priest's wide-awake, claret-colored, like the coat;" his gloves were crimson.

He was usually followed to church by nine or ten cats, which entered the chancel with him, and careered about it during service. Whilst saying prayers, Mr. Hawker would pat his cats or scratch them under their chins. One having caught, killed and eaten a mouse on a Sunday, was excommunicated, and from that day was not allowed again within the sanctuary.

